

PROCEEDING

THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE
ON HUMANITY ISSUES 2021

GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION/ EVOLUTION AND CHALLENGE IN POST PANDEMICS ERA



June 14, 2021 (Thursday)
Directorate of Postgraduate Building Amphy Theater
1st Floor
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta



Organized by:
Master of International Relations
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

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2021



Master of International Relations
Directorate of Postgraduate, UMY
Jl. Lingkar Selatan Tamantirto Bantul Yogyakarta, 55183
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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) 2021 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, mainly Covid-19 issues. The 7th ISCOHI 2021 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 2021 was held by online via zoom. It was for the second

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
Master of International Relations
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

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GOVERNMENT POLICY IN RESPONDING TO THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN INDONESIAN POLITICS

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Abstract

A woman is a term for a woman who has reached a point of development, and has become emotionally mature, and has the freedom to choose and have the right to vote but unfortunately, the phenomena that occur in the world reflect injustice for one gender, namely women/women, the existence of a patriarchal culture produces marginalized women, especially in political roles. One of the reflections of the absence of injustice in politics was during the mid-British period when women did not get a place on the British council and the emergence of discriminatory regulations for married women. This phenomenon became a turning point for women to fight for their rights so that figures emerged - figures of female warriors such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton until this issue has become a domestic issue that affects policies regarding the role of women in the political sphere, especially those made by the Indonesian government. This

study uses an intermestic approach that will look at the issue as a point of stimulus for policy creation whose final product is a law in increasing the role of women in politics, as well as seeing the feminist movement that has succeeded in influencing international and domestic actors. The purpose of this research is to see government policies in responding to international issues related to women's planning in politics and the results of this study are that the Indonesian government guarantees women to participate in carrying out their political roles following the electoral law number 7 of 2017 stated as much as 30% of women's representation in the management of political parties both at the regional and central level, as well as law number 39 of 1999 pad article 46 which explains transparency for women to carry out their political roles in the executive, legislative and judiciary institutions.

Keywords: *Politic, Policy, Indonesia, Government, Constitutions*

Introduction

Women are a term where women have experienced a period of development. Women are usually used to describe a girl who is emotionally mature and has the freedom to choose her life path and life goals. but unfortunately women often experience all kinds of discrimination and even sexual harassment. Things like this should be paid attention to by all of us and also the government as the agency with the right to regulate and facilitate the creation of equality between women and men through policies related to human rights and realizing their rights are fully guaranteed so that gender discrimination is no longer occurring.

Women and men have their respective places in social life and both can occupy their respective places without reducing rights because intelligence, mindset, determine equal values between men and women. Gender equality also means that the two of them are able to play a role and participate in government, political, economic, socio-

cultural, education and national defense and security activities. Gender equality also includes the elimination of structural injustice for both women and men.

In developing countries the number of women who have authority in the political structure is very low and not equal to the number of men and this is what is known as inequality in gender relations in the political field. The emergence of gaps in the rights and roles of women in politics when compared to men is due to the perspective that the quality and quantity of women is lower than that of men and the assumption that if women are involved in politics and get promoted, it cannot be separated from the influence of men. With the male dominated, women are not taken into account in making decisions about issues related to people from various social classes, including the interests of women and the State. Under these conditions, this must be used as a theme in dialogue for all social classes so that the rights and obligations of men and women run in a balanced manner and become a discussion of the government as the agency that provides policies on gender equality.

In this journal, we will raise a theme that is not far from discussing the roles of women. We have created this journal to pay attention to the curiosity of the topic of women, legal views on women and government policies on women's problems that have long occurred. The purpose of the research with the title above is to see how Indonesian government policies are on the issue of women's roles in politics and gender equality.

Literature review

A journal entitled Gender Equality in the Scope of Student Organizations at Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, 2016 by Alan Sigit Fibrianto, which examines how the existence of gender equality in the campus environment, especially in organizations. The results of research conducted through interviews with students at Sebelas Maret University, it can be concluded that men always dominate in organizational leadership both on and off-campus, which in essence

is that women are always in second place after men. A total of approximately 83 ormanwa both executive and legislative and those found in the field are male figures who occupy the general chairman of an organization. So the organizations on campus have not implemented gender justice and equality (KKG). Therefore it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding for students of gender equality justice. (Fibrianto, 2016)

A journal entitled *The Critical Study of the Role of Women in World Politics* by Ita Mutiara Dewi, which explains the role of women in world politics which takes the ancient Amazonian society as an example of how women have a role in politics. It was also explained that if women occupy strategic positions in politics then half of the women's affairs or problems will be resolved. It also discusses the misunderstanding of some circles in the Muslim community who judge women when leading directly without looking at the track records of women who played roles during the golden age of Islam. And at the end of the section there is a message for Muslims to further explore and study Islam so that they better understand what the Islamic religion teaches. (Dewi, 2015)

In a journal entitled *Democratization and the Problem of Gender Equality* by Rifka Media which discusses pseudo democratization because there are still discriminatory actions committed by both the government and society. In addition, it also explains what problems arise as a result of discriminatory actions against gender and those that hinder the growth of a country. Therefore, this journal contains several solutions so that this inequality can be overcome because both countries claim that democracy has been achieved, but this problem still exists. (Dzuhayatin, 2002)

In a journal entitled *Comparison of the Quality of Democracy in the Perspective of Gender Equality between Indonesia and Thailand* by Arin Fithriana and Jeanie Anissa which explains how the comparison of gender equality in Indonesia and Thailand is seen from women's participation in politics. It is concluded that the quality of gender

equality in Indonesia as measured using mill's method and the result is that Indonesia is below Thailand. This is measured not by the number of female participants in politics but by the number of decision-makers. The comparison is made by comparing how the roles of women in Indonesia and Thailand in politics and what obstacles are holding them back from acquiring themselves in politics. (Fithriana and Annissa, 2017)

A journal entitled *The Dynamics of Gender Equality in Political Life in Indonesia* by Wery Gusmansyah, which explains the essence of discussing gender equality which is the subject of issues in a patriarchal democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, the aim of this journal is that society is open to the role of women in politics as it should be and there is no marginalization because Indonesia is a democratic country. This gender inequality is also influenced by several factors and it can even be said that it was created, perpetuated by the powerful as well as the interpretation of religion and myths. (Gusmansyah, 2019)

In this journal entitled *GENDER AND POLITICS: The Involvement of Women in Political Development* by Ulfatun Hasanah and Najahan Najahan Musyafak which discusses gender issues and their demands for equal rights of women and men in various aspects. It was also explained that the occurrence of this gender imbalance is influenced by deep-rooted social constructs. Of course, this journal encourages gender education which can influence and influence the prosperous partnership between men and women. (Hasanah and Musyafak, 2018)

A journal entitled *Women and Democracy* by A. Pratiwi and Andi Misbahul which discusses the complications between democracy and feminism. Feminists encourage transformation so that the political world in a country is no longer dominant in gender but must be universal. The reason this movement was carried out was that women felt that they were only used as a mere compliment in the world of politics. This is also done because in the course of the democratic process, women's issues are often neglected and that is what feminism

actually strives for. The result is that political parties have begun to accommodate women's opinions in politics. (Pratiwi, 2019)

A journal entitled *Women, Human Rights and Problems in Indonesia* by Louisa Yesami Krisnalita, which discusses the country's response that is still not serious, serious in dealing with issues of gender discrimination, human rights violations, and also violence that often occurs. This is confused because the government's promises that are not in accordance with what is happening in the field today are very different. The point is that this journal shows that the state must fulfill women's rights as human beings and citizens and women's rights to participate in developing the country to be more advanced. (Krisnalita, 2018)

A journal entitled *Efforts to Increase Women's Political Participation in General Elections in Indonesia* by Rizki Priandi and Kholis Roisah, which discusses the position of women in politics as important as men. It also encourages men to involve women in policymaking to create a balance. This is also a solution so that the rights of women that have been lost can be achieved by every woman who exists. This can be realized if women take part in making policies. (Priandi and Roisah, 2019)

The journal entitled *The Role of Women's Leadership and Its Involvement in the Political Sector in Indonesia* by Fitria Damayanti, which discusses gender in sustainable development has not received special attention in all fields of development, roles, functions, and the facts show that the progressive role of Indonesian women occupies many positions. Location is important. This shows that self-confidence, self-confidence and the ability to make decisions are characteristic of women, and they are also a condition of their leadership abilities. Physically, women have limitations, women do not have the energy like men, but in terms of ideas or ideas, their roles cannot be put aside. In the political field, the involvement of women in politics is a gift for the sustainability of a country. As a household, it is the woman who has the role of managing the house and managing the lives of all residents of

the house. Therefore, women have an extraordinary share in regulating the life of the nation and state. However, in Indonesia itself, the role of women is still a little bit existential, this can be seen from the participation of women in parliament. There are several factors that cause women's low participation, no political education and education, lack of political skills, lack of awareness to be active and involved in political activities, especially to participate in normal political institutions. Determination of the number of representatives (quotas) of 30 men and women. In general elections, it is an indispensable effort, the ability to try and be able to compete with men based on their female characteristics, so that their existence will always be recognized and will not be underestimated (Damayanti, 2000)

And something that is interesting to discuss and deepen is about how the role of women in politics in Indonesia and the international world today, as well as what the government is taking to protect or overcome problems that have arisen in recent years regarding Indonesian labor.

Gender and Feminism in looking at equal rights

Intermestic is one of the studies in international relations that was first popularized by an American president, namely Henry Kissinger, who at that time saw that international issues which then had an impact on the domestic United States, this was felt when there was oil instability in the Middle East so that prices Oil is increasing and tends to fluctuate so that countries that need to provide domestic oil prices are also soaring and fluctuating. This indicates that international issues or problems can then have an impact on the domestic situation of the country, which then provides output in the form of domestic policies or ideas to respond to these issues or problems. Ideas and roles then emerge actors who provide a policy based on ideas and interests to respond to issues that are influential at home, this intermestic approach is felt to be able to answer problems related to the title of the research we take, which is related to the role of women in politics. The role of

women in politics is of course closely related to the concept of gender equality, gender is certainly different from gender, the meaning of gender is a culture that provides differences in terms of roles, behavior and emotions, while gender is a biological thing that distinguishes men and women. Women's struggle in this case is called feminism, namely a social movement that fights for women's rights and equality as well as women's freedom. Feminism was first put forward by Charles Fourier in 1837, in his concept of harmony that the disappearance of oppression and frustration will create a social order that is free of fear, worry and frustration. According to him also that women have the potential, but this potential is not visible along with the oppression of men, this can be said that women are second sex. To create the concept of harmony, the oppression must be lost and then there will be a balance between feminine and masculine. The 19th century was a turning point in this feminist movement, many prominent figures who fought for women's rights included Elizabeth Cady Stanton as the founder of the National Women's Suffrage Association. The feminist movement expanded with the presence of Suffragette groups in England and other European and American lands. This research will explain qualitatively by collecting literature such as journals, books, and articles which are then reviewed and studied so that this research is by the title we will discuss.

The participation of women in international politics is not new to them, women have been involved in politics since ancient times. Even these women have a role that can influence the world of politics. Gender injustice began to be felt by women as a form of discrimination and this discrimination came from an uncontrolled patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture is a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. In the perspective of gender and feminism, there is an assumption that the involvement of women as state leaders and other strategic leaders in government policymaking is directly proportional to the resolution of women's problems. And in Egypt, there was a female leader named Merye Nit in 31 BC. According to the Women's Studies Encyclopedia, gender is

a cultural concept that seeks to make a difference in terms of roles, behavior, mentality, and emotional characteristics between men and women that occur in society. So gender with different genders, gender is a biological factor that is permanently different between men and women. So gender equality is also known as gender justice, is the view that all people should receive equal treatment and not be discriminated against based on their gender identity. and in practice, the goal of gender equality is that everyone gets equal and fair treatment in society, not only in politics, in the workplace, or in areas related to certain policies. And feminism is a collection of social theories, political movements that both motivate and focus on women's liberation. Feminism in plain language is a belief in the social, political, economic equality of men and women organized based on biological factors. In the analysis of gender and feminism, many expect women leaders to bring about a better world for women. Because so far, both analyzes argue that women are basically oppressed and marginalized. And therefore, with the increasing population of women in the world, it is necessary to involve more women in politics than in the previous period. The constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 does not differentiate between the sexes of men and women and guarantees their citizens equal rights and obligations in the political and other fields.

Seeing from the issues of gender equality and also the existence of this feminist movement reaching various parts of the world and countries as well as the existence of the globalization factor as a catalyst for the spread of this issue so that many countries then provide their own policies for this issue, as happened in the UK. the rule for medieval women is that if a woman marries she will have nothing, and all her property will be given to her husband, this shows how cruel the patriarchal culture was at that time so that there was resistance by giving petitions to the British council members who were dominated by men, later in France, there were also works that struggled for women's rights at the time of the revolution. This feminist movement is increasingly developing, marked by the existence of groups such as

NSWA and Suffragette, which later gave rise to feminist figures such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

The role of women in politics is none other than where women want to be involved in the political world, they should not be complacent just by doing administrative tasks, they should also strive to face the ladder of the party hierarchy to a managerial position that gives more responsibility that does not only add to it. insight but also improve the quality of their knowledge in party and communication.

This shows that women who are always under pressure and even discriminated against in a faction are expected to be able to respond rationally, so that there is no internal party conflict, but are responsible for running a good organizational wheel. The term of office and also the attitude to differentiate between sexes is a challenge for women who want to occupy the world of politics. therefore it can be addressed with a patient heart and a more scientific rationalization, because after all the opportunities for women will be more open if they have experience in positions that must go through the election process, have a non-traditional gender role attitude, and have financial, time and financial funds. adequate campaign staff. In this condition, women entering the political arena should be big-spirited and have experience in organizations, because so far women have rarely been found to participate as well as play a role in political parties. This is also an obstacle that needs to be taken into account by various political organizations that will fight for the fate of women in the general public

Indonesia, which has the fourth-largest population in the world, the majority of its population is women, in its contribution Indonesian women actually have an important role, one of which was started by the FAO in 2008, that Indonesian women had a significant share in the fisheries sector, reaching 2.3 million. Not only that, in the agriculture and food sector, Indonesian women also have a big share, but unfortunately, they still have limitations in their right to welfare access. The role of women is also in fact still limited in terms of politics where in fact there are several political rights for women, namely the

right to participate in government as well as to formulate regulations, then the right to vote is also the right to be elected and finally the right to join a good organization. government organizations or non-government organizations. The government, in its steps to respond to the role of women in politics, can actually be seen from the government system that adheres to democracy from one important element. We can know that in the existence of democracy all people have the right to participate in building the country, policies that are then issued, and efforts to increase participation. and the role of women in politics is due to the election law No.7 of 2017 which states that to include at least 30 percent of women's representation in the management of political parties, both at the regional and central level, for a long time ago it turns out that the government has also discussed the existence of equal rights and guarantees for all citizens explicitly stated in the GBHN in 1978, plus Indonesia participated in the signing of the convention to eliminate discrimination against women in 1980. In providing policies for the role of women in politics, it can also be seen from the law. Law number 39 of 1999 in article 46 which explains the transparency for women to carry out their political roles in the executive, legislative and judiciary institutions, the role of women in Indonesian politics is also reflected in the presence of Megawati as president of Indonesia in 2001-2004, then came the ministers. women who have qualified political expertise such as foreign minister Retno Marsudi, then the government also implements affirmative policies which are implemented in law number 12 of 2003 concerning DPD, DPR, and DPRD elections. This affirmative policy is important considering that this policy is taken so that there are no gaps between genders and obtain equal rights and opportunities.

Conclusion

The role of women in politics is one of the political rights that must be obtained by women because in their political rights there is an important point, namely the right to enter government and at the

same time formulate state regulations, the struggle for equal rights has existed since first started from Britain and then America which fought for voting rights in the presidential election, the feminism movement was a social equality movement to obtain women's rights and freedoms, this movement then had its starting point in the 19th century, then with globalization which then spread the movement to become an international issue that affects domestic countries, including changes in policies related to women. This was felt when the fight applied by the British government in the Middle Ages for discriminatory women then emerged resistance by giving a petition to the council. France is also one of the countries where the feminist movement has long been marked by works that highlight women's rights. Indonesia itself has also responded to its political role by implementing several efforts such as increasing the role of women in elections to the 1978 GBHN which planned for equal rights and providing justice for all its people.

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ADOPTION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT IN LAW NUMBER 16 OF 2016 AGAINST DEFORESTATION ISSUES IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Climate change is something that should be handled by collaborating between one country and another. In connection with Indonesia's commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, it is necessary to take action and hoped that the Paris Agreement can respond to these problems. Another problem faced by Indonesia is its relation to its position as a developing country that has placed Indonesia in the Paris Climate Agreement. As a result of industrialization and forest destruction due to burning, greenhouse gas emissions have increased from day to day in Indonesia. Therefore, the government needs to take quick action to deal with problems that are getting worse every day and will have an impact in many ways by ratifying the Paris

Climate Agreement even though it will have many consequences that will be borne by Indonesia. Apart from that, the fact that Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest forest area in the world, make Indonesia's forests have the potential to absorb greenhouse gas emissions. The purpose of this paper is to analyze and explain the efforts made by the Indonesian government in dealing with the problem of deforestation. The research method used is a qualitative method, namely research that emphasizes the in-depth understanding of a problem by referring to data that shows classification. The results of the study found that there was significant progress after the adoption of the Paris Agreement law into Indonesian law in reducing the problem of deforestation in Indonesia.

Keyword : *climate change, global emissions, Paris Climate Agreement.*

Introduction

The process of climate change is caused by the climate on earth which is mostly influenced by the presence of greenhouse gases or natural GHGs in the atmosphere. Another effect, also known as anthropogenic GHG, is a gas byproduct of human activities. The GHGs in it are CO₂, methane, CFCs, N₂O, and tropospheric ozone. And it is also known from scientific evidence that the amount of greenhouse gases continues to increase. We can see the cause of the increase itself, namely human activity on earth which causes the greenhouse gas effect and also global climate change. The forest and land sector in Indonesia is a sector that has enormous emission reduction potential and also contributes a large amount of emissions. Indonesia itself is in third place, after Brazil and Zaire in terms of tropical rainforest wealth. REPELITA VI, 1994 / 95-1998 / 99 stated that there were 92.4 million ha of forest land in 1993. In the mid-1960s, commercial exploitation of forests in the outer islands of Java experienced rapid growth so that Indonesia was said to be one of the exporters of tropical timber. the biggest in the world. The number

of forest concessionaires (HPH) holders in 1996 was 445 with an area of 54,060,559 ha. then in 1994 wood products generated approximately US \$ 5.5 billion in Indonesian export revenue and there were about 700,000 people working in the forest sector. The increase in the growth of the timber industry has led to the Conclusion that the rapid increase in the rate of deforestation is due to the growth of the timber industry. With such conditions, Indonesia is said to have a clear commitment to placing REDD + (Reducing Emissions From Deforestation and Forest Degradation) as an effort to achieve its commitments. REDD + is an intensive international mechanism whose aim is to promote policies and actions in developing countries that own forests in reducing forest degradation and also deforestation. Which focuses on how to manage forests to reduce CO₂ emissions through reducing efforts to prevent deforestation and protect forests to increase the quantity of carbon stocks.

The purpose of this research is to find out how the efforts made by the Indonesian government in dealing with the problem of deforestation have made significant progress. The implementation of REDD + is said to be able to empower and also involve communities around the forest in participatory public services, but this implementation can also be said to be a challenge due to sectoral regulatory constraints. This research is expected to add information or knowledge for students who have an interest in the field of international relations. In addition, the theoretical benefit of this research is to enrich science and also contribute to the development of the theory of international relations in various fields related to experimental international relations and other fields of international relations. From the above background, the questions underlying this research are: How are Indonesia's efforts in dealing with the problem of deforestation which has made significant progress. And the argument put forward in this study is that the steps taken by the government in dealing with the problem of deforestation are that Indonesia itself applies REDD + as part of a program in an effort to address the problem of deforestation.

Literature review

Author, title & year	Purpose	The essence of the Journal	Result
Diplomasi Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia-Norwegia Melalui REDD+ Agreement (Pramesthi Cahyani Hedhi Ningsih, 2019)	To find out and analyze environmental diplomacy implemented by Indonesia-Norway through the REDD + Agreement	This research describes the Environmental Diplomacy carried out by Indonesia-Norway through the REDD + Agreement and is analyzed with six key elements of diplomacy, which are said to affect diplomacy activities according to Paul Webster Hare (2015).	This journal shows that the Indonesia-Norway REDD + Cooperation is running well on the basis of the national interests of the two countries. However, it experienced delays in reaching a target which it should have met by 2006.

Pramesthi Cahyani Hedhi Ningsih (2019) in her journal entitled “Diplomasi Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia-Norwegia Melalui REDD+ Agreement”, explained about the Environmental Diplomacy carried out by Indonesia-Norway through the REDD + Agreement and analyzed with six key elements of diplomacy, which are said to affect diplomatic activities according to Paul Webster Hare (2015). The purpose of this research is to find out and analyze environmental diplomacy carried out by Indonesia-Norway through the REDD + Agreement. The research results of this journal indicate that the Indonesia-Norway REDD + cooperation is running well on the basis of the national interests of the two countries. However, it experienced delays in reaching a target which it should have met by 2006.

Author, title & year	Purpose	The essence of the Journal	Result
Implikasi Hukum Paris Agreement Melalui Program REDD+ Berbasis Blue Carbon Di Indonesia (Elda Sofia, 2018)	To explain what the legal implications of the ratification of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC for Indonesian national law and also to explain the legal issues faced by Indonesia in implementing the Blue Carbon-based REDD + program.	This journal's research explains the legal implications of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC for Indonesia and the legal issues faced by Indonesia in implementing the Blue Carbon-based REDD + program.	With the ratification of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC by Indonesia, making it part of the national law in Indonesia, Indonesia is legally bound by the Paris Agreement. Legal issues in implementing the Paris Agreement are law enforcement, legal certainty. Namely, law enforcement is still weak in taking action against perpetrators of forest destruction.

Elda Sofia (2018) in her journal entitled “Implikasi Hukum Paris Agreement Melalui Program REDD+ Berbasis Blue Carbon Di Indonesia” explained about the legal implications of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC for Indonesia and the legal issues faced by Indonesia in implementing the Blue Carbon-based REDD + program. The purpose of this research is to explain what the legal implications of the ratification of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC for Indonesian national law and also to explain the legal issues faced by Indonesia in implementing the Blue Carbon-based REDD + program. The result of this research is that with the ratification of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC by Indonesia, making it part of the national law in Indonesia, Indonesia is legally bound by the Paris Agreement. Legal issues in implementing the Paris Agreement are law enforcement, legal certainty. Namely, law enforcement is still weak in taking action against perpetrators of forest destruction.

Author, title & year	Purpose	The essence of the Journal	Result
Kepentingan Indonesia dalam Meratifikasi Perjanjian Paris (Posmanto Marbun, 2018)	To analyze Indonesia's position in the Paris Agreement and consideration of decision making in staying or withdrawing from the agreement.	This journal's research explains that Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest tropical forest in the world, so deforestation and forest destruction need special attention and priority in order to jointly prevent more severe impacts.	The commitment in the Paris Agreement needs to be seen as a joint effort, especially UNFCCC members in making efforts to reduce emissions by prioritizing the principles of environmental justice, responsibility, and also cooperation. Thus, the role that Indonesia has given, little or much, will bring change and also goodness for now and in the future.

Posmanto Marbun (2018) in his journal entitled “Kepentingan Indonesia dalam Meratifikasi Perjanjian Paris” explained that Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest tropical forest in the world, so deforestation and forest destruction need special attention and priority in order to jointly prevent more severe impacts. The purpose of this study is to analyze Indonesia's position in the Paris Agreement and considerations for decision making in staying or withdrawing from the agreement. The results of his research, namely the Commitment in the Paris Agreement need to be seen as a joint effort, especially UNFCCC members in making efforts to reduce emissions by prioritizing the principles of environmental justice, responsibility, and also cooperation. Thus, the role that Indonesia has given, little or much, will bring change and also goodness for now and in the future.

Author, title & year	Purpose	The essence of the Journal	Result
Dilema Posisi Indonesia Dalam Persetujuan Paris tentang Perubahan Iklim (Naila Sukma Aisya, 2019)	To analyze how the weakening of the environmental instruments contained in the Minerba Law and the Job Creation Law, and also how the two laws affect the fulfillment of Indonesia's emission targets.	In this research, it explains the GHG emission reduction targets in Indonesia, the problem of weakening environmental instruments in the Minerba Law and also the Job Creation Law, and analyzes the direction of Indonesia's climate policy with weakening environmental instruments based on conventional theory, namely that economic growth will be directly proportional to environmental damage.	To reduce emissions, it is necessary to strengthen policies, especially in the forestry and energy sectors to achieve emission reduction targets. It is also necessary to have policies that support the economy and climate interests that can act as carbon sinks and create climate-friendly agriculture. In terms of climate change, government policies are expected to be in line with global climate commitments in the Paris Agreement.

Naila Sukma Aisya (2019) in her journal entitled “Dilema Posisi Indonesia Dalam Persetujuan Paris tentang Perubahan Iklim”. In this research, it explains the GHG emission reduction targets in Indonesia, the problem of weakening environmental instruments in the Minerba Law and also the Job Creation Law, and analyzes the direction of Indonesia's climate policy with weakening environmental instruments based on conventional theory, namely that economic growth will be directly proportional to environmental damage. The purpose of this research is to analyze how the weakening of environmental instruments contained in the Minerba Law and the Job Creation Law, and also how the two laws affect the fulfillment of Indonesia's emission targets. The results of his research are that to reduce emissions, it is necessary to strengthen policies, especially in the forestry and energy sectors to achieve emission reduction targets. There is also a need for policies that

can support the economy and climate interests that can act as carbon sinks and create climate-friendly agriculture. In terms of climate change, government policies are expected to be in line with global climate commitments in the Paris Agreement.

Author, title & year	Purpose	The essence of the Journal	Result
Nasib Target Emisi Indonesia: Pelemahan Instrumen Lingkungan Hidup di Era Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional (Syaharani dan Muhammad Alfitras Tavares, 2020)	To explain various Indonesian actions after ratifying the Paris Agreement.	This study explains that the Paris Agreement is said to provide alternative policies to the world, especially the Indonesian government in carrying out development and also suppressing climate change by applying environmentally friendly principles.	The result of this research is that Indonesia has ratified the Paris Agreement so that Indonesia's interests in the field of development will not be hampered and receive international support from the funding side. This interest can be seen from the development programs that have been planned by the government, one of which is utilizing peatlands. This also certainly requires the involvement and role of non-state actors, including the private sector, civil society, customs, media, academics and also NGOs, for the sustainability and restoration of peatlands so that the government can revive the Peat Community Jamboree with local scale programs up to international.

Syaharani and Muhammad Alfitras Tavares (2020) in their journal entitled “Nasib Target Emisi Indonesia: Pelemahan Instrumen Lingkungan Hidup di Era Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional”. This study explains that the Paris Agreement is said to provide alternative policies to the world, especially the Indonesian government in carrying out development and also suppressing climate change by applying environmentally friendly principles. The research objective is to explain various Indonesian actions after ratifying the Paris Agreement. The

result of this research is that Indonesia has ratified the Paris Agreement so that Indonesia's interests in the field of development will not be hampered and receive international support from the funding side. This interest can be seen from the development programs that have been planned by the government, one of which is utilizing peatlands. This also certainly requires the involvement and role of non-state actors, including the private sector, civil society, customs, media, academics and also NGOs, for the sustainability and restoration of peatlands so that the government can revive the Peat Community Jamboree with local scale programs up to international.

Theoretical Framework

Institutionalism consists of 2 words, namely "institution" which means institution and also "ism" of view. The basic understanding is that institutionalism is a view that makes state institutions the main study in limiting political behaviour and the effectiveness of a country's democracy. The basic assumption of institutionalism is that the state is the most important but not the only actor. Because the state strives to achieve its interests through a framework of cooperation built with other countries, the state slowly integrates with one another based on economic interests, cultural similarities and geographic location.

This regional integration will later produce an institution that is formed together to become a facilitator of cooperation between members of regional countries. The state gives legitimacy to the institutions that are built so that they can at least benefit from joining regional organizations rather than getting nothing at all. The institution will later act not only as a facilitator but also as a supervisor and intervene in several matters and impose sanctions if necessary. When viewed from the opinion of experts such as Robert D. Keohane, an institution or institution is a set of government regulations covering norms, rules and ways of regulating and monitoring the impact of these regulations.

The theory Robert O. Keohane delivered denied every possibility of realism approach where the capabilities and state behaviour be observed by their power capability. As a results Keohane claim to make possibility where state can work together smoothly states agreed a proposal to make institutions which is called and function as international regime. The reason why states make this institution nothing else just to make sure every state to follow the orders and fulfil their obligations to the regime as their obligations to other states in institutions.

According to international situations and interstate relations where interdependence each state become complex and undeniable it is difficult for states to not involved in such as this cooperation which regulate by international regime or institutions because this is the way for state to achieve their interest. State could take benefit from it because they will be integrated with another countries so state can make several actions cooperate with them especially for small states or weak states. Because especially for small state it is difficult for them become more powerful and achieve their ambitions regarding to their capabilities in several aspects such as economic, military even in geographical benefit.

So, in Conclusion liberal institutionalism is a perspective in international relation study which provide point of view where the behaviours of states determine by organizations or institutions they made together with other states. States bound together by several regulations, mechanism of corporation, law and expectations where usually state has obligations to achieve the target they determined together. These states bound together in some institutions because of they share same interest and there is interdependence between one state to another so they can fulfil their ambitions to achieve their interest by working together on several issues.

Methodology

The method used in this study is a qualitative method, namely research that emphasizes the in-depth understanding of a problem by referring to data that shows classification, not numbers or ratings. This

research also uses descriptive analytical research that aims to study problems that arise in society in certain situations, including opinions, public relations, attitude activities, ongoing processes and how they contribute to certain phenomena in society. Through qualitative methods and this type of analytical descriptive research, the researcher will use the data and information that is already available for later use in conducting an in-depth analysis.

Qualitative research methods are often called naturalistic research methods because the research is carried out in natural conditions. This study serves to determine the focus of research, perform data collection, assess data quality, analyze data, interpret data and finally make Conclusions on everything. Qualitative research methods try to explore and interpret this phenomenon and not the end result. The author uses qualitative research because the problem to be investigated by the researcher is a complex and dynamic problem, so the problem of this research is still temporary and will still develop when the research is ongoing. This research is a descriptive analysis, which describes all policies and actions. In this case, the researcher wants to know how the implementation of the Paris Agreement in reducing gas emissions in Indonesia.

The systematics of searching for data in conducting this research used sources from relevant journals, articles and the internet. Some of the relevant references or reading sources are used to find data that can be used to find arguments that can be used as a Conclusion to the research results.

The data collection technique used in this research is secondary data collection technique, which refers to the literature study. These data are sourced from various published data such as government publications, journal articles, books, magazines, newspapers, historical documents, articles, internet biographical films, and the results of previous studies or research that are seen as having relevance to the phenomenon under study. This technique allows researchers to select valid and relevant data and information by reading books and other

reading materials, as well as making visual observations related to the phenomena under study. In this secondary data collection technique, researchers also use reliable, appropriate and adequate data to conduct research.

Result And Discussions

The Paris Agreement agreed in 2015 is the first form of global agreement to discuss climate change in which there are policies regarding policies aimed at all countries. The Paris Agreement can also be said to be a form of political success in climate negotiations and traditional state diplomacy and offers important implications for academic research. This persuasive argument about the economic benefits resulting from climate action changes preferences in favor of policy commitment at both the national and international levels. The new climate agreement is a laissez-faire agreement between countries that creates international legal obligations to develop, implement and regularly strengthen action. The Paris Agreement is also one of the global environmental political instruments which involve various actors to achieve their interests. This agreement describes a new chapter of environmental action which is followed by four signs, namely establishing a clear pathway for future emissions, recognizing the risk impacts of climate impacts, shifting funding towards low carbon, and sustainable development with a strong foundation. Actually, before the formation of the Paris Agreement, there was already an international agreement regarding the environment. One of the most complex is the Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which is a form of agreement at the international level whose goal is to reduce GHG emissions in the atmosphere. In the implementation of developed countries have a big responsibility in achieving these goals. In every meeting held every two years, the UNFCCC is attended by the second party Conference of the Parties or COP, whose purpose is to review the progress of the agreement, adapt solutions to problems, negotiate the latest developments that are included in the agreement in

the form of a protocol. The COP Agenda produced the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 which was used as a form of interest approach regulating GHG emission reduction. However, in 2007 the Kyoto Protocol failed to carry out its duties due to the low compliance of GHG contributing countries and there were several countries that did not want to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, were not committed, and even left their membership. After failing with the Kyoto Protocol, the UNFCCC resulted in a Bali Roadmap agreement and adopted the Bali Action Plan (BAP) at the UNFCCC meeting in Bali. However, various international environmental organizations are not satisfied with this agreement because they feel that the goal and the setting of concrete targets for reducing house gas emissions are unclear. Then the UNFCCC held another meeting for a draft agreement in Peru known as the Five Calls for Climate Action. The Call for Five Climate Actions is said to be different from previous international agreements because in its implementation this agreement fulfills the requirements. However, even so, this agreement was weak in binding compliance and obligations of UNFCCC member countries, which eventually led to another meeting agenda that was scheduled to re-negotiate the 21st COP in Paris in 2015 which later gave rise to the Paris agreement. In this meeting, the negotiation process was complicated because there were debates over the emergence of new problems that eventually triggered conflicts of interest between Like Minded Developing Countries (LMDC) such as China, India, Malaysia and Indonesia and developing countries. Then besides that, the point regarding being transferred is also one of the points that are difficult to agree on. Differentiation itself can be said to be a category of the economic level of the country that is responsible for tackling climate change. Apart from that, the negotiations in Paris also discussed how the agreement that was initiated had to be legally binding at the highest level. The Paris Agreement aims to specifically reduce the rate of global temperature so that it can continue to be below 2 or 1.5 oC this century under the INDC. The Paris Agreement has the advantage of fully targeting to stop temperature rises taking

into account the circumstances and capabilities of different countries. In addition, there are additional elements such as transparency and capacity building that are useful as main considerations and modalities of government work at the local level so that they are not only more effective but also efficient.

The world today is undergoing many changes. Since the first industrial revolution, many sectors of human life have changed from work, household life, the way people solve problems around them and many others. Besides, with changes or progress significant until the 21st century, apart from providing solutions to human life, it also creates other problems, one of which is global warming.

Explanation of global warming is simply an increase in the earth's temperature as a result of reflected radiation from the atmosphere to the earth. As a result, if the temperature of the earth's surface gets warmer, the north and south poles can melt so that the sea level will increase. This rising sea level has the potential to create land, especially small islands. Small islands can sink and land or large islands have the potential to experience shrinkage of the coastline. Sources of global warming energy are commonly referred to as greenhouse gases. These greenhouse gases are generated from the activities of living things on earth, especially by human activities. Human daily activities such as industrial factories, vehicles, food scraps can contribute to greenhouse gases.

Serious efforts were made by countries when a meeting was held in Paris to discuss efforts to tackle climate problems. This meeting was initiated by the United Nations which is called the United Nations framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This convention was attended by about 195 countries. The outcome of this meeting is known as the Paris Agreement. In general, the objectives of the Paris Agreement are contained in Article 2 of the agreement which explains that the main objective of the agreement is to reduce the global temperature rise to 2 degrees Celsius and efforts to reduce the increase in global temperature figures to 1.5 degrees Celsius after

industrialization period. Another goal is efforts to coordinate and increase the resilience of a country due to the effects of global warming and climate change without threatening the stability of its food security. However, the implementation of this agreement takes into account the different situations and conditions of each country such as geographical conditions, technological advances, funding and others.

Indonesia is one of the countries that officially signed and ratified this agreement on April 22, 2016. Based on the 1969 Vienna Convention which regulates international agreements as stipulated in article 2 point (b) ratification means that a country has ratified and agreed to bound by international treaties. Indonesia's ratification of the Paris Agreement was adopted by the government officially into national law by Indonesia as stipulated in Law Number 26 of 2016. Therefore, all articles contained in the Paris Agreement become official law in effect in Indonesia as well as the implementation of efforts by the government. done by following the steps set out in the agreement.

In the Paris Agreement as stated in Article 4 paragraph 2, it is stated that countries are obliged to convey the aspirations and targets of their respective countries in an effort to reduce the rate of global temperature increase by considering and assessing the conditions of their respective countries. In accordance with the article in the Paris Agreement to maintain contributions and commitments from the country, this is known as the National Determined Contribution (NDC). The NDC was handed over by Indonesia as a form of state bonds after the ratification of the Paris Agreement containing Indonesia's targets in an effort to reduce global temperature increases. In the NDC, the target set by Indonesia is to reduce the temperature rise to reach 29% using its own funds by 2030 and up to 49% if you get assistance or funds from other countries or take advantage of international contributions.

Based on a report published by the Directorate General of Climate Change Control of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in 2017 regarding Indonesia's NDC implementation strategy, there are 9 strategic programs in an effort to meet the NDC target.

The 9 strategic programs include development of ownership and commitment, capacity building, enabling environment, formulation of communication frameworks and networks, one-data greenhouse gas policy, formulation of policies, plans and intervention programs (KRP), preparation of NDC implementation guidelines, implementation of NDCs. the last is NDC monitoring and review.

Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest forest area in the world. Based on data released by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in 2015, Indonesia's forest area is around 128 million hectares. With such an area of forest, Indonesia's forests have forest potential that can absorb greenhouse gas emissions. However, forests in Indonesia can also be a threat as a contributor to greenhouse gas emissions due to deforestation and expansion of land clearing for oil palm plantations. Deforestation is one of the factors why according to Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI) is the country with the 6th largest greenhouse gas emission contributor in the world in 2018. Law number 18 of 2013 concerning the prevention and eradication of forest destruction is also part of the law which is based on Law number 16 of 2016 stipulated as Law relating to the Act on the adoption of the Paris Agreement. Therefore, it can be concluded that the issue of forest deforestation has become an important issue and has a strategic role in the effort to fulfill Indonesia's bonds against the Paris Agreement law.

The efforts made by the Indonesian government to address the problem of deforestation have made significant progress. According to Global Forest Watch, forest deforestation, which in the 2015-2016 period was 1.5 million hectares, has decreased in 2017-2019 each year. In the period 2017-2019, there were numbers of experiencing a decline or loss of primary forest at around 300,000 hectares each year. However, even though there has been a decrease in the number of forest deforestation, during the 2017-2019 period Indonesia emitted significant CO₂ gas, namely 1,447Mt.

Efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions as stipulated in article 5 clearly state that in order to reduce the number of greenhouse gases

emission, the state must strive to pay attention to issues concerning forests. Countries that are involved in the Paris agreement are encouraged to carry out forest management in an effort to reduce the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions due to deforestation. Indonesia itself applies REDD + as part of a program in an effort to tackle the problem of deforestation.

REDD + (Reducing Emissions From Deforestation and Forest Degradation) is part of a program within the framework of the Paris Agreement. The focus of this program, as the name implies, is efforts to reduce gas emissions resulting from deforestation and forest degradation. The REDD + mechanism is carried out by providing incentive assistance for developing countries in the form of incentive funds from developed countries to developing countries, technology transfer and voluntary nature. One example of a mechanism using this program mechanism is the collaboration between Indonesia and Norway. Indonesia benefits in the form of investment in forest management in Indonesia from this cooperation, while Norway benefits from building its country's image as a country that can be seen as a country that is serious about environmental issues, especially as Norway is a country that has experienced bad consequences from deforestation and climate change.

Conclusion

The ratification by the Indonesian government of the Paris Agreement law has made Indonesia responsible and responsible for the outcome of the convention held in Paris. In accordance with the principle, the ratification of international treaty law allows Indonesia to adopt and implement the Paris Agreement law into positive law in Indonesia. With the adoption and enforcement of international law as stipulated in Law no. 16 of 2016 will certainly have an impact on several sectors, especially the environmental sector. One of the main issues and focuses raised in the law is the issue of deforestation which has an impact on efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions globally.

The effectiveness of Law no. 16 of 2016 which has been established by Indonesia as the official national law in an effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions is implemented in a number of programs and regulations that have been made by the government. This implementation is contained in a number of programs that refer to the NDC with efforts, one of which is to focus on forest management and efforts to reduce deforestation through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The REDD + program is also a program that is run by Indonesia and Norway. This resulted in Indonesia's success in reducing the rate of deforestation to around 300,000 hectares each year in the 2017-2019 period. However, the progress of reducing deforestation cannot be used as a reference in assessing the success of the NDC targets that Indonesia has submitted to the UNFCCC. Indonesia still needs to take several steps in efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the future.

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THE NEW GLOBAL FINANCIAL GOVERNANCE: THE EMERGENCE OF AIIB AS THE BALANCING OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN FUNDING ON COVID-19 CRISIS

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Abstract

Global economic development has experienced ups and downs. Various kinds of crises have occurred since the end of the second world war until now. Initially the crisis occurred in a country, but when globalization occurred it turned into a global crisis. The existence of dependency in the international world has made several international organizations to help solve the global crisis. Now the world has been hit by a new crisis, namely the global pandemic. This study will discuss the emergence of a new actor in global financial governance, namely AIIB. To overcome the global pandemic crisis, AIIB provides financial assistance to affected countries. As a new global financial governance, AIIB has different funding regulations from the IMF. AIIB membership which is dominated by developing countries is the highlight of this research. In writing this article, the author uses a qualitative method that will explain the emergence of AIIB as a new institution to balance economic recovery during the

COVID-19 crisis. By using the institutional balance theory, the provision of AIIB funds is seen as a step by a new institution to gain influence in the international system.

Keyword: *The AIIB, COVID-19 Crisis, Developing Country, Global Financial Governance, Institutional Balancing*

Introduction

The international system may still be largely based on the principle of state sovereignty, but it is a principle that has been fundamentally changed by various international treaties. Global economic development has experienced ups and downs. Various kinds of crises have occurred since the end of the second world war until now. Initially the crisis occurred within a country, but occurred when globalization turned into a global crisis.

The emergence of globalization has brought significant changes for the country. International governance that was originally state-centric has changed to become global-centric. The emergence of global governance is a solution to the inability of states to fail themselves. So, starting from the problem of the inability of one country to handle a case, then the requirements for global cooperation with both state and non-state actors. Global governance is manifested in many fields, namely the integration of economy and trade, health, finance, and human rights (J. N. Clarke & Edwards, 2004). In this paper, global governance will be governed by the management of global financial governance.

To support global finances and overcome the crisis, the countries of the world formed the Bretton Woods System. This system gave birth to three major institutions for world monetary problems, one of which is the IMF. In carrying out its role as a financial organization, many things happen. The purpose of that school.

The existence of the IMF in the global financial order is increasingly being doubted by many countries. Despite the quota reform, the IMF's

role was still lacking in the crisis. There is a shift in the economy from west to east from north to south as new actors in the global order, for example China. Through the Belt and Road Initiative China a new organization similar to the IMF. It is clear that some of China's experiences with creating AIIBs are linked to slow reforms at the IMF and World Bank to give China and developing market economies more voice and voice on the Executive Board. In addition, AIIB, which is dominated by developing countries, is also a match for the IMF to pay more attention to developing countries.

Early 2020, the world was shocked by the emergence of a new mutated virus in Wuhan, China. The rapid spread of the Covid-19 virus has resulted in a number of areas devoted to the world economy becoming stuck. This is because the invisible and very fast transmission of COVID-19 has forced several countries to lock down and of course have an impact on the economy. AIIB responds to the global pandemic as one of its new policy packages. As a balance in finance, this article will describe how the AIIB process took place during COVID-19, especially in developing countries.

Literature review

At a time when the world was experiencing its worst crisis since the 1930s, there was a widespread sentiment among analysts that innovation in global financial governance was needed. In connection with this, state actor fund analysts held negotiations in New Hampshire, Bretton Woods in 1944. The results of the negotiations formed three global financial management, namely the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (James Chen, 2020). In terms of crisis management, the IMF has a bigger role than the World Bank. The purpose of establishing the IMF is to provide loans to countries experiencing crisis and provide policy advice for economic reform. In Bessa Momani (2019) study, since the occurrence of the world debt crisis, the fall of the Soviet Union and the European financial crisis, the IMF's role as crisis manager has

deepened. The IMF is increasingly institutionalizing its power and influence in regulating the global economy. However, the success of the IMF began to be questioned as new crises emerged. The events that occurred in 2008 in the US are proof that the IMF's crisis monitoring and prevention functions are still lacking. The policy packages provided by the IMF always create new debt holes for countries that receive loans (Momani, 2019).

According to Woods (2003) at the forefront of the current debate facing the IMF is the issue of liberalization and capital account flows and crisis monitoring and prevention. The loosening of capital inflows and outflows has created a huge debt hole. Industrialized nations and economies that are strong are the organization's main funders, given that their contribution from the lion's share of financial deposits to the IMF often ignores IMF supervisory advice. The 2008 economic crisis that occurred in the US had an impact on the IMF financial liquidity crisis. This is due to the large quota that the US has, the IMF is increasingly short of money and unable to increase IMF liquidity (Woods, 2003)

In addition, Rucker and Labonté (2013) explained that the IMF quota system is also a problem in the provision of funds. Developing countries tend to have fewer quotas in the IMF than developed countries. However, in reality, developing countries need more financial assistance to overcome the crisis. In this case, the IMF actually provides a policy package to cut the state budget to survive the crisis. For low-income countries, budget cuts will have an impact on declining health services. A concomitant decline in health services will lead to a decrease in life expectancy and an increase in mortality and morbidity in many low-income countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the end, the IMF only focused on the economic sector and did not look at other sectors such as the health sector and the social sector which emerged as a new crisis (Ruckert & Labonté, 2013)we interrogate the policy response of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The existence of the IMF in global financial governance plays an important role in supporting the hegemony of the United States. However, after emerging distrust and the inability of the IMF to handle the crisis in a country, China emerged as a challenger to the US by forming the AIIB. Kai He and Huiyan Feng's article (2019) states that behind the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) shows China's interest in multilateral institutions and global financial governance such as those of the US. Since China initiated the AIIB idea in 2013, many state actors have started to become curious and suspicious of the interests behind it. The existence of AIIB slowly balances the existence of the IMF as a financial institution. One of them is that AIIB does not have a chairman of the board like the IMF. All members in AIIB are the same in getting their interests to negotiate with AIIB (He & Feng, 2019).

Research Methods

In this study, the methodology used is qualitative research by analyzing the phenomenon of the emergence of a new global financial system, namely AIIB, which has become a new counterweight to the IMF. This study uses secondary sources in the form of books, journals and official websites of the two research objects. To answer how the process of providing AIIB funds in dealing with COVID-19 with its new regulatory style, this study will use an exclusive institutional balancing concept.

Institutional Balancing Theory

In the context of international relations, institutions are defined as a set of norms, rules and habits that become references in behavior, limits in acting, and help achieve goals (Ashari, 2015). Institutions can take the form of organizations, bureaucratic agencies, treaties and agreements. The formation of institutions in the international system is a form of balancing the strength of both the state and the region. International organizations whose membership is official are

organizations whose existence entities can be measured such as having offices, staff, and organizational instruments that are useful for making policies with state representatives. Organizations such as the European Union, the United Nations, and the World Trade Organization have become a very important part of regulating economic, political and environmental issues both regionally and globally (Baylis et al., 2014).

There are three views about institutions in international relations regarding the conditions that shape these institutions and their role in international relations. The group of liberals is of the view that countries join forces and form an institution to gain mutual benefits and interests. Constructivist groups have the view that international organizations are formed to reflect the identity and interests of countries through the interactions that exist between them (Ashari, 2015). In contrast to the two views, realists argue that power politics operates within and outside of international organizations, which are seen as agents of the state system or simply tools of a strong state that has a higher moral position (Andrew Heywood, 2011).

Institutional balance is a form of balancing power by strong countries through new institutions or by increasing institutional strength. For realists, the balance of power is seen as akin to natural law. Peace or stability is largely determined by the balance of power distribution in the international system. The Institutional balance model identifies institutional balance mechanisms, namely to counter pressure or threats through the initiation, utilization and domination of multilateral institutions, as an overlooked realist strategy for the state to pursue security under anarchy. Grieco (1995) determines that the behavior of institutional balance determines that there is a high economic dependence by so that the state chooses a new realist balance strategy, namely institutional balance apart from forming traditional military alliances to overcome threats or pressures from the system. Second, the distribution of capabilities in the regional system shows how the state balances institutions, both inclusively and exclusively (Grieco, 1995).

Institutional balance theory suggests that states can use different institutional strategies to pursue their realist interests, such as power and influence, in the international system. There are two forms of institutional balance, namely an inclusive and exclusive balance. While the former refers to tying the target countries in institutions, the latter means keeping the target countries out. In an inclusive institutional balance, countries practice building norms / rules to limit the behavior or control of other countries and manipulate agendas to address issues related to their interests in multilateral institutions. In an exclusive balance, states consolidate their political and economic unity in order to undermine the influence and value of any new institutions initiated by other states / persons in the international system (He & Feng, 2019).

In this study, the emergence of AIIB is an inclusive balance between China to fight pressure from the United States. AIIB in this case collaborates with ASEAN, because ASEAN has norms and rules that limit it, such as norms of multilateralism and cooperation. In this case, ASEAN and China have become partners in cooperation with Japan and South Korea in the ASEAN Plus Three cooperation.

Not only collaborating with ASEAN countries, AIIB also collaborates with TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) institutions, European countries, The US Treasury and Japan. This is done by AIIB on the basis of China's exclusive balance to suppress the influence of the US and major institutions in the economic field. President of AIIB, Jin Liqun said in a public lecture at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy Singapore, the collaboration carried out by AIIB with non-Asian countries aims to find large countries that have the potential to become founding members. Many countries view AIIB positively, because several AIIB policies are reforms of IMF issues such as the quota system and voting power.

Analysis

A. Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), is a new institution in the development lending environment that is the result and reflection of changes in the political economy using multilateral cooperation. The AIIB Agreement article signed in Beijing by 57 countries on 29 June 2015 clarifies the nature of AIIB as an MDB (Multilateral Development Bank), confirming that AIIB will focus exclusively on infrastructure and other physical investments in developing countries in Asia and provide financial support for development infrastructure and regional connectivity in Asia (Hong, 2016).

As its president, former vice president of ADB Jin Liqun, said AIIB will use the “lean, clean, and green” lending concept. AIIB will emphasize transparency, accountability, openness and independence as well as combine the benefits of existing MDBs and the competitiveness of private banks. At the same time, AIIB is developing its own way of doing things. For example, unlike the ADB or the World Bank, its Board of Directors will function as non-resident, meaning they will not be permanently seated at headquarters in Beijing. The AIIB Secretariat plans to have only 700 personnel, which is substantially less than 2,000 employees stationed at ADB headquarters (Yangpeng, 2016).

Despite the fact that some of the AIIB members are extra-regional developing countries, as a whole it is based on South-South cooperation. Its policy idea, to some degree, deviates from the Washington Consensus, as it opposes the inherent political conditions of loan assistance, and will take more account of the actual situation and needs of the recipient country, emphasizing the simplicity, efficiency and transparency of lending procedures. The AIIB has also adopted a set of risk assessment standards that promise to be more suitable for developing countries. It aims to detect projects that may have real investment value but are rejected by existing financing institutions for various reasons. In this

sense, AIIB is a new MDB model that could transform the landscape of international development assistance (Hong, 2016).

China has designed multilateral institutions that are inclusive to attract support from developing and developed countries. As previously mentioned, AIIB fits in well with the existing problems due to the lack of infrastructure development in developing Asian economies. In addition, China does not limit AIIB membership to Asian countries, but proactively invites European countries and rich Arab countries to join the bank.

Another inclusive balance is that the main feature of an institutional balancing strategy is a balancing function, in which China can use the agency's rules and norms to maximize its interests. Regarding AIIB, China engages in 'principled negotiations' with other members in setting the rules and norms of the institution. On the one hand, China agreed to negotiate with other members on institutional mechanisms, such as share ownership structures and decision-making processes and on the other hand, China insisted that the AIIB design must strictly conform to Chinese principles (He & Feng, 2019).

In determining the voting power, the IMF classifies countries with the number of gross domestic opinions where the highest will get the most voting rights. Unlike the AIIB, in two years of negotiations with other members, AIIB prepares a decision-making process for member countries which is determined based on two thirds of the total number of members and each member country represents 75% of the voting rights. This is the biggest difference between AIIB and the World Bank. In other words, China has voluntarily limited its influence in AIIB. This Chinese restraint is an attitude of gaining credibility and building mutual trust through collective consultation and making decisions about a democratic approach (Fu Jing, 2016).

According to the AIIB Articles of Agreement (AOA), the Bank will provide or facilitate financing to each member, or entity, political intermediary or subdivision, or any entity or company operating in the member's area, as well as to international or regional institutions or

entities that are concerned with developments. economies in the Asian region. The focus of AIIB investment is the infrastructure sector and the region unlike the IMF and ADB (Asian Development Bank) which focus on funding globally. AIIB in particular is a financial supporter to sponsor the infrastructure of developing countries, especially in Asia (AIIB, n.d.-b).

More importantly, in contrast to the World Bank and ADB, AIIB does not have a permanent board of directors to conduct day-to-day business, something that is normal practice in most development banks as it is deemed necessary for efficient oversight. China argues that resident councils will be an unnecessary and excessive expense, and also reduce the efficiency of the decision-making process (Orr, 2016). China also gave a speech to free riders which refers to a country that only rides for free to achieve its national interests like the US has not done. China's role is projected in the Belt and Road Initiative in One Belt One Road which was initiated by President Xi Jinping in 2013 (FMPRC, 2014).

The two Chinese initiatives OBOR and AIIB in Beijing go hand in hand. In less than 3 years since these two initiatives were launched, both OBOR and AIIB are fully operational. The total amount of direct investment by Chinese companies in countries along the OBOR route has reached more than \$ 66 billion between 2013 - mid 2017. In terms of projects, as of April 2 2018, AIIB has approved 35 infrastructure projects for financing involving 12 countries. and one fund. Meanwhile, as of 2 April 2018, another 13 proposed projects have been considered by AIIB for funding (Cai, 2018).

B. AIIB Fund on Global Pandemic

C. In early 2020, a new virus emerged that developed in Wuhan, China at the end of 2019. This virus attacks human respiration and is still part of SARs-Cov, which is then called COVID-19. The spread of this virus is very fast and invisible, due to transmission of the virus through droplets. The massive spread of the COVID-19 virus has led WHO to announce a global pandemic around the world (Widyaningrum, 2020).

As the COVID-19 pandemic is widespread and severe globally, low-income countries are also particularly vulnerable to its effects. Unlike developed countries and some upper middle-income countries, low-income countries will not be able to undertake a strong fiscal response on their own. They also cannot raise the funds needed on the financial markets at affordable prices. As a result, the demand for formal development finance with concession terms tends to increase rapidly and sharply. International agencies are moving quickly to provide protection against this crisis, helping these countries safeguard critical programs including health, social safety nets, basic infrastructure and other critical development needs.

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) has launched the COVID-19 Crisis Recovery Facility to support its members in the face of pressing economic, financial and public health pressures. A total of USD 5- 10 billion has been prepared by AIIB to fund this. The need for low-income AIIB members to access facility financing on affordable terms is becoming more prominent. To overcome this challenge, the AIIB Board of Directors has approved the creation of a new Special Funds Window (SFW) to reduce the financial burden of qualified AIIB members under the Facility (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, 2020).

Types of Projects to be Considered This facility is financing the immediate needs of the health sector, economic resilience, and financing to overcome liquidity constraints for clients in the infrastructure sector and other productive sectors. Health sector financing is in the form of health emergency response support needed by the community, including the development of a health system, and the provision of essential medical equipment and supplies to combat COVID-19 and the development of a sustainable health sector in the long term

The facilities provided by AIIB in the context of economic resilience, AIIB mitigates the economic impact on the economy of AIIB members. In this case, banks can provide financing to complement government productive expenditures in order to support social and

economic response and recovery. Not only limited in the infrastructure sector, it also provides social and economic protection to prevent long-term damage. Then the provision of liquidity by AIIB applies to be able to help overcome liquidity constraints and maintain important long-term investments that may have to be limited, postponed, or suspended if there is no AIIB financing (AIIB, n.d.-a).

Since the establishment of the COVID-19 Recovery facility, AIIB has helped many countries by investing in various fields.

Bagan 1 AIIB Fund in COVID-19 Recovery

Country	Sector	Project	Amount of Money	Status
Thailand	Economic Resilience	COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support Program	Proposed Fund: USD 500 million	Proposed
Indonesia	Economic Resilience	COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support Program	Approved Financing: USD750 million	Approved
	Public health	Indonesia: Emergency Response to COVID-19 Program	Approved Financing: USD250 million	Approved
India	Kesehatan masyarakat	COVID-19 Emergency Response and Health Systems Preparedness Project	Approved Financing: USD500 million	Approved
	Economic Resilience	India: COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support (CARES)	Approved Financing: USD750 million	Approved

Country	Sector	Project	Amount of Money	Status
Bangladesh	Economic Resilience	Bangladesh: COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support (CARES) Program	Approved Financing: USD250 million	Approved
Georgia	Public health	Georgia: Emergency COVID-19 Response Project	Approved Financing: USD100 million	Approved
	Economic Resilience	Georgia: Economic Management and Competitiveness Program: COVID-19 Crisis Mitigation	Approved Financing: USD50 million	Approved
Filipina	Economic Resilience	Philippines: COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support (CARES) Program	Approved Financing: USD750 million	Approved
Mongolia	Economic Resilience	Mongolia: COVID-19 Rapid Response Program	Approved Financing: USD100 million	Approved
Pakistan	Economic Resilience	Pakistan: COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support (CARES) Program	Approved Financing: USD500 million	Approved

Country	Sector	Project	Amount of Money	Status
Maldives	Economic Resilience	Maldives: COVID-19 Emergency Response and Health Systems Preparedness Project	Approved Financing: USD7.3 million	Approved
Kazakhstan	Economic Resilience	Kazakhstan: COVID-19 Active Response and Expenditure Support (CARES) Program	Pembiayaan yang Disetujui: USD750 juta	Approved
Turkey	Finance / Liquidity	Turkey: COVID-19 Credit Line Project	Pembiayaan yang Disetujui: USD500 juta	Approved
	Public health	Turkey: COVID-19 Medical Emergency Response (MER) Project	Pembiayaan yang Disetujui: USD82,6 juta	Approved
Vietnam	Finance / Liquidity	Vietnam: VP Bank COVID-19 Response Facility	Pembiayaan yang Disetujui: USD100 juta	Approved

Sumber: Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Projects (AIIB, n.d.-c)

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank identifies five emerging infrastructure trends that will shape Asia's post-COVID-19 recovery based on the Bank's five years of operation and experience. This trend reflects the need for the infrastructure sector to manage the short-term challenges of the pandemic and global economic crisis, after which the sector must adjust to medium to long-term drivers such as demographic change, climate change and ongoing digital

transformation. The first trend is Coordinated and Cost-Effective Multisector Resilience Planning. Addressing the current health crisis and providing immediate assistance to affected businesses and workers is a top priority. The second trend is Social Infrastructure. The pandemic has resulted in underinvestment in many countries. Then followed by privatization, infrastructure that supports technology, and increased connectivity and regional cooperation (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, 2021).

Conclusion

The establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) signifies China's 'charm offensive' towards multilateral institutions and existing global financial governance. The shift in power from unipolar to multi-polar and from north to south gave rise to new powers from previously powerless countries. China emerged as a challenger to the US with its increasing economic development and was welcomed by world countries. The Belt and Road initiative has been greeted positively by many countries. It did not stop there, China also formed a financial organization whose role became global, namely the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).

The emergence of AIIB on the global financial governance stage challenged its predecessor the IMF by carrying out various reforms both in its organization and relations with member countries. Global governance appears to answer state problems by cooperating both in the form of a regional and global organization in various fields. The economic crisis that occurred in the 1930s after the world war gave rise to many countries' desire to cooperate by creating institutions. The Bretton Woods system is the result of a meeting of countries in the world to overcome the crisis. However, the existence of the IMF, as one of the Bretton Woods System organizations, has generated a lot of attention because of its lack of role in dealing with the crisis.

The G20 Group recognizes the need for increased scrutiny of the global economy, and strengthens the IMF with an expanded

mandate, new resources, and, most importantly, a renewed agenda for governance reform. The lack of representation of developing countries at the IMF has an impact on the provision of assistance and policy packages to deal with crises in these countries. The ease of providing assistance to developing countries is only given if the country is of US agreement. With the emergence of AIIB, it has provided opportunities for developing countries to more easily apply for procurement to advance their economies.

The Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank has a lot to help member countries regardless of how conditions are in the country. One of the AIIB reforms, by providing the same voting quota, was welcomed by both developing and developed countries, both of which are members of the AIIB. Then the focus of AIIB itself is to provide special funding assistance in the development and infrastructure sector in the Asian region. AIIB provides various policies and funding regulations to assist the economic recovery of countries affected by COVID-19. With the COVID-19 Crisis Recovery Facility, member countries can slowly recover to fight COVID-19 due to an economic downturn.

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KELOMPOK WANITA TANI (KWT) AS A FORM OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN THE VILLAGE BY THE BATU CITY GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

Empowerment of women is very necessary in everyday life to actualize themselves. In this case there is nothing to limit women in helping their family economy. The government itself has committed to empowering women by providing a larger allocation of the APBD / APBN to women. The government also involves women in planning and implementing programs. The Batu City Government is one of the things that supports the women's empowerment program, especially in the KWT (Kelompok Wanita Tani) program. The government hopes to provide a forum and provide opportunities for women in advancing the agricultural sector. The purpose of this paper is to find out more about the factors that influence the Batu City Government in making policies for the establishment of the Kelompok Wanita Tani (KWT). This paper uses a Qualitative Research Method by searching for data through credible sources and several journals. In this journal, the author discusses the progress of the development of the Batu City agricultural

office in the Kelompok Wanita Tani. The guidance policy for the Kelompok Wanita Tani by the Agriculture Office of Batu City is in accordance with the vision of Batu City, which is to create a village with empowered city that makes Batu city as an international agro-tourism center with character, as well as other factors that influence the establishment of KWT policies as well because of Indonesia's participation in INGO which discusses gender equality.

Keyword: *women's empowerment, KWT, policy*

Introduction

Empowerment of women in Indonesia is described as an effort to improve and encourage women to hone their skills or talents. This empowerment is very much needed in his daily life to actualize himself. This means that limitations prevent women from actively helping the economy of their families, with the empowerment of women, it is hoped that women can increase their abilities and active roles in improving the economy of their families. The government itself is committed to empowering women by providing a larger APDB / APBN allocation for women. The government also involves women in planning to program implementation. Women have social welfare rights. As stated in Law No.11 of 2001 on social welfare, it is a condition for the fulfillment of the spiritual and social material of citizens in order to live properly and be able to develop themselves, so that they can carry out their social functions. The city government of Batu is one that supports the women's empowerment program, especially in the KWT (Kelompok Wanita Tani) program. The government hopes to provide a forum and provide opportunities for women in advancing the agricultural sector. The government of Batu city hopes to provide opportunities for women to channel their abilities in cultivating land fields and increase their actualization of their social environment.

Statistically behind women's participation in the economic sphere, this paper also contributes to the productive sphere. A woman can

stand strong and also be able to choose what she wants to be, which is the key to getting rid of the old thinking about working women. In fact, women can choose their aspirations as high as they are also free from the spirit of culture that places the women's class in second place (Angger, 2015). Women also have a role in development, namely differentiating the concept of gender from the concept of gender. Income is one of the important problems in everyday family life, because income determines the fulfillment of family life needs. The concept is that the smaller the income, the more difficult it is to meet daily needs (Yudhy et al, 2011).

With the large number of women's participation in the economic sector, the government has implemented women's empowerment programs such as KWT. Mariana said that the village government has a very important role in providing services and welfare, especially in implementing empowerment, in this case empowerment is an effort to improve the standard of living of the community (Mariana 2020). In the Women Farmers Group (KWT) program, it can also improve and develop the abilities of farmers and make their families a subject for agricultural development through a farmer group approach that can play a deeper role in development (Rahmawati, 2018). According to Desti, KWT members are active in the activities held but housewives do not forget their obligations to manage the household. According to Desti, the activities in KWT also provide benefits for its members such as increasing knowledge, especially in the fields of agriculture and animal husbandry and being able to improve the welfare of their families (Desti 2014). Usaha Kecil Menengah (UKM) led by women becomes a learning medium for all communities where a mother must still be aware of her position to manage the household and care for her children (Demeiati, 2016). In the discussion discussed by Sumarini, of course KWT has an impact on the group, according to Sumarni, this KWT can help increase income for the group so that it helps the head of the family to meet family consumption and expenditure needs (Sumarni 2018). In a journal about the problem of the role of women

in increasing family income written by Vivin Ervinawati, Fatmawati, Endang Indri L that the production carried out by women farmers in the area of Dusun Beringin, Sungai Rengas Village, Sungai Kakap District, Kubu Raya Regency, West Kalimantan Province provides benefits to the economy of their families in this activity female farmers carry out the production process which is carried out in groups to work the land and done in turns from one land to another and this of course can reduce production costs and can also speed up work and after planting women farmers also distribute their crops and of course this also helps women farmers meet the economic needs of their families (Ervinawati et al, 2015).

In addition, the village government also makes programs such as farmer groups as a forum to help the community to have activities in the field of animal husbandry and agriculture in a village. In addition, Karbulah et al said that the government has a role to explore the assets and potential in the village which will have an influence on the welfare of the community in the village, one of which is the village in the Sukabumi district. Therefore the solution given is to create an empowerment program whose goal is to empower the farming community from an economic and knowledge perspective even though at that time the local government had problems in terms of socialization but the government tried to convince the community to reduce the problem of poverty (Karbulah et al, 2018). In this problem, the Batu City government also has a vision in the field of agriculture that can create sustainable agriculture and can produce food products that are healthy and also of high value and can also make farmers prosperous (Kota Batu Agricultural Service, 2019). The Batu City Government is also trying to support the existence of women's farmer groups. From this research, of course, has the aim of knowing how the KWT policy factors by the Batu City government.

Methodology

In this writing use qualitative methods. According to Ali and Yusof (2011) “Any investigation which does not make use of statistical procedures is called “qualitative” nowadays, as if this were a quality label in itself” (Ardianto, 2019) which means that qualitative research does not use measuring instruments. In this study, researchers analyzed the policies of batu government in empowering women through the Farmer Women’s Group (KWT) program. Researchers are interested in taking the location because there are many groups of peasant women in the area. This study uses a literature study with a period of 10 years and uses credible data and also interviews one of the members of the farmer women’s group in batu city area.

Farmer woman group on feminism perspective

Sarah Smith says that the aim of existence feminist perspective is to make women visible. The formation of the feminism theory is due to the existence of gender inequality between women and men, it is said that women are more prone to experiencing gender violence, women do not have the same rights as men in terms of human, political and economic rights. In addition, gender violence against women is a global problem, gender violence that occurs in the world today is considered prevalent because women do not have special protection in political or economic activities. Therefore, to restore the original purpose of feminism theory, which is to make women visible, is to involve women in the realm of decision making processes and participation in institutional structures. The second objective of feminist theory is to reconstruct norms that have been formed in a society that tends to be patriarchal to become equal. The assumptions formed in society regarding the gender of women and men symbolizing masculinity that has power, rationality, and independence, and feminists which symbolize weakness, domesticity, and private sphere. Cynthia Enloe in her view questions where is the role of women in the international system, women are important actors in the international system because

women have the power to impact global politics and the economy. The assumptions formed in society regarding the gender of women and men symbolizing masculinity which has power, rationality, and independence and feminists which symbolize weakness, domesticity, and private sphere. Cynthia Enloe in her view questions where is the role of women in the international system, women are important actors in the international system because women have the power to have an impact on global politics and the economy. The assumptions formed in society regarding the gender of women and men symbolizing masculinity which has power, rationality, and independence and feminists which symbolize weakness, domesticity, and private sphere. Cynthia Enloe in her view questions where is the role of women in the international system, women are important actors in the international system because women have the power to have an impact on global politics and the economy. (Smith, 2018).

The Farmer Group is a group consisting of farmers who experience attachments formed based on the same interests and economic, social, cultural conditions to achieve common interests. The purpose of having a farmer group is to facilitate guidance related to the application of the agribusiness system and increase the role of farmers in increasing cooperation with partners so that it can have an impact on economic growth. The Women's Farmer Group that was formed was one form of the goal of forming a feminist view (Meta Nopita, 2020).

The impact of feminism perspective on women farmer group policy making

According to Peter Gourevitch, the process of domestic policy making can be influenced by the international system. The existence of encouragement from society and relations with international organizations can influence domestic policy making, plus the development of rapid international relations and modernization that makes the world community connected to one another. The development of feminism in the world is one of the reasons for the making of policies regarding female farmer groups. Women farmer groups exist according

to the purpose of a feminist perspective which wants to make women visible and have a role in political and economic activities.

Results Analysis and Discussion

The formation of the Women Farmers Group is a form of women's empowerment carried out by the Batu City Government. There are several international influences regarding women's empowerment in Indonesia. One of the influences is about the realization of SDG's number 5 regarding the achievement of gender equality and empowering all women and girls by the United Nation. If we look at the historical development of feminism in Indonesia since the era of RA Kartini, then it is growing rapidly because Indonesia is actively involved in organizations in the United Nation with a discussion of gender equality.

The formation of the Women Farmers Group has also proven to be a manifestation of women's empowerment that seeks to make women have an equal role with men. Farming activities are often identical to what men do, but here it can be proven that women can also play a role. Women have great power if the distribution of women's power is carried out properly. women farmer groups have a role in driving the family economy which in turn can have an impact on the improvement of the country's economy.

During the pandemic, the farmers in Junrejo village experienced a decline in income, this is where women actually have a role to play in helping their families recover the economy. The agricultural office of Batu City maximizes the role of women in helping develop the agricultural sector by providing guidance in the form of agribusiness activities that can improve the family economy, this empowerment has proven to be very influential in improving the economy of members of the Women Farmers Group, this is evidenced by the beginning of the pandemic, the Women Farmers Group in the village Junrejo experienced a decrease in income by 30% but over time their economy gradually improved.

Conclusions

The international system can influence the formation of domestic policies. The manifestation of gender equality in the view of feminism by implementing women empowerment arranged in SDG's number 5 of the United Nation is one of the influences in the formation of policies for the formation of women farmer groups in Batu city. In the group of women farmers, women have a role in improving the family economy which in turn can affect the country's economy. The empowerment of women carried out by the Batu City Agriculture Office made women visible.

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KOREAN WAVE AS SOFT POWER IN SOUTH KOREAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This research is a research that is used to answer how big the role of the Korean Wave is in the Introduction of culture in Indonesia. Here also will discuss how soft power is able to create a big change in the international world order to achieve a national interest. The research also emphasizes the role of the government in maximizing its power in achieving this national interest. In this case the researcher will analyze these problems using the concept of soft power, the concept of public diplomacy and the level of domestic political analysis. By using a qualitative descriptive method and through a case study approach, the data source to be used is through a literature study with analysis from journals, books and other official websites to strengthen the researcher's argument. The findings of this study are that the emergence of a renewed form of power in international relations

in the form of soft power is able to play its role in achieving an interest with changes in the form of diplomacy carried out persuasively through public diplomacy which utilizes the greatest power in a country. And seen from the case study of the Korean Wave in Indonesia, it is proven that this technique is successful in distributing its culture in the international arena. And what is the role of the government in it, which uses all kinds of ways to improve the positive image of the country through new policies, one of which is the Korean Wave which is able to attract foreign opinion in increasing interest in Korean culture and bilateral relations with other countries.

Keywords: *Soft diplomacy, Public Diplomacy, Korean Wave, Indonesia.*

Introduction

Diplomacy is a new product of human thought which was initially used as an alternative in creating peace, namely diplomacy as a new form of *soft power* besides *hardpower*, which is used as a new power base in trying to resolve conflicts. A new product from *Soft Power* known as Diplomacy has a specific focus, one of which is public diplomacy. In its development, public diplomacy has also become part of *Soft power* which prioritizes the use of persuasive techniques and attractiveness rather than coercive matters (Nye, 2009). This *Soft Power* will make it easier for a country to achieve its interests because of its persuasive nature that makes interested communities do anything voluntarily.

At the beginning of its development, Public Diplomacy was used by a country to embrace foreign publics in their efforts to support what became the foreign policy of a government. Joseph Nye argues that public diplomacy is a tool for a government to mobilize the resources owned by a country to attract public attention and enter therein. However, over time public diplomacy has expanded both in terms of actors and implementation. Commonly called *The New Public Diplomacy*, where the implementing actor is not only about the state or government but

also the role of the community in it. Moving from a *government driven*, where everything is controlled by the government to a *private driven* which involves the role of the community in its dissemination, creates confusion in relation to the interests of the state (Cull, 2009). Because the community cannot control what actions must be taken to achieve whatever is the personal interest of the state. Tracing further about how humans changed the world order through their thinking, scientists of their time came to a way to achieve prosperity, interrelation, peace, or other achievements, using diplomacy. If it departs from the previous explanation which states about the scope of interests brought about in diplomacy which is not just about state interests but has expanded in various fields, one of which is culture. Culture becomes a thing that has a strong appeal in dissemination and public diplomacy is successful in bringing this about. Currently, there have been many forms of public diplomacy using the media, given the convenience that is obtained during the process of cultural diplomacy through the media. In addition to the speed in the dissemination process, culture also has characteristics that easily influence the public. With culture it will be very easy to allocate values. One of the public diplomacy that is considered successful in spreading its influence is the culture *Korean wave* that is promoted by the South Korean government.

Korean wave or *Hallyu* is a term used to describe the popularity of cultural products from South Korea. The form of the *Korean wave* itself varies greatly from television shows, music, *video games*, food to language and culture (Jang and Paik, 2012). With this diversity, the *Korean wave* is growing rapidly, even in almost all corners of the world. Cheng in (Cheng, 2008) argues that the popularity of hallyu consists of cultures that are currently popular in Korea and viral such as k-pop (*Korean pop music*), Korean films and Korean dramas. Spread in almost all parts of Asia from Tokyo to Taipei, Africa, the Middle East as well as other Asian countries. The world community likes beauty, interesting things, ranging from the latest fashion trends, watching shows featuring artists as *boy band* well as *girl groups*, high

curiosity to a high sense of nationalism, and others (Pare & Min, 2013). The success of the *Korean wave* is also the contribution of actors and actresses who are involved in the music, film, culinary, and fashion industries. The role of the Korean government is to provide support to Korean industry. The Korean government and the ministers support the work carried out by the entertainment industry, but will not take part in the decision-making nor will they be involved during the work process. *The Korean wave* is a medium for public diplomacy because the Korean government realizes that this is an important means of achieving its interests using *soft power* as well as becoming a global actor, strengthening the position and image of South Korea. The South Korean government also increased funding to be able to carry out public diplomacy through the *Korean wave*, which was then recorded in the MOFA (*The Ministry of Foreign Affairs*). The strategy carried out by the South Korean government is due to the economic and military achievements that are better than the country's diplomacy.

Apart from building a positive image of the country, the success of implementing the *Korean Wave* has been proven by the improvement of the economy and the implementation of Korean foreign policy. This is very much in accordance with the goal of President Kim Dae Jung who chose to allocate funds into the industry project *entertainment* which until now we can enjoy through K-Drama and K-Pop which are mushrooming everywhere. One clear example of the success of Kim Dae Jung's policy is where South Korean products have spread on the market ranging from electronics to cosmetics.

In relation to the spread of the *Korean Wave* in Indonesia, one clear example is the spread of the *Korean Center* in various educational institutions in Indonesia. Call it the *Indonesian Korean Culture Center* in Jakarta then the *Korean Studies Center* at Gajah Mada University and the University of Indonesia in Depok, then the *Korean Language Culture Center* at Widya Mandala Catholic University Surabaya and finally the *Inkobaragi Korean Center* at Brawijaya University Malang.

And what the authors will discuss in this study is the presence of the *Korean Center* Inkobaragi in Malang.

Literature review

In a study “Analysis of the Role of the Korean Wave as a Tool for Soft Diplomacy on the Spread of South Korean Culture in Indonesia” compiled by Khairina Firdani states that the Korean Wave is a means of spreading South Korean culture with the aim of establishing cooperation with Indonesia. In this case, business people, NGOs, players in the entertainment industry participate in it. Because of this interest in the products of South Korean culture, which makes it easier for South Korea to make a deeper Introduction to the outside community. There are national interests and bilateral relations that make Indonesia and South Korea able to collaborate.

In the research “The Role of the *Korean Center*” 한국 바라기 (Indonesia Hanguk Baragi) Universitas Brawijaya as Media Diplomacy for South Korean Culture in Malang ”compiled by Novrinda Asma’ul Jannah, et al. There is an explanation regarding the development of South Korean culture which has become the diplomatic strategy of South Korea, which makes the South Korean government must maintain its existence in order to remain victorious in Indonesia and in other countries. The *Korean Wave* has made the South Korean economy experience an increase in exports and from tourists visiting South Korea. In Indonesia, there are several *Korean Centers*, one of them in Universitas Brawijaya Malang, to be able to maintain its existence.

In a research by Beatrix ED Sendow, et al entitled “*Korean Wave* as a Soft Power Instrument for South Korean Cultural Diplomacy in Indonesia” states that popular culture in South Korea or the *Korean Wave* is used as an instrument in cultural diplomacy in realizing foreign policy. *The Korean Wave* has successfully entered and received attention with the trend of make up, electronic goods and even plastic surgery. This success is also the result of the support of the South Korean government for spreading the influence of the *Korean Wave*

to the international community. The positive image obtained affects the bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Korea to become stronger. With this soft diplomacy, it will improve South Korea's identity and improve its economy and tourism.

In a research "Cultural Diplomacy of the Republic of Korea through Film and Drama: Achieving the Image and Economic Interests of the Republic of Korea in Indonesia" by Noor Rahmah Yulia stated that the Republic of Korea implements cultural diplomacy as its strategy in achieving the economic interests of its country and also to have a good image, in this case the writer focuses more on drama and film as the main tools. The existence of diplomatic relations between the Indonesian government and the Republic of Korea facilitates the Introduction of Korean culture, such as the opening of the Jakarta International Korean School (JIKS). Not only that, the Republic of Korea also has the advantage of getting a positive image from the Indonesian people, there are also benefits from the economic sector from its tourism.

In research by Winda Karlina Septyansyah, "The Influence of the Korean Wave (Korean Culture) in Diplomatic Relations between Indonesia and South Korea" states that South Korea has made policies that enhance cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy by making the *Korean Wave* a policy tool. *The Korean Wave* is considered to be the right tool to introduce South Korean culture to the international community. The existence of the *Korean Wave* is a real implementation of the impact of globalization. Cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea has made relations between the two countries even closer. Judging from the cooperation in the trade sector which is mutually the main partner. There is cooperation in the education sector, Indonesia every year receives scholarships and has experienced an increase.

Based on several studies previously mentioned, which discuss more about how the Korean Wave influences Indonesia and its development. So this research is a research that will focus more on how the role of the South Korean government in its efforts to achieve

its national interests through the Korean Wave in Indonesia, which highlights its efforts to maximize its strength. This research will also discuss the implementation of the Korean Wave in Indonesia and the start of the establishment of bilateral relations between South Korea and Indonesia.

Theoretical Framework

Level of Domestic Political Analysis

Domestic politics is something that includes political activities that occur within a country either in a system, coalition or in opposition to government (Fearon, 1998). Domestic politics in it is influenced by matters relating to politics that occur within a country. Which political interests become the focal point in it that can maximize the ability to maintain a position in the political life of a country. The relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy is seen from the necessity of domestic politics to maintain its political power (Doeser, 2011).

Foreign policy, on the other hand, is an extension of the domestic policy of a country, because foreign policy is present as a form of representation of the existence of this domestic policy and cannot be separated from the influence of domestic politics which is a crucial factor that affects the formation of a foreign policy (Plano & Olto, 1969 in Dugis, 2015). In domestic politics there are domestic variables which consist of relationships between governments within the country which encourage the formation of foreign policies based on the domestic situation of a country.

There is a basic assumption of the existence of domestic variables in domestic politics (Fearon, 1998). The first is that the state is not a unitary actor who is able to decide a policy and determine an action independently but is influenced by several factors in it such as domestic factors. The second is that the foreign policy of a country is a form of suboptimal interaction within the country. In the sense that it does not only focus on the scope of the bureaucracy but also the role of the public and other factors that influence the formation of a policy.

Peter Gourevitch (1977) in *International Trade, Domestic Coalition and Liberty* revealed that individual leaders in politics tend to seek to mobilize national resources to strengthen political legitimacy in domestic power competition. An individual, in this case the leader of a country, will find diplomatic success through domestic authorities within a country. This has triggered a change in foreign policy in an effort to achieve this particular goal. Government cannot run alone, it is an institution which consists of various actor representatives who interact with each other as part of domestic political dynamics.

In this study, researchers took a domestic political approach with the object of research being the *Korean Wave as Soft Power in South Korean Public Diplomacy in Indonesia*, and the Korean Wave policy was made because of a domestic push to improve the nation's image tarnished due to civil war which resulted in the condition of South Korea with the international world is a little stuck. Here the Korean Wave becomes a medium for South Korea in its efforts to promote its country in the international world.

Soft Power Concept

Talking about *Soft Power* is not something new in the international world in this globalization era. Starting from Joseph Nye's explanation stating that *Soft Power* is an action which influences other parties to achieve interests without involving the role of the military (Nye, 2008). Other parties here are those who are targeted or who have been affected, which will automatically do what the main party wants. In carrying out these actions it is not based on compulsion but rather on volunteerism, this is due to taking control and efforts to ensure that the target party does everything without awareness or being controlled. *Soft Power* in it has important components, such as the existence of culture which is a form of unity in society in the norms of life and daily habits.

Then there is a political value which means that a country will try to contribute in playing its role in the international political agenda with the aim of dominating world political affairs related to the

establishment of rules and systems that are beneficial to the country concerned. This has something to do with how a country with strong political influence with a good image of the state is alleged to be able to influence many countries in terms of national interests. Meanwhile, foreign policy is considered to be an effort to follow the rules according to the applicable law. This policy has an important role for a country because it involves international relations that exist between one country and another and focuses on achieving the national interests of each country. Foreign policy is also a determinant for a country to take a stand on relationships that exist with other countries.

Methodology

The type of research method used by the author is descriptive qualitative method, in which the writer tries to describe a certain phenomenon. The data analysis technique used by the author is to use qualitative data. Is an analysis technique that uses Literature review which is based on data from research journals, books and trusted official websites. The data used in this study is secondary data sourced from trusted journals, books or official websites that have been processed by previous authors and then adjusted to what is the topic of research discussion. In data processing, a credibility test will be carried out which will include several steps, all of which are carried out to check the data carefully and continuously to ensure that the data obtained is in accordance with the research topic.

Results and Discussion

The Interests of South Korea in Indonesia

The implementation of public diplomacy is still related to the formation of an *image* from a bad one to a better one. In relation to South Korea with its public diplomacy, Elfing-Hwang (2013) explains that Korea is trying to improve its *distorted image* in the western world. The reason is, most of the Western world has not been able to forget about the Korean War that took place in the early 1950s, because they

thought that North Korea with its unfavorable attitude was always equated with South Korea. South Korea, according to Se Jung Park and Yon Soo Lim (2014), states that the economic and social development aspects of South Korea have improved, but this is not the case with the country's image. Because of this, South Korea pays great attention to its image in the international world, it is feared that this bad image will have an impact on other sectors in the country.

In line with what President Lee Myung Bak said, it can be concluded that in the interests of South Korea, the improvement of the country's image will always exist and South Korea must provide an understanding to the general public in the international world that there are two Korean states, namely North Korea and South Korea (Cheng, 2008). An image will always be a *concern* for a country, this is believed to have an impact in the form of smoothness in reaching what is the national interest of a country. And with the efforts of the South Korean government in improving the country's image through public diplomacy that utilizes its culture, it is hoped that it will form a new construct for the wider community of how attractive South Korea is with all its unique diversity (Cheng, 2008).

Apart from being *concerned* about the *image* country's, South Korea also uses public diplomacy to inspire the international community to be more sensitive and can help put pressure on North Korea, which has recently attempted to develop nuclear in the Korean Peninsula area. In 2016 in his *Diplomatic White Paper*, Foreign Minister Yun Byung-Se gave a strong argument "... *while responding to North Korea's provocations in a stern manner by continuing to implement strong sanctions and applying pressure on North Korea in coordination with the International community*". For this, North Korea was subject to sanctions from world countries through the United Nations on September 17, 2016 (Yonhap News Agency).

Talking about South Korea's interests, it will always be about developing the national economy and its defense forces and building a good image in the international arena. The South Korean government

strives to continue to develop its human resources in order to improve diplomatic capabilities which will be expected for South Korea, which has fulfilled its national and international capacities in realizing Korea's Global Plan. This Global Korea move is a reflection of South Korea's own goals to *improve* in terms of diplomacy so as not to be too narrow-minded in resolving conflicts on the Korean Peninsula and more towards a country with a modern culture. In implementing this goal, South Korea also came up with a new policy known as the *New Asia Initiative* as a concrete step to build a global network and focus on cooperation in the Asian region including Southeast Asia.

Indonesia as one of the countries in Southeast Asia has recorded good diplomatic relations with South Korea since the 1970s. Until now, both South Korea and Indonesia have continued to expand bilateral relations in order to strengthen diplomatic relations. During the Joko Widodo administration, South Korea and Indonesia signed several MoUs in the fields of immigration, economic cooperation to security cooperation. This form of action from South Korea by establishing cooperation in Southeast Asia is based on its national interests in politics, economy and socio-culture.

The Role of the South Korean Government in the Implementation of Public Diplomacy

With the development of the *Korean wave* that has shown success to date, it will not be separated from the contribution of the Korean government which always strives to optimize support for the enhancement of the *Korean wave* to the international community. The increase in the *Korean wave* has a positive impact on the progress of the country, especially on economic growth, this is the reason for the South Korean Government to provide significant financial assistance to produce films and music. And because the image of the *Korean wave* is so well received by the international community, the South Korean government is increasingly incessant to continue to provide developments in its public diplomacy. Starting from the establishment of the KTO (*Korean Tourism Organization*), which is an investment

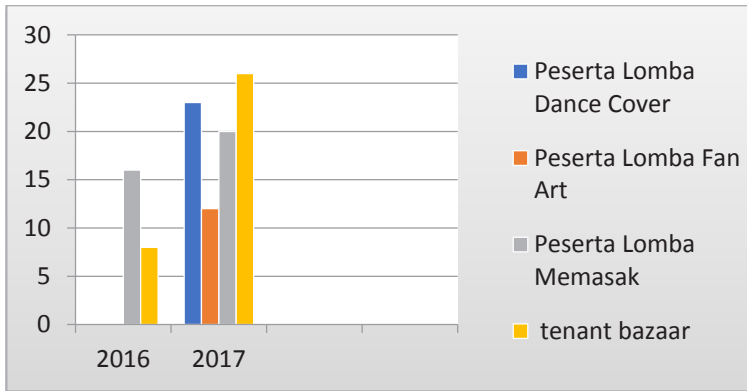
company that is responsible for the development of Korean tourism which runs according to applicable statutory procedures. In addition there is also KOFICE (*Korean Foundation for International Cultural Exchange*) which was founded in the early 2000s in the capital of Seoul and aims to provide education and understanding of culture between countries through the exchange of cultural experts which also provide opportunities to build good cooperation with countries. -other countries.

Korean Wave in Malang

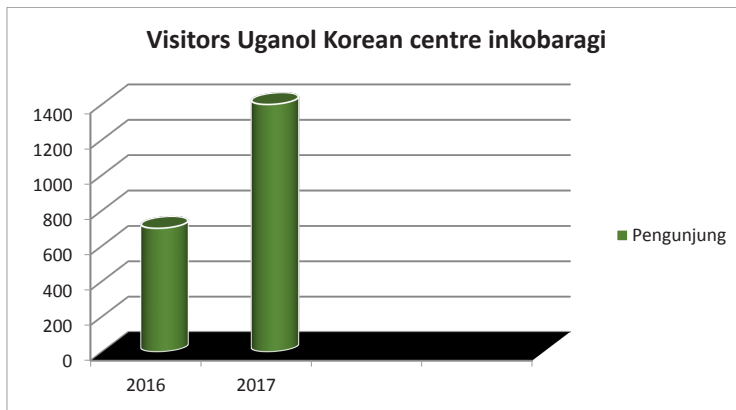
Korean Center Inkobaragi was founded in 2013, in the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Brawijaya University Malang. *Korean Center* Inkobaragi is a cultural center sent directly by the South Korean government and is managed, assisted by students from the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Brawijaya University Malang. The establishment of the *Korean Center* Inkobaragi aims to bridge people who have an interest in learning Korean culture. Indonesia is a country that has a high interest in Korean culture, this can be seen from the enthusiasm of the Indonesian people when there are activities organized by the *Korean Center* Inkobaragi. The existence of *Korean Center* Inkobaragi expected to be a place for enthusiasts to learn Korean culture and strengthen the relationship between the Korea-Indonesia. *Korean Center* Every year the Inkobaragi conducts open recruitment from various groups such as students, the general public and domiciled in the Malang area.

In the *Korean Center* Inkobaragi there is a management structure consisting of a chairman, deputy chairman, two secretaries, two treasurers, there are also four divisions, namely, *management*, *planning*, *public relations*, and *business and affairs*. The *Korean Center* Inkobaragi has two work programs annually, the first is a *small event* which includes learning Korean language, history, how to wear traditional clothes (*hanbok*), information about recovery in Korea as well as how to get a scholarship to study there, cook Korean food and learn how to correct greetings in Korean. Second, the *Big Event*, namely when holding a competition about South Korea, the opening of the event begins with

dances originating from South Korea and Indonesia. There are bazaar stands that contain culinary, *make-up*, *skincare* and souvenirs from South Korea.



Picture 1.1 The community that participates in Uri Gachi Noljha



Picture 1.2 Visitor on Uri Gachi Noljha

It can be seen in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 that the above activities received a positive response from the community. In 2016, Uri Gachi Noljha's activities held two kinds of competitions, namely the *tenant bazaar* and also a cooking competition. *The tenants of the bazaar* experienced a significant increase in 2017 with a total of 8 participants, where previously in 2016 only 26 participants. Then the cooking competition

in 2017 increased to 20 participants, where in 2016 there were only 16 participants. There is a competition *fan art* and *dance cover* which are new activities at the event, even though the number of participants participating is very high, as many as 92 participants consisting of 23 groups. Then there were 12 participants for the competition *fan art*. Uri Gachi Nolja experienced an increase in the number of visitors in 2017 to 1400 people, where previously in 2016 only 700 people.

Analysis of the Korean Center Inkobaragi as a form of Soft Power for South Korean Public Diplomacy

The cultural popularity of South Korea, which has penetrated all corners of the world, has become one of the main forces for South Korea in its quest to achieve what is in its national interest. With a strategy that is made so fitting and suitable considering the production in the entertainment world by South Korea and the number of visitors who come to South Korea which from year to year shows an increase, this is a clear proof of the success of the strategy *Korean wave* as a *soft power* of South Korea in conduct public diplomacy with countries in the world.

Due to its success in spreading culture through the *Korean Wave*, the South Korean government has to work even harder to be able to maintain the popularity of Korean culture in the international arena. In practice, spreading via the internet cannot be a way out even though the internet is faster when it is a matter of time. However, South Korea has had a new way, namely through *people to people*, which focuses on the cultural institutions of its country that have operated in various countries in the world. This is South Korea's step to create good cooperation between countries, one of which is in Malang City, Indonesia.

Conducting direct cultural Introduction is considered to make society much easier and more attractive because of the two-way communication between South Korea and the destination country / community. By establishing a Korean Center in Malang as a form of facilitation by the South Korean government for South Korean cultural

enthusiasts. The institution, which was founded in 2013 with the cooperation of the Korean Tourism and Culture Office and the Korea International Cooperation Agency, is a form of dedication to fostering the development of the country in terms of socio-economy which is expected to strengthen friendly relations with developing countries.

In the theory of *Soft Power*, it explains that when the target can do everything voluntarily that is what is called success. Malang as a destination city by South Korea has shown its volunteerism in terms of introducing South Korean culture through the *Korean Center Inkobaragi* and showing positive results for the wider community. To maintain the existence of South Korean culture, the *Korean Center Inkobaragi* aims to become a South Korean cultural association capable of providing cultural learning facilities between Indonesia and South Korea.

According to the survey that has been conducted, it can explain that the people of Malang voluntarily participate in a series of events held by the work program *Korean Center Inkobaragi*, be it small activities, grand performances or as members. In the activity data that has been held by the *Korean Center Inkobaragi*, it shows that the enthusiasm of the Malang people is very high. This form of *event* is intended to introduce South Korean traditional culture to the wider community so that the culture that is introduced will be accepted, studied and applied in everyday life. Apart from small activities, *Korean Center Inkobaragi* also holds South Korean language and culture classes at the *Hanbara Monthly Meeting*. Who teaches manners and manners among the South Korean people and understands the languages used by South Korean people on a daily basis. In its implementation, the *Korean Centeri Inkobaragi* also invites valid and appropriate sources in their fields.

The Role of the *Korean Wave* in Building a Good Image of South Korea in Indonesia

The presence of the *Korean Wave* as a form of South Korean strength in carrying out *soft diplomacy* shows a significant role in

building a national image in the eyes of the international community. It can be seen from the development of *Hallyu* in Indonesia, which until now has survived and even continues to grow rapidly. As a positive impact of the existence of a new construct regarding South Korea in Indonesia is the establishment of bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Korea which is getting closer and provides an interdependent effect that complements each other's shortcomings in development goals. With the increased *image* South Korea through the development of *the Korean Wave* is also implicated in the economic sector South Korea which is seen in the increasing number of tourists visiting South Korea to listed in *Lonely Planet* that South Korea ranks 2nd in the category of countries *Best in Travel* on 2018. In addition, there is high interest from the public in Indonesia to learn more about Korean culture and language through KDrama broadcasts and KPop songs. From this it can be concluded that the *Korean Wave* in its efforts to demonstrate its effectiveness in building a positive image of the country and strengthening bilateral relations with Indonesia.

Conclusion

The Hallyu phenomenon or what is commonly called the Korean Wave is a form of public diplomacy from the soft power of the South Korean government. With this the South Korean government aims to make the global community closer to their culture by establishing Inkobaragi Korean Centers in various parts of the world. In order to be able to maintain its position in the international arena, it also carries out cooperation by using soft power as a tool to achieve its interests. And in practice until now, the Korean Wave has persisted in showing an increase in several aspects of the life of the South Korean state and has become one of the successful soft power instruments in terms of implementation.

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“CELEBES LEARNING FROM ANCESTOR” MODE OF SINRILIK SUBMISSION IN EDUCATION AND PRESERVATION FORMATS

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Abstract

This research discusses the Sinrilik culture in South Sulawesi, namely the City of Gowwa and Makassar which has begun to be eroded by the era of globalization. Our research is purely for the domestic community, especially in the areas of South Sulawesi, namely the City of Gowwa and Makassar. But because the people that are aimed at our young people, this has to do with globalization. How young people today are shifting their behavior as a result of globalization. So if it is related to intermestic, what is happening among Indonesian teenagers, especially in the City of Gowwa and Makassar, is influenced by what is happening in this world as a whole, namely globalization. The purpose of our research is to make the younger generation more concerned about their own culture. Until finally he can become a cultural maker and practitioner who will enrich Indonesian culture. The method used in examining the above problems is the method of

collecting data through Library Research or what is referred to as library research. Library research is research that is carried out by searching and collecting data based on the findings of the literature, both journals, books, or previous research reports that have been read. The finding of this research is the lack of awareness of the local community to preserve culture. The decline in generations for the successor of the synergetic culture occurs a lot among the community because it is dragged into the era of globalization which affects the demands of the community in preserving it. Therefore, this study offers a synonymous culture to be included in the field of education so that cultural preservation is maintained.

Keywords: *Sinrilic culture, globalization, Preservation, education*

Introduction

The word Globalization is taken from the word Global which has a broad or universal meaning. Globalization does not yet have a definite meaning except just a definition of work so that the implied meaning depends on the viewer's point of view. However, some experts argue about globalization. Like the father of Indonesian sociology, Selo Soemardjan argues that globalization is the formation of organization and communication between communities around the world to follow the same rules or regulations (Sutria, 2019). According to Anthony Giddens, globalization is the intensification or acceleration in which social relations around the world link events in one location to another, resulting in growth in both. Achmad Suparman also argues that globalization is a process that makes objects and behaviors characterize or characterize every individual in the world without being limited by regions. Globalization, according to the big Indonesian dictionary, is the process of entering the world. According to the literal also mentioned the globalization of a global process that is caused by information, lifestyle, thinking, and technology (Tysara, 2021). during the covid-19

pandemic, where this pandemic was the result of globalization that was widespread throughout the world. Pandemic is also a form of acceleration of globalization. Every human being is dependent on each other and not only humans with humans but humans depend on technological technology which includes the output of globalization (I. T. Pamungkas, 2020). The effects of this pandemic and globalization have an impact on culture, as a result of the cultural pandemic being sluggish apart from limited places for activities to be held, but the problem is the younger generation who do not care about their own culture. The younger generation is more interested in today's technological advances and the younger generation is more interested in massive foreign cultures and trends among today's youth (SINDO news, 2020)

Understanding culture in terms of praxis has significant implications for understanding a socio-cultural phenomenon which we often call "globalization" by understanding culture as praxis and discourse. As said by Umar Kayam, that is "a process, the figure is temporary, fluid and without clear boundaries" (Alam, 1998). Globalization is not a new phenomenon, but rather that globalization has become a part of life, so it's no wonder that globalization is eroding an increasingly eroded culture. Culture and literature are dependent on one another. Literature is very influenced by a culture so that everything contained in culture will be reflected in literature. Likewise with the literary work of Makassar, namely Sinrilik. Muslimin in his book entitled "traditional communication" states that sinrilik is one of the Gowa community arts which is a speech art using vocals accompanied by a musical instrument called *kesok-kesok*. Sinrilik is an information medium for the people of Gowa, meaning that when a kingdom wants to provide information to the public it invites what is called *pasinrilik* (Harapan, 2019). As is the case with other literary works, Sinrilik contains conflicts that can animate a story so that it becomes one of the elements that can attract the reader's attention. Culture is included in the structure of International Relations, culture becomes the influencing variable

(Constraining Variable) for actors. In the world of cultural diplomacy, it is one of the national strengths of a country. Joseph Nye argues that culture is one of the national strengths of a nation that becomes a soft power where its role is no less important than hard power. Culture is not only interpreted as popular culture (pop-culture). So that the more universal the culture of a country is, the more influential the country is to achieve its national interests (Rosyidin, 2016). Therefore, the importance of preserving local culture such as *sinrilik* must be taken seriously in its preservation. *Sinrilik* is not just a culture but has an important meaning that can be learned in that culture. The importance of synergy in being a nation's inheritance which continues to be implemented is one of the assets for the state to achieve all national

Classifies Makassar's literary works into three types, namely: poetry (*dowangang, paruntuk kana, kelong, dondo, rapang, aru, and pakkiok bunting*), prose (*pau-pau, patturioloang, and rupama*) and rhythmic language (*royong and sinrilik*) (Nurfitra, 2018). *Pasinrilik* that are often encountered today are individuals who carry out certain projects (arranging) and are sorted according to what *Pasinrilik* teaches, such as Syarifuddin Dg. Tutu and Haeruddin. *Pasinrilik* who lack education can be found in remote areas, such as Dalapang Dg. Pulo or Dg. Aco. According to them, their synergistic talents cannot be viewed as a family way of life (Lewa, 2018). The sad thing is that *pasinrilik* or *sinrilik* players have reached an age that is not young anymore, which is around the age of 40 years. The globalization factor has begun to emerge with influences that have attracted the interest of young people or the public towards new cultures such as the Korean Wave and Western. The influence of the Korean wave that entered the national realm has made a cultural shift, especially towards young people. From the results of interviews conducted with five teenagers, the majority of them liked Korean popular music because of the influence of their garden friends and some from the mass media. They not only like the song, but they imitate it in terms of language, clothing, and behavior. Until every Korean band concerts in Indonesia they try to come to

watch it (Izzati, 2014). Apart from the Korean Wave, there are western waves that affect people's interest in local culture. Western lifestyle or culture is considered inappropriate for social life in Indonesia. Western influence easily enters the society, which on average is dominated by young people who tend to be unstable and do not know the good or bad things they receive. So that many of the younger generation or society view western culture as more modern than local culture (Uliarina, 2021). Of the two phenomena that have entered our homeland, all of them are from globalization that has unfolded in our society. From internal and external factors slowly bringing the Indonesian people to like these two cultures, namely Korean wave and western.

Therefore it is important to maintain local cultures such as synergy for the younger generation or the local community. Submission of synergy to be included in the curriculum content of elementary, junior high, and high school students are one of the efforts to protect synergy. The study of local wisdom needs to be developed in education because it has the benefit of producing a competent and dignified generation, reflecting cultural values, playing a role or contributing to building national character, and taking part in preserving the nation. Nasir and hand also explain *“research on race, culture, and schooling has revealed many significant factors affecting school achievement and has articulated many details of how culture and learning intersect in daily school life”* (Oktavianti et al., 2017). The study shows that schools have a role in developing students with local culture. This research will answer “how does globalization affect youth awareness of local culture (Sinrilik)? and what are the solutions to raise awareness and preserve local cultures like Sinrilik? “. This research discusses the Sinrilik culture in South Sulawesi, namely the City of Gowwa and Makassar which has begun to be eroded by the era of globalization. The purpose of “Celebes Learning from Ancestor” is for the younger generation to be more concerned with their own culture. Until finally he can become a cultural creator and practitioner who will enrich Indonesian culture

Literature review

The first Literature review explains how globalization is a special phenomenon in human civilization that continues in a global society and is part of the process of human life. Where the development of globalization is also accelerated by the development of technology and information that is so advanced. So this makes this one of the factors that cause a shift in nationalism in Indonesia as a result and causes various problems in culture. Because many of our supposed values are missing. Many positive things can be taken following the identity of our nation. From this situation, this first Literature review invites us to sort out which ones are included to take the positives of the impact of globalization itself, especially for young people (Suneki, 2012).

The second Literature review explains how youth theories exist today. Youth as a generation today have arrived at the development of digital technology. This setting is an interesting issue because it describes the transformation of youth with technology in Indonesia, both nationally and globally. The digital era is synonymous with rapid technological developments and changing the structure of society. Humans apply all activities at one time (multi-tasking) with the technology they use such as smartphones or PCs. They cannot escape from the IT “trap” that forces them to choose, accept, or be overwhelmed. The massive development and acceleration of information and communication technology have made various information easily accessible in the digital era. From here we can see that this third Literature review will describe how technology and information are used by young people in their daily lives, then if we remember back in the first Literature review that this is one of the factors that has become a factor in shifting nationalism, especially in young people. Here also explains how youth becomes transition, youth as identity, youth as action, and youth as a maker and cultural practitioner. Then here will also explain how the condition of youth in Indonesia today. Meanwhile, if it is correlated with the previous Literature review, this is very much related to one another (Naafs & White, 2012).

The fourth Literature review is about what values are contained in synergy as a culture that exists in South Sulawesi. This study explains that *Sinrilik* is one of the Makassar regional literary works in the form of songs that need to be studied to preserve literary works, especially oral literature. Where *Sinrilik* itself is the core of our research and how it will be preserved in the future Gowa and Makassar areas. Besides there are several types of synergy, each type also has its values contained in it, one of which is the *Bosi Timurung* synergy by Salmah Djirong. Here it explains the values contained in this type of synergy, one of which is the value of humanity and religiosity (Saputri & Marwati, 2017).

The last Literature review is to explain how synergy as a culture should be used as a communication of the Makassar ethnic's local wisdom itself. It also explains how the younger generation no longer cares about their cultural heritage, or because the speakers of the tradition are getting old and old, the threat of losing their traditions and culture will occur. Efforts to preserve various traditions and cultures that use heritage media as a means of conveying messages are always being carried out, but various obstacles are certainly a problem to be faced. Later this will also be a question that will be answered by our team in conducting this research (Machmud, 2011).

Theoretical Framework

The concept of globalization

According to its origin, the word "globalization" is taken from the word *global*, which means universal. Globalization is a process of making something (object or behavior) a characteristic of every individual in this world without being limited by area (Suneki, 2012). On the other hand, globalization is a phenomenon that involves social processes of integration of economies, cultures, state policies, and political movements around the world. According to Appadurai (2006), globalization refers to all social processes that involve the movement of people, commodities (goods), capital, knowledge, thoughts, information, from one country to another (C. Pamungkas, 2017).

According to Held and MacGrew, globalization is “the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world’s major regions and continents “and then suggests several situations or conditions in globalization, namely: (1) action at a distance, (2) time-space compression, (3) accelerating interdependence, (4) a shrinking world, (5) global integration, (6) the reordering of interregional power relations, (7) consciousness of the global condition and (8) intensification of interregional interconnectedness (C. Pamungkas, 2017).

Globalization does not only affect economics and politics, but also affects culture. Culture is one aspect of globalization, because culture is dynamic and will change over time. The development of information technology has provided support for this, information technology is developing rapidly in the era of globalization, and therefore contributes to the dissemination of information. Therefore, as the main participant in cultural communication, the media plays a very important role in the globalization of culture, so that it can be absorbed quickly and effectively (Larasati, 2018).

The Scenario of Culture in Globalization

Also known as the 3H Scenarios (the 3H Scenarios). The 3H Scenarios include Homogenization, Heterogenisation, and Hybridization. **Homogenization** assumes that globalization in contact with culture will produce a global culture where there are similarities in values, norms, and other cultural products that are adopted and result in cultural standardization (convergence). This perspective is reflected in several concepts such as the concept of global culture (global culture), Americanization, and McDonaldization., **Heterogenisation**, argues that globalization produces a heterogeneous state which refers to a network structure in which cultures can be connected. The cultural core remains intact and is not directly affected, although non-physical

culture is affected by global currents and globalization. For example, although colonialization causes a decrease in cultural differentiation when colonialization disappears, many cultures emerge and cultural differentiation is preferred. **Hybridization**, the main assumption of cultural hybridization is a continuous process of mixing or blending the culture. The end product of cultural globalization is the integration of global and local cultures which produces a new hybrid culture that does not tend to global culture or local culture. it is believed that there is no cultural domination or hegemony in the global system, given that global culture and local culture are acculturated to form a new culture (Larasati, 2018). Regarding the author's way of cultural globalization, as has been the case before that the author agrees with the opinion of the globalists on a homogeneous perspective. Cultural homogeneity cannot be avoided from globalization

Methodology

This research uses descriptive research type, the data analysis technique in research is to use qualitative methods. Collecting data in research using library research techniques or literature study. The research material is obtained by conducting literature studies from various sources, including books, newspapers, articles, scientific papers, and internet sites.

Result And Discussions

A. Sinrilik as a Local Culture

South Sulawesi has long been considered a major and influential kingdom in the archipelago. These kingdoms are Gowa and Tallo and other small kingdoms in South Sulawesi that live in different tribes namely Makassar, Bugis, and Mandar, and ethnic Toraja is a culturally rich area, with traditional culture as natural customs and traditional culture as entertainment. natural. Like Sinrilik art, Sinrilik is one of the regional literary works of Makassar and Gowa, especially oral literature. Sinrilik is a literary work that discusses the history of heroism and the

struggles of a character. As with other literary works, *sinrilik* contains conflicts that can animate a story so that it becomes one of the elements that can attract the reader's attention. According to Parawansa in his book "*Sastra Sinrilik Makassar*", he states that *sinrilik* is classified as rhythmic prose that is composed poetically, the contents are in the form of love stories, grief over the death of someone or after a disaster, political satire, and the most common is telling stories of heroism with stories. one's courage and patriotism. Rhythmic prose synergy that is performed poetically and people play it is called *pasinrilik* (Saputri & Marwati, 2017). Parawansa defines *sinrilik* as a poetically composed story that is told, perhaps more accurately described as sung/sung by an expert and usually accompanied by a musical instrument like a fiddle. *Sinrilik* itself is a story composed poetically or lyrical-prose, told (sung) by an expert (puppeteer in Javanese), and accompanied by a tool that is swiped, which is called *kesok-kesok* (*rebab*) (Hasrianti, 2016).

Sinrilik is classified as rhythmic prose in Makassar oral literature. *Sinrilik* is a story that is told poetically and rhythmically and is played by an expert or storyteller called *pasinrilik*. In delivering *sinrilik*, *pasinrilik* uses the *kesok-kesok* musical instrument as accompaniment. *Sinrilik* is a tradition of oral reading within the cultural treasures of the ethnic Makassar people which still exists today, but development is considered to be very slow (Hasrianti, 2016). (Lewa, 2018) divides 2 kinds of *sinrilik* based on the content and the way to sing it, first, namely *Sinrilik Pakesok-kesok*, which is a *sinrilik* that uses a musical instrument like a fiddle, and the contents are in the form of a heroic story of a character. Examples: *Sinrilik Kappalak Tallumbatua* and *Sinrilik I Makdik Daeng Rimakka*. Both *Sinrilik Bosi timurung* contain lessons and advice to all groups of society, chanted when someone experiences a disaster or a family dies so that his heart and mind are comforted and generally also read after the implementation of *tadarus Al-Quran* is usually called *Ammaca Kitta* '. Initially, this synonym was identified with the term *kesok-kesok* or *kerek-kerek gallang*. This shuffle is a kind of fiddle, a musical instrument that is rubbed against the

two strings being played. The strings used are usually violin strings or usually telephone cables, made of horse skin and young goat skin (Lewa, 2018).

The current era of globalization with the advancement of modernization is currently used not as a way to stir up courage but more for entertainment and training as it is. The content of synonymous stories usually contains many lessons that are trained locally, such as traditions, customs, moral education, dedication, and authenticity. In delivering synergy, the crowd factor is the main component that must be present in addition to *pasinrilik* every time it is carried out. *Sinrilik* is oral writing that is involved in gathering to see and hear the exhibition. As indicated by Finnegan, the angle of the exhibition is the main thing in oral literature. It can be said very well that presentation is a component that consistently exists by combining all things orally (Lewa, 2018). The presentation of *sinrilik* has been shown very rarely, such as at events such as weddings, circumcisions, post-harvest, or building houses, etc., especially in the Makassar and Gowa areas which have experienced a decline in presentation as in the previous activities mentioned before, serving *sinrilik* is no longer became the main feature of these activities. It has been replaced by the latest pop entertainment and innovations, which are more popular today. At present, if a party is to be held, there must be the execution of a *dangdut* ensemble or the execution of a solitary organ, which is more popular among individuals, called *electone* (Lewa I., 2018). Every time a *dangdut* symphony performance and *electone* execution were given, the public would come to see and appreciate it, and would move together after the rhythm and melody had changed. This condition makes synergy execution unusual and minimized because it cannot match these more fluctuating types of diversions. Another competitor for *synrilic* oral writing is TV. As indicated by *pasinrilik* Dg. Tutu, Dg. Bantang, and Dg. Aco, the local area has been sidetracked with the TV. The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) which has directed exploration in South

Sulawesi found that TV has the option to change the schedule for the local area (Lewa, 2018).

B. Globalization in The Cultural

Globalization in the cultural context has always been associated with the domination of Western countries known as Westernization, however, a new phenomenon has emerged in the era of globalization which has been dominated by Western culture, namely the Hallyu or the Korean Wave as the Asian version of cultural globalization. (Larasati, 2018). The Korean wave that entered Indonesia had an impact that changed behavior or national attitudes on society, especially young people. The generation that holds the average smartphone freely departed from them to find the flow of the Korean wave. Teenagers are usually affected by this Korean wave from the robot itself first. So that there is a desire for a curiosity for the theme and it is not uncommon for Korean waves to come in from today's technology such as television or internet media or youtube. Most of the teenagers who follow the Korean wave tend to look like Korean artists or people, starting from clothes, make up, hair, and things related to Korean culture. According to them, the Korean style is cute and funny and easy to follow. They also prefer songs from Korea or K-Pop, they also follow the K-Pop community to encourage them to know more about Korean music. Then many of them also form band groups, they warm up or songs from the band or artist they like best, the movement they make is a dance cover where they really start from the appearance to the dance style of their favorite band from boys and girls (Izzati, 2014). The behavior shown by teenagers who are exposed to the current of the Korean Wave can have a negative impact on the fading of the Indonesian cultural identity that must be owned by the Indonesian people. Like our crocodiles who wear closed and modest clothes with revealing clothes like Korean trends. Not a few of them also prefer to learn Korean culture than Indonesian crocodiles (Nurrahma, 2020).

Westernization can affect political, economic, social, and cultural conditions. Westernization has both positive and negative impacts

on a country. Westernization is a development that is also closely related to modernization. Westernization has led to the creation of a global model of the world from a Western perspective. The concept of westernization describes the formative influence of western powers on political, economic, social, and cultural conditions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The process of Westernization occurs when non-Western societies are under the Western influence or a flood of Western culture in various fields. Then the main factor causing westernization is the rapid development of technology. More advanced technology makes it easy for people to access various western cultures without any filters. In addition, westernization also occurs because of the tendency of people to think that western culture is more advanced, modern, cool, and more stylish. The existence of this assumption makes people spread all western culture without filtering. Although not all western culture can be applied in Indonesia. Westernization is what makes the existence of culture threatened (Pratama, 2020).

Then the local culture or various national cultures slowly began to be displaced and replaced by equations with western culture. In addition, westernization also diminishes the spirit of nationalism, especially for the younger generation. This is also capable of eliminating indigenous traditions and culture. With the existence of westernization, people worship more of their own culture. This can result in a decline in the morale of the population of a country affected by westernization. The threat of social order, the development of westernization in society will become a breakdown in the social order, this condition is very visible in different circumstances in people's lives. Many unsuitable deviations will ultimately endanger social order (Pratama, 2020).

C. Celebes Learning from Ancestor Mode Submission of Sinrilik in the Format of Education and Conservation

From the problems that exist above, the author gives an idea for solving this problem. Where our idea is in the form of proposing the education and preservation format of Sinrilik with the idea of "*Celebes learning from Ancestor*", we offer this idea based on Sinrilik as the

work of previous ancestors, and with that, we should learn or at least know the history and what *sinrilik* is ourselves and do not forget that we learn to adapt cynicism to the current developments because we see that *sinrilik* is now being marginalized by globalization through Westernization, Korean Wave, and pop culture.

Seeing the phenomenon that is currently plaguing cinematic art that is surrounded by pop culture, the modern era, or the era of globalization and its inheritors who are all elderly. This has indeed eroded our awareness of culture, especially synergy. We also hope that this in-depth study of *sinrilik* will be able to produce literacies *outputs* that can provide such as good and complete teaching materials on adequate and integrated synergy.

Then, because this *sinrilic* art is full of moral values that are good for young people, it is better if this conservation is started by including it as a local content in schools located in the City of Gowa and Makassar City. Therefore, here the author sincerely hopes that institutions that have the right and authority in this area to pay more attention to this problem and to develop the potential of young people, especially those who are still in school, to preserve local culture and become the successor of this cinematic art.

Conclusion

Young people today are shifting their behavior as a result of globalization. So if it is related to intermestic, what is happening among Indonesian teenagers, especially in the City of Gowwa and Makassar, is influenced by what is happening in this world as a whole, namely globalization. the lack of awareness of the local community to preserve culture. The decline in generations for the successor of the synergetic culture occurs a lot among the community because it is dragged into the era of globalization which affects the demands of the community in preserving it. Globalization in the cultural context has always been associated with the domination of Western countries known as Westernization, however, a new phenomenon has emerged in

the era of globalization which has been dominated by Western culture, namely the Hallyu or the Korean Wave as the Asian version of cultural globalization. our idea is in the form of proposing the education and preservation format of Sinrilik with the idea of “Celebes learning from Ancestor”, we offer this idea based on Sinrilik as the work of previous ancestors, and with that, we should learn or at least know the history, because we see that sinrilik is now being marginalized by globalization through Westernization, Korean Wave, and pop culture. We also hope that this in-depth study of sinrilik will be able to produce literacies outputs that can provide such as good and complete teaching materials on adequate and integrated synergy. Therefore, here the author sincerely hopes that institutions that have the right and authority in this area pay more attention to this problem and to develop the potential of young people, especially those who are still in school, to preserve local culture and become the successor of this cinematic art.

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THE INFLUENCE OF WWF AND IUCN RED LIST ON GOVERNMENT POLICY ON SHARK CATCHING

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Abstract

The issue of the shark population in Indonesia which is decreasing in number as a result of bycatch which has an impact on one type of shark, namely the rat shark, which has received an almost extinct status from the IUCN. advocacy takes a role by doing 2 ways, namely direct lobbying and grassroots lobbying. Trade related to endangered species is carried out under international law, namely the existence of CITES. These findings prove that there is a role and even influence from the international side on policies determined by the government regarding the problem of shark fishing. This study aims to identify and analyze the issue of shark fishing that is rife in Indonesia. The author hopes that this research can increase the knowledge of both the writer and the reader so that later issues like this can be reduced. The author uses analytical methods in the form of qualitative and quantitative research, namely explaining, analyzing, and interpreting. The data analysis technique is in the form of qualitative and quantitative descriptive research, namely the

writer analyzes, examines, measures and studies various data collected in the form of interviews and questionnaires and makes observations about problems that occur in the field. The author also uses data collection techniques using empirical and non-empirical research types in which the data collection technique is carried out by conducting offline interviews when conducting field surveys, the results of the interviews will later be recapitulated as data.

Keywords : *Shark Fishing, Shark Trade, INGO, Government Policy*

Introduction

Indonesia is a maritime country that has an area of 70% of the total territorial area of the country. The extent of the territorial waters characterizes the high wealth of marine natural resources so that this wealth can be processed and utilized as a source of prosperity for its people. One of the marine natural resources that is the object of exploitation is sharks. Sharks are one type of fish with slow reproduction. So, if sharks continue to be the object of exploitation, the existence of sharks as the key to the marine food chain will decline and the marine ecosystem will no longer be balanced. The government as an institution that moves to address the issues of its country is tasked with making policies in such a way as to preserve the existence of sharks. In policy making, the existence of INGOs such as WWF and IUCN Red List as animal watch organizations also influences the government in policy making. WWF and IUCN Red List function as a center for information and research on nature conservation which can later become a source for the government to participate in conserving the environment in order to reduce the threat of extinction of diversity on Earth. This is an interesting study for the author in an intermestic study where in determining policy, the state acts as a domestic actor and INGOs act as an international actor.

Literature review

Some areas in Indonesia that become potential hunting grounds for sharks are the Sibolga area, North Sumatra; Muara Baru, Jakarta; Muara Angke, Jakarta; Pelabuhan Ratu, West Java; Cilacap, Central Java; Prigi, East Java; Surabaya, East Java; Benoa, Bali; Tanjungluar, NTB; and Kupang, NTT. Based on these areas, fisheries areas that have a high level of exploitation of sharks are in the southern sea of Indonesia (Indian Ocean) (Dharmadi, 2013). The results of the study show that there are still many illegal shark fishing and trade. Many small sharks are found that die without fins and are traded. This shows that the existence of adult sharks has decreased (Pratiwi, 2016). Shark hunting on several islands in Indonesia has a variety of backgrounds. Fishermen in the Sorong City area of West Papua Province were found to have deliberately caught and traded sharks for economic needs. In fact, the illegal shark trade that has been caught by regulatory agencies is the export of shark fins to Hong Kong (Nasution, 2018). One of the hunts with a cultural background is the hunting that took place in the village of Lamakera, Kab. East Flores, Solor Island. This village has a tradition of catching sharks and rays every year as ancestral worship. This custom is called the traditional ceremony and mass lefa (Aditya and Al-Fatih, 2017).

Shark fishing, especially on the fins, also occurs in KM Papua Jaya, where KM Papua Jaya is a fishing vessel operating around the Arafura Sea. The average catch of sharks in the Arafura Sea is 320.27. Sharks sold in one trip KM Papua Jaya operating in the Arafura Sea is Rp. 427,362,000. The catch of sharks in KM Papua Jaya, precisely in the Arafura Sea from August 11, 2019 to October 21, 2019 was 16,344 Kg (Minabahari, 2020). On the other hand, the exploitation of sharks that often occurs is not only taken from the fins. The exploitation of sharks can also aim to increase the need for the role of art or works of art, which displays installation works using objects found during the process of catching sharks by fishermen. This is especially the case in Muara Angke, where there is a fish auction place and many abandoned

shark carcasses are seen (Basmalah, 2019). An example of a country that exports shark fin is Hong Kong, it is recorded that 130 countries/regions around the world export shark fin to Hong Kong because the consumption of shark fin has become a habit/culture adopted (Shea and To, 2017).

Illegal Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing in Indonesia has an impact in various fields, one of which is the political field, namely that it becomes an obstacle to Indonesia's efforts to strengthen maritime security, the increasing number of IUU fishing cases in Indonesia creates a bad image for Indonesia because it is considered unable to protect the sovereignty of their country from threats. The existence of WWF in an effort to overcome cases of shark protection is one of the considerations for policy makers, namely as a provider of input on an issue as well as some of the main actions that should be taken. (Saraswati, 2016). The issue of the shark population in Indonesia, which is decreasing in number as a result of bycatch, which has an impact on one type of shark, namely the mouse shark, which has received an endangered status from the IUCN and has even become a big concern from WWF as an INGO that focuses on nature conservation. advocacy takes a role by doing 2 ways, namely direct lobbying and grassroots lobbying (Leisubun, 2015). Trade in endangered species is carried out under international law, namely with the existence of CITES. CITES which is an international convention that has a goal in maintaining biodiversity in the world based on regulations in the field of trade (Andriana, no date). Since the 2000s, all efforts in shark management have been carried out through FAO using IPOA-Sharks, implementing NPOA in Shark fisheries management, and implementing the Shark trade rules in CITES (the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species) (Fahmi, 2018).

The purpose of this paper is to find out and analyze cases of exploitation of sharks which are still very vulnerable, especially in hunting sharks just to take part of the fin and then the rest is left abandoned until it becomes a carcass. The results of this exploitation

can also cause a decrease in the number of shark populations due to illegal fishing.

Theoretical Framework

The approach that the author uses to examine this issue is a constructivist approach. Constructivism as initiated by Alexander Wendt is a concept that is able to explain post-cold war international phenomena. This approach is able to answer questions related to international politics such as issues of international dynamics, institutional practices, human rights issues, and the roles of non-state institutions. The constructivist approach opposes the positivist and behaviorist thinking that the social world is not a gift, the laws of the social world can be explained by scientific research and scientific theory. Rather, the social world is an inter-subjective area where it is very important for the people who create, understand, and live life itself. This kind of social world is shaped by society at a certain time. The constructivist approach also explains that anarchic activities are not always defined as a situation that leads to conflictual or cooperative ends. This raises the assumption that a decision is seen as dependent on understanding the subjective motives of the actor himself.

The basic assumption of constructivism regarding their view of the state is that in carrying out an interaction in the international environment, the state acts based on the meanings that arise in relation to each other. For example, someone who has good relationships with other people will treat things well and will do some form of threatening activity for people who are his enemies. State actions like this trigger the influence of interaction patterns in the international system and vice versa. This process of mutual influence between the state and the international system is referred to as collective meanings which forms the basis for intersubjectivity which will later form a structure to regulate state actions.

Constructivism has a basis in the form of ideas, norms, culture, and values. Because of this, constructivism is also classified as an idealist

theory. Constructivists state that a social environment will affect the form of an actor's identity. The identity of each of these actors will form an interest that will later determine how the actor behaves, acts, or decides a policy. The next stage, this identity will also affect the shape of a social environment. In this case, constructivism examines the issues of how an idea and identity is formed, develops, and shapes the understanding of a country in response to the surrounding conditions. This is in accordance with the theme that the author examines in this paper, which will discuss how Indonesian ideas, identities, and policies were formed as a result of the influence of INGOs, namely WWF and the IUCN Red List.

Methodology

The data analysis technique used is descriptive qualitative research where the researcher analyzes, examines, measures and studies various data collected through studies or previous literature studies. The method used by researchers is qualitative research, namely explaining, analyzing, measuring and interpreting. This qualitative method puts more emphasis on observing phenomena and examines the substance of the meaning of these phenomena. The analysis and acumen of qualitative research greatly influence the strength of the words and sentences used.

Researchers interpret the background of the problem to see how WWF and the IUCN Red List influence government policies on shark fishing. By using three processes, namely Coding, Memoing, and Concept Mapping. In the coding process, the researcher will describe the settings, categories, themes, etc. that will be analyzed. The researcher makes a code to describe the information and then analyzes it. This process is often referred to as data classification and categorization. In the process of mememo or Memoing, researchers write notes that aim to make it easier for researchers to rearrange the storylines that have been studied in order to elaborate on ideas or relationships that have been found. The concept mapping process is used by researchers

to remap the concepts that have been studied and connect them into a single unit. This method helps researchers to make a concept to be interrelated so that it can make it easier for researchers to answer the problem being researched.

Result And Discussion

Shark Classification, Habitat and Distribution in Indonesia

Sharks are a species of fish belonging to cartilaginous fish which is the Chondrichthyes class and the Elasmobranchii sub-class. There are at least 500 species of sharks found in all marine and fresh waters in the world (Sadili et al., 2015). In Indonesian waters, there are at least 221 species of sharks and several species that have economic value are threatened with extinction. The number of shark species that are considered to have high economic value is around 26 fish species from 10 clans and 6 families. These types are the ones that have a high value in the fin trade in national and international markets (Direktorat Konservasi dan Keanekaragaman Hayati Laut Kementrian Kelautan dan Perikanan, 2015).

IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), which is an international organization engaged in the protection and conservation of natural biota, states that sharks are one of the marine species that have a high level of threat. In Indonesia, one shark species has been recorded which are categorized as critically endangered, 5 species that are endangered, 23 species are vulnerable to extinction, and 35 species that are classified as near threatened or near threatened (Direktorat Konservasi dan Keanekaragaman Hayati Laut Kementrian Kelautan dan Perikanan, 2015). The amount of shark diversity in Indonesia, which has the highest diversity, is in the continental shelf area starting from coastal waters to the edge of the continent which has a depth of up to 150 m. Not all shark species or the data included in Appendix II Cites are found in Indonesian waters. For example, the porbeagle shark that lives in subtropical waters has never been found in Indonesia, the basking shark and white shark, which are subtropical

sharks that have been found in Indonesian waters but have a very rare intensity. The intensity of the presence of these sharks can be calculated within the last twenty years that only one basking shark and white shark were recorded as entering Indonesian waters. Based on these examples, this shark species is not considered in the list of international shark trade according to Appendix II Cites in Indonesia (Sadili et al., 2015).

Some shark habitats and their distribution in Indonesia are as follows:

1. **Cowboy shark (*Charcharhinus longimanus*)**

The cowboy shark is a tropical shark species that has a high migration rate. This type of shark lives in the high seas with a depth of > 200m which is a continental shelf or around islands in the high seas. The existence of the cowboy shark which is far from the coastal area causes this type of shark to be rarely caught by fishermen in Indonesia. However, sometimes this type of shark is used by some Indonesian fishermen as bycatch objects for fishermen who catch tuna, skipjack and swordfish. The distribution area of cowboy sharks in Indonesia is in the fisheries management area of Sumatra (572), the southern waters of Java-Bali and Southeast Busa (573), as well as the waters of the Pacific Ocean (717). Areas known to be landings for cowboy sharks are Sibolga on the islands of Sumatra, Pelabuhanratu and Cilacap (Java island), Tanjung Luar (West Nusa Tenggara), and Kupang (East Nusa Tenggara) (Sadili et al., 2015).

2. **The hammerhead shark (*Sphyrna lewini*)**

This type of hammerhead shark is a type of shark that is often caught by fishermen in Indonesia. This shark species is often found in Indonesian waters because this coastal pelagic or semi-osenic shark lives on continental shelf, islands and deep waters, and at sea level up to a depth of 275 m. The distribution of this shark is very wide because it is found throughout tropical waters. In Indonesia, this type of shark has a distribution in the Indian Ocean, the Sunda Strait, the Java Sea, the South China Sea, the waters of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku

and Papua (Sadili et al., 2015). This type of shark was found landed by fishermen in almost all shark production centers in Indonesia.

3. Great hammerhead shark (*Sphyrna mokarran*)

The hammerhead shark is a type of shark whose population is rarely found in Indonesia because this type of shark is a solitary animal. Great hammerhead sharks live in warm tropical and subtropical waters. This type of shark can be found near the coast and offshore, on continental shelves, island terraces, coral atolls, deep waters around the island, and lives at a depth of about 80 m. Based on its potential coverage, this great hammerhead shark is found in several areas in the Indian Ocean, South China Sea, and eastern territorial waters in Indonesia. Sharks landing sites by fishermen have been found in the areas of Tanjung Luar (Lombok), Bena and Kedongan (Bali), Pelabuhanratu (West Java), and Muara Angke and Muara Baru (Jakarta) (Sadili et al., 2015).

4. The hammerhead shark (*Sphyrna zygaena*)

The smooth hammerhead shark is a type of shark that lives in continental shelf areas up to a depth of 200 m. This type of shark has also been found in the freshwater regions of the Indian river, Florida, USA and in the Rio de la Plata Estuary of Uruguay. The breeding ground for this type of shark is in shallow water with fine sand and a depth of up to 10 m. Sharks that enter adolescence often gather to form a unit with up to hundreds of tails. This type of shark has an intensity that is rarely found in Indonesian waters. This type of shark is only found in the waters of the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea. It was recorded that several locations for this type of shark landing are in the areas of Cilacap, Palabuhanratu (West Java), Binuangeun Banten and Tanjung Luar (Lombok) (Sadili et al., 2015).

5. Whale shark (*Rhincodon typus*)

The whale shark is a species of shark that lives at sea level. This type of shark has a very wide distribution. Whale sharks are a type of shark that migrates or only stays temporarily in an area. Whale sharks are found in various warm water areas except for the Mediterranean

waters. In Indonesia, this type of shark can be found in almost all waters, starting from the Indian Ocean, South China Sea, Java Sea, Pacific Ocean, Malacca Strait, Sulawesi Sea, Flores Sea, Savu Sea, Banda Sea and Arafuru Sea (Sadili et al., 2015)

Social Reality Regarding Shark Hunting in Several Regions of Indonesia

Shark fishery is one part of fishery commodity that has become a concern in Indonesia and even internationally. One of the factors in the decline in shark populations is due to the catch per effort (CPUE) which is a reflection of the actual exploitation of fishery resources. Almost all areas in Indonesia carry out shark fishing, but the result of Indonesia's vast waters makes it an obstacle in shark management, so that in the end the Government of Indonesia through the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Regulation Number PER.01 / MEN / 2009 regarding Fisheries Management Areas The Republic of Indonesia has determined 11 areas to become fisheries management sites (WWP). Areas that are potential places for shark fisheries in Indonesia consist of western Sumatra (WPP 572), southern Java, Bali and Nusa Tenggara (WPP 573), Natuna Sea and Karimata Strait (WPP 711), Java Sea (FMA 712), The Arafura Sea (FMA 718) and in general is located in the waters of the Indian Ocean (Fahmi, 2013).

In 2016, the Tanjung Perak Surabaya Customs and Excise unit carried out its duties in an effort to abort the smuggling of shark and jellyfish fins which at the beginning of the planned shipment from Surabaya to Hong Kong. He found four container units, which contained about 20,814 kilograms of hammerhead shark fins and also about 93,412 kilograms of jellyfish. Initially, the containers reported contained 389 cartons of frozen jerohan (fish belly) weighing up to 19,123 kilograms. According to the results of an examination conducted by the Denpasar Bali Coastal and Marine Resources Management Agency (BPSPL), these shark fins are hammerhead sharks and also blue sharks, which are a type of shark that should receive protection. Shark hunting that has occurred in Indonesia has spread in almost all areas

including the island of Java, which consists of Muncar Banyuwangi and Blitar and even the conservation area, namely Raja Ampat Papua, where shark carcasses were found just lying there without fins on the seabed at the end of December 2015. Waters Eastern Indonesia is also one of the areas that contribute to the largest shark trade in Indonesia, including whales, manta rays, and turtles. The sales pattern is carried out by means of shark fins which are obtained from Eastern Indonesia which will be immediately sent to Java before it is exported to various countries such as Singapore, China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. A forest and wildlife conservation organization Protection of Forest and Fauna (ProFauna) provides information on the number of shark hunting in Indonesia, which even reaches around 10 million a year (Fahmi, 2013).

The Arafura Sea is one of the most important waters in Indonesia because it contains the potential of high-value fish resources. However, the Arafura Sea is also a waters that are prone to illegal fishing practices where in WPP Arafura it was found that around 30,000 vessels were operating illegally. One of the legal boats operating in the Arafura Sea is KM Papua Jaya which catches various types of sharks including *Anoxypristis cuspidate*, *Orectolobus cf Ornatus*, *Sphyrna Lewini*, *Carcharhinus brevipinna*, *Galeocerdo cuvier*, *Carcharhinus limbatus*, *Alopias spp*, *Carcharhinus falciformis*, *Carcharhinus falciformis spp*. The catch is estimated to reach 16,344 Kg / voyage trip, even from these various catches, protected fish species are found and are also included in the CITES Appendix list. The sale of Shark meat obtained by KM Papua Jaya per one voyage trip is around Rp. 427,362,000 (Minabahari, 2020).

What the interesting about shark hunting in Indonesia is that it happened in Lamakera, Solor Island, East Flores Regency. There are the most number of arrests of an endangered species of sharks, namely manta rays. Lamakera Village is a village that is famous even internationally related to shark fishing, which is the reason for the arrest because there is a tradition or culture of catching sharks which it holds every year in order to ask for blessings from the ancestors

which they call lefa, which is held every May 1st in each year. Culture can also be a unique factor in the extinction that almost occurred in several types of sharks and this is the real social reality in Indonesia (Aditya et al., 2017).

The Influence of WWF and IUCN *Red List* on Policy Making

As previously discussed, WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature) is an international non-governmental organization that focuses on dealing with environmental problems. Meanwhile, IUCN (International Union for The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) is an organization that focuses on the conservation of natural resources, through its program, the Red List, aims to analyze and provide information on lists of species that are in a critical situation or are threatened with extinction. This paper discusses the Effect of WWF and IUCN Red List on Government Policy on Shark Catching. WWF itself has created a campaign called #SOSsharks which stands for Save Our Sharks. This campaign is held openly with the aim of seeking attention and support from the public to stop the trade and consumption of Sharks. WWF also makes various efforts to save shark species, such as implementing advocacy for the National Plan of Action for long-term shark management using an ecosystem approach or commonly known as EAFM (Ecosystem Approach to Fisheries Management).

WWF is collaborating with the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries in making regulations regarding the condition of sharks which are in a critical period to extinction. One of them is regarding the existence of a policy on the level of consumption of sustainable shark products in Indonesia, one example of the policy is that set by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia, namely there are seven types of sharks that are regulated in their utilization and all types of sharks that are considered immature and are pregnant can't be used (Kurniawan et al., 2016). There are also government regulations regarding increased consumption of sharks, such as establishing national and international regulations by including seven lists of shark species included in the regulation, seven types of

sharks including Whale Shark, Scalloped Hammerhead Shark, Great Hammerhead Shark, Oceanic Whitetip Shark, Pelagic Thresher Shark, and Big Eye Thresher Shark, including all types of sharks that are experiencing pregnancy.

IUCN (International Union for The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) is currently managing field projects around the world with NGOs, the United Nations, Governments and companies in developing better policies and laws (IUCN, 2015). The Red List is one of the programs used by the IUCN, where there is a list of animals, one of which is sharks with various types that are threatened with extinction, the purpose of this Red List is to focus the world's attention on endangered species that need conservation efforts as soon as possible. directly through various forms of policy in the protection of the applicable law. Some of the regulations made by the government are the making of laws that regulate sharks, namely in Law Number 32 of 2014 concerning marine affairs, Law Number 5 of 2009 concerning fisheries, Government Regulation Number 60 of 2007 concerning the conservation of fish species, Government Regulation Number 7 of 1999 regarding the preservation of plants and animals, Decree of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Number 18 of 2013, and Regional Regulation of Raja Ampat Regency Number 9 of 2012 concerning the prohibition of fishing for sharks, Pari Mantra, and all types of certain fish in Raja Ampat waters. At the international level, policies taken include implementing regulations stipulated in the Regional Fisheries Management Organizations (RFMOs), the Indian Ocean Tuna Commission (IOTC), and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered (CITES) (Aditya et al., 2017).

There is a significant influence from WWF and the IUCN Red List on the government's response, one of which is by using public attention as a medium capable of supporting programs from both WWF and IUCN. With programs such as the Save Our Sharks campaign conducted by WWF and the Red List activities carried out by IUCN, at least it can encourage the government to respond quickly by making

policies and laws that apply to the protection of almost extinct sharks. In this regard, it has been stated that at least there are still many case studies on shark exploitation and government regulations that are collaborating with WWF and IUCN in overcoming this, both national and international policies. One example of the realization of the law made by the government is repressive and preventive measures, where repressive means law enforcement that is carried out and giving the heaviest possible sanctions to individual shark catchers. Meanwhile, the preventive measures in question are to establish a shark conservation area and create a public awareness program or outreach. If repressive and preventive measures cannot be carried out, the government can impose social sanctions as stipulated in Regional Regulations, one example is the Raja Ampat Regency Regional Regulation.

Conclusion

In Indonesian waters, there are at least 221 species of sharks and several species that have economic value are threatened with extinction. The number of shark species that are considered to have high economic value is around 26 fish species from 10 genera and 6 families. These types are the ones that have a high value in the fin trade in national and international markets. Shark hunting that has occurred in Indonesia has spread in almost all areas including the island of Java, which consists of Muncar Banyuwangi and Blitar and even the conservation area, namely Raja Ampat Papua, where shark carcasses were found just lying there without fins on the seabed at the end of December 2015. Waters Eastern Indonesia is also one of the areas that contribute to the largest shark trade in Indonesia, including whales, manta rays, and turtles. What's interesting about shark hunting in Indonesia is that it happened in Lamakera, Solor Island, East Flores Regency. The village of Lamakera catches sharks, which is the reason for catching sharks because they have a tradition or culture that requires them to do this, so this is a unique factor in the extinction that has almost occurred in some sharks.

There is a significant influence from the international parties, namely WWF and the IUCN *Red List* on the government's response, one of which is by using public attention as a medium capable of supporting programs from both WWF and IUCN. Programs such as WWF's Save Our Sharks campaign and IUCN's *Red List* activities have been able to encourage governments to formulate policies and laws that apply to the protection of near-extinction sharks. In this regard, it has been stated that at least there are still many case studies on shark exploitation and government regulations that are collaborating with WWF and IUCN in overcoming this, both national and international policies. One example of the realization of the law made by the government is repressive and preventive measures.

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THE COVID 19 COMPLEXITY: HOW TO COPE WITH POVERTY DURING COVID 19 GLOBAL PANDEMIC ERA IN CENTRAL AFRICA

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Abstract

Due to the lack of mobility in the African continent, especially Central Africa, the spread of the coronavirus as a global complexity worldwide will lead to the aspect of dealing with the problem of poverty in Central Africa. Decreasing health facilities, no intention of increasing the graph, and the lack of health insurance will worsen the global pandemic that has occurred. The coronavirus has recently spread in Central Africa, but the upcoming version of COVID-19 will stay along with the health and poverty conditions in the country. In the era of a global pandemic that worsened the poverty graph in Central Africa, a state alliance was formed under the auspices of NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development). NEPAD has a strategy in eradicating poverty amidst the limitation of aid during a pandemic, namely to improve the economic sustainability by integrating the economy on a marginal basis, utilizing globalization flows in regional and global coverage. This

research uses a qualitative study based on constructivism theory based on the idea of NEPAD's identity in coping with poverty in Central Africa during the global COVID-19 pandemic. This study aims to observe economic developments in Central Africa as one of the 2020-2023 NEPAD Strategic Plans.

Keywords: *poverty in Central Africa, COVID-19, NEPAD, constructivism.*

Introduction

COVID-19 virus pandemic has an impact on the economic decrease in all countries in the world. Developed and developing countries are all alike. However, developing countries are more devastated by this pandemic because of the ratio of poverty levels that are too striking—one of the devastated regions in Central Africa of Central Africa Africa (SSA).

The International Labor Organization (ILO), in its 2018 report, indicates that informal employment is the primary source of employment in Africa, accounting for 85.8 percent of all employment. In other words, the informal economy in Africa is not a marginal phenomenon but rather a space where the majority of working men and women sustain themselves. Notably, there are remarkable differences within the region depending on socio-economic development and different levels of informal employment within the area. For example, the report indicates that the informal economy is 67.3 percent in Northern Africa and 89.2 percent in SSA. The figure below outlines some of these differences (Joint, 2020).

Informal employment as a share of total work is highest, at 92 percent, in SSA countries. In SSA, 89 percent of employment is informal (Bonnet, Florence 2019). The informal economy refers to all economic activities practiced by workers and monetary units without casual arrangements. Examples of informal sector jobs include waste scavengers, market traders, traveling traders, drivers, conductors, couriers, construction workers, household assistants, and others,

including small farmers from villages supplying raw materials to markets in cities.

Informal economic activities need direct interaction, which can spread out the COVID-19 virus. To prevent this, the government of SSA makes a lockdown policy, including travel bans, restrictions on public gatherings, closures of workplaces, schools, and bars. Most containment measures were intended to be brief but strict, with curfews enforced by police and soldiers (Dyer 2020). With the lockdown, people who depend on the informal sector cannot earn a living. Lockdown seems to backfire for people who have to leave their homes to make a daily living. Conditions like this have led to an increase in unemployment and at the same time have plunged people into poverty

This pandemic could push between 40 to 60 million people into extreme poverty, 27 million of them in Central Africa Africa, thus wiping out the hard-won progress of the last decade.

The COVID-19 crisis is, first and foremost, a health crisis. However, the spread of the disease in SSA will also be shaped by economic and labor conditions, especially within the informal sector that accounts for more than 80 percent of the workforce (Nguimkeu and Okou 2020)

Conditions like this certainly need a solution that can balance the prevention of the spread of the COVID-19 virus with alleviating poverty, especially for people who depend on their livelihood in the informal sector. Apart from local government, the role of regional actors is also needed in designing the right strategy. The regional organization whose primary function is to alleviate poverty is The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

NEPAD is a comprehensive and integrated sustainable development initiative for the revival of Africa through a constructive partnership between Africans themselves and between Africa and the developed world. It can be regarded as a philosophy of development, which appears to have a lot in common with the neo-liberal approach to development. NEPAD couched within five core principles seen as constituting the pre-conditions for Africa's renewal. These are good

governance, the entrenchment of democracy, peace and security, sound economic policy-making and execution, productive partnership, domestic ownership, and leadership (Odekon, 2015).

In this article, we will specifically discuss NEPAD's strategy in alleviating poverty caused by the COVID-19 pandemic in accordance with the five main principles held by this institution.

Literature review

Several academics have conducted studies on COVID-19 and its impact, from social, health, and other economic aspects. From a social part, Franklin Obeng-Odoom's article discusses the social inequality caused by COVID-19 in Africa, including in the Sub-Sahara (Obeng-Odoom 2020) this editorial argues that whether in terms of the economics of inequality, pandemics, or recovery, Africa can teach the rest of the world key lessons."";author":[{"dropping-particle":"","family":"Obeng-Odoom","given":"Franklin","non-dropping-particle":"","parse-names":false,"suffix":""}],container-title:"Africa African Review of Economics and Finance";id:"ITEM-1";issue:"1";issued:{"date-parts":[["2020"]],"page":"3-37";title:"Editorial COVID-19, Inequality, and Social Stratification in Africa";type:"article-journal";volume:"12";uris:["http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuiid=38e93d95-f1fe-4b36-be74-b132acd3b293","http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuiid=ca642eba-b613-4609-84b6-72a08904e7e7"]];mendeley:{"formattedCitation":"(Obeng-Odoom 2020. Elijah Paintsil's article discusses public preparedness and the health system in Central Africa Africa in managing the COVID-19 pandemic (Paintsil 2020). In the economic field, writings from Sena Amewu, Seth Asante, Karl Pauw, and James Thurlow discuss the decline in GDP in Central Africa Africa due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Amewu et al. 2020). The writings above talk about the impact of COVID-19 in general.

Meanwhile, in a more specific discussion, Pierre Nguimkeu and Cedric Okou discussed the impact of COVID-19 on the weakening of the African economy in the informal sector. Both emphasized that

informal sector workers are very vulnerable to being inferior due to COVID-19. Neither, however, mentioned how regional humanitarian organizations work in Central Africa. This article is different from the topics we take up in this article (Nguimkeu and Okou 2020).

Meanwhile, Jürgen Schwettmann wrote about the impact of COVID-19 on the informal sector in the economic sector in Central Africa Africa, as well as recommendations on strategies that should be used by governments, trade associations, and informal economy actors in formulating economic stabilization policies. His writing is highly relevant to our article but does not mention regional cooperation through the NEPAD organization. This paper also differs from the topic in this article (Schwettmann 2020).

Meanwhile, a report published by the International Labor Organization (ILO) shows that the lockdown due to COVID-19 is weakening the informal economy sector. In comparison, the informal sector is the life support for 85 percent of Central Africa Africa. Reports form an essential basis for our writing. However, it does not address the NEPAD strategy specifically (Deng et al. 2020).

From the studies above, it can be seen that NEPAD's strategy in formulating regional policies to address poverty due to the COVID-19 pandemic has not become the main focus of their writing

Theoretical Framework

Social constructivism emphasizes the role of institutions because institutions shape institutionalized norms (Jill Steans et al. 2005) a war so horrific that many people believed it was the war to end all wars. The destruction and devastation, the physical and economic effort expended on killing and the horrific slaughter of an entire generation (of predominantly young men. These standardized norms then shape the identity of the actors. Identity in social constructivism has a crucial role. Not only to explain interests, but identity also plays a role in decision making. When talking about identity, constructivists find the fact that identity can change. The essence of a country can change

when the government enters into a new relationship and becomes socialized in the process of that relationship (Jill Steans et al. 2005) a war so horrific that many people believed it was the war to end all wars. The destruction and devastation, the physical and economic effort expended on killing and the horrific slaughter of an entire generation (of predominantly young men).

Constructivists prioritize three concepts that influence human action in international relations: identity, norms, and language (Margareth and Rosyid 2017). The idea to be emphasized for this research is the concept of identity. Alexander Wendt defines identity as “the attribute inherent in the actor that drives action” (Margareth and Rosyid 2017). This means that identity can shape actors’ interests, both individual and state, which then form actions that will indirectly develop identity.

Alexander Wendt also divides the four types of identity in international relations (Dugis 2016). The first is a personal identity, where the identity of an actor is formed naturally, for example, physical form, state symbol, nationalism, and others. The second identity is a type of identity influenced by specific categories such as political ideology or religion. The third identity is a role identity that focuses on the position or position of the actor in international relations. This identity can only be formed if the actor concerned carries out a global relations activity with other actors and response. This type of identity has a relationship with identity formation into foreign policy, as expressed by Holsti in his journal *National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy*.

An actor’s foreign policy formation is influenced by internal factors (state elements, public opinion, etc.) and external factors (international values and norms, views of other actors, etc.). When combined, it will be seen what the position of an actor is and how the actor acts in international relations (Heywood 2014). The last identity is the collective identity. This type of identity is formed when a group contains a collection of state actors that are interconnected, and in the

end, they include an identity shared by joining the group. Relations between state actors can occur because of interdependence or because of a high sense of solidarity.

Wendt describes three factors that make up the collective identity of an actor (Dugis 2016). The first is the systemic factor or the interaction factor between countries. The second factor is the structural factor or the intersubjectivity factor between nations. Collective identity is then only formed when two or more countries identify each other as friends. The last factor is the strategic factor or the communication factor between nations. A friendly country to other countries will undoubtedly get a positive response and a sense of solidarity with one another. The identity of an actor can also change even though it has held an identity for a long time. Changes from identity can occur because of different meanings from other actors or because internal factors (the character and leadership style of the government elite) and external (changes in events or the international environment) make it change. In the end, the state must adapt to transforming its new identity so that it can be accepted in the international community, where this is known as an identity crisis (Heywood 2014).

An actor can also have several identities depending on what situation the country is facing (Dugis 2016). However, when the actor has two or more contradicting identities when faced with the same problem, this is an identity/role conflict. In general, these actors can negotiate and choose one more relevant and essential identity in dealing with the situation without sacrificing the other's identity. However, suppose opposing identities both have ways or solutions that are relevant and important in overcoming the situation previously faced. In that case, identity conflicts are increasingly difficult to solve unless the actor has to make sacrifices by eliminating one of the contradictory identities to resolve the situation. (Dugis 2016).

Constructivists explain how non-material aspects affect foreign policy through two fundamental concepts: identity and norms. International actors act according to their identification of the existence

of other actors and their response to the interactions prevailing in a particular environment. (Dugis 2016). The resultant of both types of observation of both identity and norm is the perception of each actor about the external situation. Based on this situational understanding, foreign policy is designed as a cognitive, psychological, and social responsibility. The constructivist approach to foreign policy orientation is humanist (human-centric approach), which means that the intrinsic factor in individuals who participate in the political process plays an essential role in determining the direction and targets of action. (Dugis 2016).

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis method. The author describes NEPAD's efforts in handling poverty in the Covid-19 Pandemic Era. Sources of research data by collecting data through library research observations. The data presented is secondary data from scientific journals, books, and various other data that support this writing.

Result And Discussions

A. NEPAD in South Africa

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a comprehensive and integrated sustainable development initiative for the revival of Africa through a constructive partnership between Africans themselves and between Africa and the developed world. It can be regarded as a philosophy of development, which appears to have a lot in common with the neo-liberal approach to development. NEPAD is couched within five core principles seen as constituting the pre-conditions for Africa's renewal. These are good governance, the entrenchment of democracy, peace and security, sound economic policy-making and execution, productive partnership, domestic ownership, and leadership. (Odekon, 2015)

The stated goal is to be able to achieve and sustain an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of above 7 percent annually for the next 15 years. It seeks to ensure that the continent achieves the agreed International Development Goals (IDGs), which include the reduction of the population of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015, and ensuring sustainable development by 2005 to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015 amongst others. By framing its aims around the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established by the UN General Assembly at its Millennium Summit, NEPAD, it is challenging to aid donors and “development partners” to take more seriously their commitment to global poverty reduction. (DIRCO, 2008)

There is also the persisting problem of capacity. Most African countries cannot implement critical projects as a result of a multiplicity of factors. Some of these include a lack of human capital and effective institutions to implement development commitments in education, health, and even democratization. In recent times, these constraints have been made worse by the brain drain of African professionals to Europe and the United States; and further worsened by the devastating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. NEPAD is tasked with increasing capacity and checking brain drain and COVID-19 if it is to achieve its objectives in the long run.

The COVID-19 pandemic has hit Africa at a time when the region is experiencing modest economic growth. The African Development Bank's 2020 African Economic Outlook (AEO) observes that Africa's economic growth remained stable in 2019 at 3.4 percent and is on course to pick up to 3.9 percent in 2020 and 4.1 percent in 2021. “While higher than that of other emerging and developing countries,” the AEO continues to observe, “It remains insufficient to address the structural challenges of the persistent current and fiscal deficits and debt vulnerability.” Early estimates from UNECA already suggest that growth could slow down to 1.8 percent. This again could be optimistic, as the full impact of the pandemic remains unclear. In addition,

while extreme poverty has declined, it still affects 35 percent of the population. (African Development Bank (AfDB), 2020)procoagulant component (hemophilia A

Lastly, Africa is still haunted by multiple inequalities of access to economic and social opportunities, particularly for women and the young, and among them those with disabilities and those living with HIV. According to AEO, the challenge is thus twofold: to raise the current growth path and increase growth efficiency in generating employment. Because of this situation, it is no wonder that the biggest fear among African governments today is the loss of this momentum as they struggle to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic.

The scope, characteristics, and nature of the informal economy in Africa will determine how countries can effectively mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. This is because the informal economy in Africa is not only driven by the individual characteristics of the informal economy actors, workers, and economic units alike, or their motives but also by existing, and the lack thereof, of solid and effective institutions governing the economies, in general, and the labor markets, in particular. In most parts of the continent, the economic and institutional environment consists of an inadequate regulatory framework, inappropriate modalities to comply with the laws and a weak enforcement system, and an overall lack of transparency and accountability. Economic actors are enticed to circumvent public institutions rather than work through them.

But most importantly, government concerns over the informal economy emanate from the fact that the people working in the informal economy are vulnerable to impoverishment, hunger, and disease. They lack the necessary social protection coverage and support mechanisms if they lose their livelihood. These include waste recyclers, street vendors, transport workers, construction workers, domestic workers, and many more, including small peasants in rural or peri-urban areas producing for the urban market. It also includes migrant workers, whether national or international, as they may well be without a 'home'

under lockdown, in addition to vulnerabilities of all workers in the informal economy. The closing of education and training providers not only means a significant loss of investment in skills, but it also puts many learners in the informal economy at a disadvantage who may not be able to benefit from distance and e-learning for lack of connectivity. As such, the very crucial measures to slowing the spread of the virus have a direct cost for more than three quarters of the population in Africa whose livelihood depends on the informal economy. Simply put, dependence on the informal economy means not being able to afford to be under total quarantine.

B. Principle NEPAD and Poverty in South Africa

The assumption that has been clarified for all over the world, which stands for acronym of NEPAD is New Partnership for African Development consider the initiative held by the authority of African countries and is one of the contributions to all developed countries. The purpose of NEPAD is avowed by liberation those people who get suffering under challenges of lack condition showed by underdevelopment of globalization. The globalization era would be the parameter for increasing the country's gap in managing all requirements of the region. Among the entire continent, Africa would be the least continent governance, and it is a way to make the platform built by African which take the huge contribution and responsibilities of sustainable development and could take part and contribute in the world economy. It would seem from the above that the NEPAD initiative was a new wake-up call among African leaders for a partnership founded on the realization of common interest, obligation commitment, benefit, and equity. Its founding began with the transition of the Organization of African Unity to the African Union in 2000.

In the preparation of the transition due to the mandate of selected states, several countries could hold, for instance, Senegal, Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, and South Africa. Those countries could participate in managing the design of the integrated framework in the continents' socioeconomics. The resolve of the method in managing structures

of African economics and social. The merger of contribution as the media of merger way in the millennium development in Africa. On July 3, 2001, the initiative of African people grew to be NAI, which stands for New African Initiative. This offer would be the long journey of making the approval was selected as the best one on July 11, 2001. The formalization of implemented committees in the framework policy on October 23, 2001, at Abuja, Nigeria. NEPAD was regulated to those policymakers in Africa in July 2002 in inauguration at Durban, South Africa in the distinction of Organization of African Unity (OAU). It is clearly stated that as the hometown of regulatory effort. The operation of NEPAD and the sequences as the leading platform of programmers in Africa held by the United Nations. The advance foreign aids to Africa since 2002, those channels as the main channels. The African leaders who established those numerous principles as noted the following in these principles:

- a. Good governance is an essential requirement for peace, security, and sustainable political and socio-economic development;
- b. African ownership and leadership, as well as broad and deep participation by all sectors of the society;
- c. Anchoring the development of Africa on its resources and resourcefulness of its people;
- d. Acceleration of regional and continental integration;
- e. Building the competitiveness of African countries and the continent;
- f. Forging a new international partnership that changes the unequal relationship between Africa and the developed world;
- g. Ensuring that all collaboration with NEPAD is linked to the Millennium Development Goals and other agreed developmental goals and target

Principles are meant to strengthen as guidance could be caught as the objectives to be achieved. Some set goals include a) African countries in developing the growth of the economy. b) Poverty was

minimalized by making the significant aspect in ascending the government's way of managing way of increasing success way of economic. c) The marginalization of Africans in the global process and the global economy would be integrated. d) Maximization of women's power and the implementation e) The improvement of ensuring the well-built water resource of water f and overcoming the high risk of HIV and AIDS pandemic and making up lower graphic in managing those problems. g) Peace would be really needed to be the headline of the background in the upcoming world.

C. How to cope with poverty in South Africa

As a result of this long-term research, hence the way about how to cope with poverty. In Central Africa which, needed to be changed by the insertion of digital improvement by regarding the productive technologies by implementing the nature of industries. The large-scale job displacement which really needs to be manufactured, and it would be the digital innovation as going through the condition. Compared with other regions, the size of the manufacturing sector in Central Africa—in value-added and employment—is relatively small. Manufacturing sectors would be the one of labor placing technologies era which displaces workers throughout the years. Several industries which have the dominant regions of underemployed workers are in agriculture and services. Workers who automatically take so many decisions to be gathered are too expensive for many workers in low education.

Technologies regarding the digital chance of job opportunities would be the alternative choices for African workers to get a job. The higher sources of income get a significant impact in economies that have not too high demand in the region of these aspects such as tourism and hospitality services. The level of human capability that really low could be the barometer of developing technologies in formal and informal regions. The vital role of human quality would be the one of part in faster the labor regions than the other which had lowest ability to have the most quantities of workers in Central Africa.

The condition that has shown about 50 million children had a flawed learning system and has no future to spend the time in school, producing those citizens who can not read even a single and simple word could be the obstacle of upgrading the technologies and innovation. Technologies that could be the way to adapt the skill in creating a new kind of sector required by society consist of entrepreneurship. Through the training, several workers could be achieved by making those workers understand the literacy, and the basis is digital. For instance, farmers imply the productivity process by creating the booster technology and increasing the quality of farmers in making several improvements to gather the information of resources and the input by concerning the digital revolution. The benefit of several potential and solutions could be the possible digital adoption.

Central Africa enables the environment which primarily provided technologies that developed the research in deepening the business. For instance, the regulatory and regulatory supplying complements. Inventions could be the basic framework for managing the operating model and partners in development. The government should realize the entrepreneurial and sponsored accepted models of knowledge production. High-end skills can be one of a solution to expand the knowledge in defining new jobs. Formal sectors get the access in comparison among several workers in giving information—productivity which shows a limitation in sharing employment in working the informal sectors.

Pathway in generating outcome also the income would be high to have the chance in making the majority—workers of policy in implementing actions in making the persistence in focusing way to format the productivity. Creativity also gets the highest job creation rate and also those activities—services and productivity in tasks that increased quickly.

Services and traded manufacturing in releasing the activities in making sectors in digital technologies are critical. Workers in technologies learned the jobs in insuring the product. Insurance and

products producing the firms' way to connect the products become wider in reselling and saving the other network through local market. Several advertisements are handling social media in making the group larger to reach customers and affordable to be bought.

Even though the informal digital section emphasizes creating a business relationship and showing that micro-firms could be the recent news of business improvement, informal electronic systems could show the transition environment of everyday transactions. It would show that the digital financial could make the effectivity in formalizing they grow. Mobile money and information through many media could reach more and more clients, and it would be productive and expanding data. The sequences of infrastructures could be those forms such as transport and logistics which will support the environmental business.

Conclusion

Related to the gap from the minimum wage that can meet the needs of the world's population, it will be a rule that must be discussed to create a solution for the balance of the world economy according to the United Nation (Heo 2018).

The comparison between the number of levels and the high level of tariffs that individuals can obtain can be a reference in overcoming competition from the diversity of the workforce that is so large that it can help reduce poverty that must be avoided (Castle 2012). Regarding the arrangement required by the United Nations in looking at the graph from the existing data as a reference for distributing several job prospect opportunities related to dependents manifested as family members who are included in the category of overcoming living costs (Krustev 2010). It will be one of the solutions to data collection of employees who have the status of workers in each of the tiniest lines of society who are the pillars of the solid micro-economy for achieving an increase in the national level economic scheme (Kacowicz 2007). The perspective of seeing workers' studies is also inseparable from several indications, such as people with disabilities (Kim and Lee 2018).

That one can also optimize existing resources and are provided with intensive training for pouring creative ideas on a small scale towards global economic mapping (SHEPHERD 2013). Those pivots on every economic platform of the world community (The United Nations 2008). This also considers the implication due to the Universalism theory to conduct the similarity in facing global economic growth as the dwelling country in Indonesia worldwide.

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ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF UKRAINE AND RUSSIA IN THE CASE OF DROPPING AIRCRAFT MH-17

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Abstract

It was as if the Malaysian Airline Company had not been given fresh air to fly its fleet calmly. After the MH 370 case that has not been clear, now a Malaysia Airlines flight from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur was shot in the sky in Donetsk, Ukraine in 2014. Located 60 kilometers from the Russian border, Donetsk is a conflict area with separatist groups wanting to separate from Ukraine. . There were 295 passengers carried, of which 15 others were crew members. Also found 12 Indonesian citizens through the flight records reported by Malaysia Airlines. This study aims to see the responsibility of the Ukrainian state for the shooting down of civilian aircraft belonging to Malaysia Air Lines (MH-17) which is related to the provisions of international law based on Article 1 of the 1944 Chicago Convention. concerning international civil aviation which recognizes that every sovereign state has complete and full sovereignty over the air space above its territory. And in Article 28 of the 1944 Chicago Convention on international civil aviation, the state is obliged to provide civil aviation safety services in the form

of flight navigation services. So that the Ukrainian state must be responsible for providing safety and security services in the airspace sovereign territory passed by the Malaysia Air Lines (MH-17) aircraft. The type of research used by the author in this study is a type of normative legal research.

Key words : *MH 370, Ukraine, Malaysia Air lines, Russia, Responsible*

Introduction

In this era, transportation is one of the tools that is needed to fulfill daily life, whether it is for work or for holidays. as we all know that flights make it very easy for us to travel domestically and abroad in a very fast time compared to using other transportation. Almost all countries are involved in utilizing flight paths because of technological advances that are able to create various types of flight tools to improve human standards.

The shooting of commercial aircraft by military or armed groups in a legal perspective is regulated in international law, namely international aviation law. International aviation law itself certainly refers to the norms, rules and legal principles governing boundary issues between countries and legal subjects other than countries. It aims to regulate relations between countries in order to achieve their own interests and for the safety of passengers and cabin crew and the goods transported. This has been enforced by every civil aviation organization that is regulated in various international conferences. Which began in 1910 an international conference was held on aviation law. This conference was held after the incident of the German hot air balloon that crossed the French air space,

After nine years from the events of the first conference, the Paris Conference was formed in 1919. The conference was based on the Roman adage (*cujus est solum, ejus usque ad coelum at ad inferos*) which means that the state exercises its rights to a height where it still has control. effective against the air space. This is intended so that the

state has full sovereignty in controlling and forming provisions for users of its air space. The space to exercise sovereignty is limited by state boundaries, meaning that a country only has the highest power within its territorial boundaries. As for abroad, a country no longer has such sovereignty.

Over time, the United States took the initiative to make improvements to the Paris Convention which was deemed in need of revision. Revision of the revision began on November 1 to December 7, 1944 which was carried out in Chicago at the invitation of the United States, which was attended by 53 countries. The revision contains two agreements, namely first, the right to cross peace. Second, technical land rights for the purposes of extraction and reparation and three commercial freedoms relating to commercial traffic. Then in 1944 a conference was held in Chicago known as the Chicago Conference where the conference regulates the constitution of international civil aviation.

The definition of aircraft (aircraft) includes all kinds of aircraft, such as airplanes, helicopters, gliding aircraft, airplanes, and hot air balloons that are controlled by meteorological agencies and are free. If a civilian aircraft passes through the restricted zone, the aircraft may be arrested, as long as it does not injure the passengers on board. Chasing aircraft are not allowed to use force such as giving shots to planes because this can endanger passengers and cabin crew on board. It is also very contrary to international law. In the Chicago Convention there are also regulations that oblige the state to guarantee the safety and security of international civil aviation,

In the course of international flights, of course, it does not rule out the possibility of committing acts of violation of sovereignty against a country, whether it is a civilian or military aircraft. If they are caught violating in a country, that country can ambush foreign aircraft but on the condition that it does not endanger the lives of passengers on board. This has also been confirmed in article 3 of the 1944 Chicago Convention.

Air traffic is one of the fastest ways to do this travel. Whether it's for commercial purposes, military purposes even use this route to inspect spies to monitor a country. This then becomes one of the reasons for international law to provide restrictions such as a forbidden air zone. The Chicago Convention is used as a reference for member states of the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization). ICAO is a body under the auspices of the United Nations. Indonesia is also one of the UN member countries that joined ICAO and this was due to self-submission. Indonesia officially became a member of ICAO on 27 April 1950. Based on article 9 of the Chicago Convention, all members who join ICAO have the right to determine where the forbidden zone is located, which is based on the consideration of state security and military security of the country.

Literature review

In the study "State Responsibility Against MH17 Aircraft Shooting Over Areas of Armed Conflict Between Ukraine and Russia Based on International Law" compiled by Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, et al. Stating that the shooting incident experienced by the Malaysia Air Lines flight MH17 in the territory of Ukraine was due to the flight route that passed through the air on the border of Ukraine and Russia to be precise in the City of Donetsk, Grabavo Village, all of which have been controlled by the Pro-Russian separatist movement which is most likely in potential threat of armed conflict. Here the author explains that there are several forms of accountability that have been recognized in International Law, one of which is reparation, which is rarely used because it is more often used to deal with issues of political expansion. A State has full sovereignty over its airspace and if something crosses its airspace, all the safety and security of the pilot can be guaranteed. After the shooting by Ukraine which occurred on the Malaysia Air Lines Flight MH17, Ukraine was responsible for safety and security that occurred over its territory.

In a study entitled “Perspectives of the Rome Statute and the Doctrine of Command Responsibility in Resolving Cases of Shooting Against Civil Aircraft MH17 in Ukraine” compiled by Fatma Ratriya Wuri, et al. Explaining that MH17 aircraft passing through areas that are in conflict with other countries, even though in fact there have been given notifications and warnings to any aircraft, both civilian and military that want to cross the dangerous area of Ukraine because the Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) is the United States Federal Aviation Agency which is the United States Federal Aviation Agency. has also warned every airline not to pass through Ukrainian airspace due to chaos in the traffic control instructions in its airspace, Before the warning from the FAA was issued there was also a warning issued by the International Civil Aviation Organization or commonly known as (International Civil Aviation Organization) or also commonly referred to as ICAO which had provided input for air space from Ukrainian territory to consider using the route other alternatives so as to reduce the risk of accidents for international civilian security. According to the researcher, this case was a crime because the shooting was considered a criminal act because it involved civilians who had nothing to do with the ongoing conflicts in Ukraine and Russia. The doctrine of Command Responsibility or what is commonly called command responsibility can be resolved in this case because it can be used as an alternative form of solution in the case of the shooting of the Malaysian Air Lines Flight MH17 which was shot in Ukrainian airspace. It was explained that in the airspace of each country has full sovereignty over its country and no other country has freedom in its air space, sovereignty in the state in terms of air space is complete and exclusive, namely with the existence of various rights both for the state in the fields of defense and security. There are also economic rights in the field of aviation, but this is different from the territorial sea which is still limited by the rights of other countries in conducting negotiations on the right of peaceful passage or (innocent passage).

In the research by Arief Rachman Hakim entitled “Dispute Resolution of MH 17 Flight Case in View of International Law” Violations of international law that occurred were the shooting of objects. which is not a military target namely civilian aircraft or shootings that do not differentiate between targets, without taking precautions before attacking, then the presence of Russia intervening by supporting weapons against the rebels resulting in the shooting of the civilian aircraft. Criminal responsibility for the MH 17 accident is a criminal responsibility because the shooting operation ignored the target or ignored the target, losses could not be minimized and also in-depth research was not carried out.

In the research entitled The International Air Transport Association (IATA) also stated that ICAO had neglected the route taken by the MH17 aircraft. as many as 15 of the 16 Asia Pacific countries. In this case Ukraine is an underworld country whose airspace is crossed by commercial carriers and coordination is created by the underworld itself. Ukraine itself did not provide at least the slightest explanation whatsoever regarding the conflict situation that existed around it.

Theoretical framework

The crash of a Malaysian MH-17 plane in the eastern Ukraine near the Russian border, made this problem must be resolved through international law because it involved countries. International law itself is a law that regulates the relationship between countries with one another, gives them rights and obligations, and contains provisions for situations of conflict and war.

In matters concerning air transportation, international law regulates this in international aviation law. International aviation law itself certainly refers to the norms, rules and legal principles governing boundary issues between countries and legal subjects other than countries. With the aim that each country achieves its own interests, as well as for the safety of passengers and cabin crew and the goods carried.

The sovereignty of each country is recognized by international law in regulating all matters relating to air transportation within the territory of the country. However, these rights must be balanced with efforts to respect the rights of other countries, this is appropriate which has been stipulated in the rules of the Chicago Convention even though there are civilian aircraft that commit violations, are not allowed to carry out actions that endanger the safety of passengers and cabin crew. This aims to keep emphasizing accountability to the country concerned. Therefore Ukraine is responsible for the crash of the MH-17 aircraft, because in addition to the things described above, Ukraine must also be responsible because the zone traversed by the Mh-17 aircraft is not a restricted zone.

Methodology

The type of research method used by the author is descriptive qualitative, in which the author tries to describe the form of accountability that can be done by Ukraine and Russia in the case of the MH-17 plane crash in the eastern Ukraine near the Russian border.

By using this descriptive qualitative research method, it is hoped that it can provide a more in-depth description of the matter being studied through a complete perspective based on international law, especially international aviation law. In the research process, it was carried out online, starting from group discussions, guidance with supervisors and the process of writing this research.

The data analysis technique used by the author is to use qualitative data. It is an analytical technique that does not use nominal or numbers, but uses a Literature review which is based on data from research journals, books and official websites. The data used in this research is secondary data. Secondary data itself is data that comes from trusted journals, books or official websites that have been processed by previous authors. So that in this writing the author only uses the data that has been processed. So the authors collect all data from journals and other official sources which are then adjusted to what is the topic of research

discussion. In data processing, a credibility test will be carried out which will include several steps, all of which are carried out to check the data carefully and continuously to ensure that the data obtained is in accordance with the research topic.

Result And Discussion

Terms and definitions of State Liability

There are three legal terms that are commonly used to describe responsibility according to Peter Salim, namely Accountability, Liability and Responsibility. The first term, accountability, which is generally related to financial, payment or bookkeeping issues. And it can also be interpreted as a trust in certain institutions that are usually related to finance (Sefriani, 2016: 251-252). The second term, liability which is a legal liability. The responsibility referred to in liability is responsibility in the realm of law. Usually manifested in the form of civil responsibility, such as the obligation to pay compensation suffered. In general, the term liability is closely related to a lawsuit in civil courts. Meanwhile, according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), Liability can be defined as responsibility for anything that is caused by one's own actions or the actions of other people acting on his behalf. There are three principles of responsibility in civil law, namely:

1. The principle of responsibility is based on the principle of fault (liability based of fault), if the defendant is proven to have committed a harmful error.
2. Principle of responsibility based on presumption of liability, the defendant is responsible for all losses arising from the problem.
3. The principle of absolute liability (absolute liability or strict liability), the defendant is responsible for the losses arising from the problem but regardless of who is guilty.

Then the third term is responsibility. The word response means action to respond to a problem or issue, and ability which means ability, ability or talent. Responsibility is an action that is voluntary because

it comes from a response or awareness that is adjusted to the ability in question. Responsibility is often defined as “sharing the burden” as a result of an act. According to the large Indonesian dictionary, responsibility can be defined as the obligation to bear everything or if something happens, one is blamed, prosecuted and accepts the burden due to one’s own or other people’s actions and is threatened with criminal punishment. It can be concluded that the difference between the words responsibility and liability in interpreting the word responsibility,

State responsibility is a fundamental principle contained in international law derived from the doctrine of international legal experts. The responsibility of a country arises when there is a violation of an international obligation to do something, whether this obligation is based on international agreements or based on international customs. The responsibility is given to the party who feels aggrieved for the violations that have been committed by the state.

Responsibility of the State of Ukraine in Shooting down Malaysia Air Lines Flight MH17.

On Thursday, 17 July 2014, Malaysia Airlines’ MH-17 crashed in Ukraine. The MH-17 crashed right in the eastern Ukraine near the Russian border. The crash of the MH-17 plane took many victims, namely around 283 people and 15 cabin crew, 12 of whom were Indonesians. The MH-17 aircraft is an international passenger flight scheduled to fly from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur. When the Malaysia Air system received news from Air Traffic Control (ATC) that they lost contact with the MH17 aircraft, about 30 km from Tamak which is about 50 km from the Russia-Ukraine border. MAS (Malaysia Air system) immediately released an announcement on Twitter. Then the news agency The daily Telegraph reported that the MH-17 plane crashed in Torez, near Shakhtarsky, about 40 km (25 miles) from the Russian border.

According to the report, the plane was initially thought to have been hit due to a wrong target as a result of the war that was raging in

Donbass, but that was only an initial guess. The Daily Daily published in the UK stated that the pilots from MH-17 ignored several warnings to avoid Ukrainian airspace, allegedly the MH-17 pilots passed through it because they wanted to save fuel. Actually, the crash zone for the MH-17 aircraft is not a no-flight zone. However, all airlines flying to and from Europe were warned of the potential danger. If seen, MH-17 is obliged to avoid crossing the Ukraine region on the basis of safety considerations. However, as stipulated in the rules of the Chicago Convention even if there is a civilian aircraft committing a violation, are not allowed to perform actions that endanger the safety of passengers and cabin crew. This aims to keep emphasizing accountability to the country concerned.

Article 9 of the 1944 Chicago Convention states the Zone of the prohibition of international civil aviation, as follows:

- a. *Each contracting state may, for reason of military necessity or public safety, restrict or prohibit uniformly the aircraft of other states from flying over certain areas of its territory, provided that no distinction in this respect is made between the aircraft of the state whose territory is involved, engaged in international scheduled airlines service, and the aircraft of the other contracting states likewise engaged. Such prohibited areas shall reasonable extent and location so as not to interference unnecessarily with navigation. Description of such prohibited areas in the territory of contracting states, as while as any subsequent alteration therein shall be communicated as soon as possible to the other contracting states and to international civil aviation organization.*
- b. *Each contracting states reserves also the right, in exceptional circumstances or during a period of emergency, or in the interest of public safety, and with immediate effect, temporary to restrict or prohibit flying over the whole or any part in its territory, on condition that such restriction or prohibition shall be applicable without distinction of nationality to aircraft of all other states.*

- c. *Each contracting states, under such regulation as it may prescribe, may require any aircraft entering the areas contemplated in the subparagraph (a) or (b) above to effect a landing as soon as practicable there after at some designated airport within its territory.*

Air traffic is one of the fastest ways to travel. Whether it's for commercial purposes, military purposes even use this route to inspect spies to monitor a country. This then becomes one of the reasons for international law to provide restrictions such as a forbidden air zone. The Chicago Convention is used as a reference for member states of the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization). ICAO is a body under the auspices of the United Nations. Based on article 9 of the Chicago Convention, all members who join ICAO have the right to determine where the prohibited zone is located, which is based on the consideration of state security and military security of the country. After the stipulation of the forbidden zone, ICAO members must immediately report to other members so as not to interfere with international flights.

Unlike the case with ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) which is an international civil aviation regulatory agency, where it distributes and monitors and evaluates the application of civil aviation where it states that the route taken by MH17 aircraft is a safe route. The International Air Transport Association (IATA) here also said that flight path MH17 is not a restricted area. So this is no longer an excuse for ICAO's negligence regarding the route taken by MH17 aircraft.

Here Ukraine, which is the country responsible for the shooting of the Malaysia Air Lines flight MH17. Where the Ukraine should be able to establish a no-fly zone for areas that will be in conflict, for example on the flight route traversed by the Malaysia Air Lines MH17 aircraft with consideration for flight safety reasons. As stated in Article 28 of the 1944 Chicago Convention on international civil aviation wherein it states that every contracting state is, as far as practicable, to:

- a. *Provide, in its territory, airports, radio services, meteorological services and other air navigation facilities international air navigation, in accordance with the standards and practices recommended or established from time to time, pursuant to this Convention.*
- b. *Adopt and put into operation the communications procedure, codes, markings, signals, lighting and other operational practices and rules which may be recommended or established from time to time, pursuant to this Convention.*
- c. *Collaborate in international measures to secure the publication of aeronautical maps and charts in accordance with the standards which may be recommended or established from time to time, pursuant to this Convention.*

As stated in Article 28 of the 1944 Chicago Convention concerning international civil aviation above the state is obliged to provide civil aviation safety services in the form of flight navigation services, Ukraine here must also be able to provide and ensure safety and security services for the sovereignty of air space over its territory through which the aircraft passes. Malaysia Air Lines MH17.

Conclusion

The responsibility of the Ukrainian state for the downing of civilian aircraft belonging to Malaysia Air Lines (MH-17) is related to the provisions of international law based on Article 1 of the 1944 Chicago Convention on international civil aviation which recognizes that every sovereign state has complete and full sovereignty over the air space in over its territory. And in Article 28 of the 1944 Chicago Convention on international civil aviation, the state is obliged to provide civil aviation safety services in the form of flight navigation services. So that the Ukrainian state must be responsible for providing safety and security services in the airspace sovereign territory passed by the Malaysia Air Lines (MH-17) aircraft.

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MORAL CRISIS DUE TO CONTINUOUS CONFLICT IN MYANMAR

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Abstract

This research is entitled “Moral Crisis Due to Continuous Conflict in Myanmar”. This research background by the interest of researchers to conduct further research on the history of internal conflicts that occurred in Myanmar which caused a moral crisis in the resolution of domestic conflicts. Through this domestic conflict, international countries made various intervention efforts to participate in solving the problems that occurred in Myanmar. This research is also conducted because the researchers sees the political crisis that has caused a moral crisis in Myanmar so that the researches will discuss the implications that need to be done in resolving domestic conflicts to occur in Myanmar. In this research, the researches uses an intermestic approach as an approach that proves the existence of a transionalism process in which globalization is a studied phenomenon with many multi-actor involvement in various activities and is multi-dimensional in nature so that it has implications for each field of study of the community evistic including international relations (Phenomenon - multi-

actors, multi-dimensional, widely scope of discourse, inter-discipline analysis). As for the research, it employs the perspective of Peter Gourevitch, where it employs domestic structures as a variable in describing foreign policies as well as the regimes of his government that achieve an interest through public policy and political orientation that can affect the domestic structure of explaining foreign politics analysis (FPA). The study used qualitative descriptive research methods, analyzing documents involving data for analysis and integration to result in significant understanding and scientific expertise.

Keywords : *moral crisis, Myanmar, internal conflicts, political crisis*

Introduction

Myanmar is one of the countries in the world which has the longest internal conflict in the world. State leaders, international organizations, and the international community began to perceive Myanmar as experiencing a moral crisis in resolving its internal conflicts as the military junta began pointing weapons at brutally innocent civilians, both children and the elderly. The military junta's cruelty has caused the international community to become furious and think that Myanmar has experienced a moral crisis.

Since independence, the country has immediately experienced a series of rebellions that have occurred in several regions and Myanmar is one of the countries with the most diverse ethnic groups in the world. This is what lies behind the armed ethnic groups fighting the Myanmar government, which of course is very diverse. According to the author, this issue or phenomenon is interesting to study with an intermestic study because domestic issues that need to be taken seriously are one of the human tragedies in the prolonged conflict that occurred in this era by various countries both individually and internationally. Myanmar's prolonged internal conflict involving domestic issues has caused various countries in the world to make various intervention

efforts to resolve these problems so that it is an interesting matter to be discussed in an Intermestic study.

Through this research journal, the author will try to answer how internal conflict in Myanmar can occur? How does the international community respond to Myanmar's internal conflict? What has ASEAN been doing in dealing with this internal conflict?

This research journal will also discuss the causes of internal conflicts that led to a moral crisis in Myanmar, ASEAN's response to this case, and the impact or implications that occurred in Myanmar due to the moral crisis that occurred. The object of writing that we use based on the Intermestic approach is *the problems of* conflict or cases that we discuss in this study based on the phenomenon or issue that is happening.

Literature review

In the journal entitled "ASEAN'S ROLE IN RESOLUTION OF ROHINGYA ETHNIC CONFLICTS" (2014) by Triono, the focus of the research object based on the Intermestic approach discussed is the policy of international entities, namely ASEAN in resolving Rohingya ethnic conflicts. This journal focuses on explaining in detail about ASEAN policies or the role of ASEAN in responding to or dealing with the Rohingya ethnic conflict in Myanmar. This journal also explains the principles of ASEAN cooperation and function in resolving internal Rohingya ethnic conflicts.

The second journal entitled "The International Response to the Humanitarian Tragedy of the Rohingya" by Gonda Yumitro (2017) also focuses on the object of research on the policies of several countries and international entities in responding and creating policies on internal Rohingya ethnic conflicts.

The third journal entitled "The Myanmar Government's Treatment of the Rohingya Muslim Minority, Historical Perspective and International Law" by Jawahir Thonthowi (2013) also focuses on the object of policy research based on the Intermestic approach. This

journal explains the domestic policies of the Myanmar Government in handling cases of Myanmar's ethnic minorities and the author also discusses in detail the domestic policies of the Myanmar Government that are inconsistent with several conventions or legal articles taken from the perspective of International Law and history. These three journals have clear differences even though they have the same writing object or writing topic, namely "policy".

The fourth journal entitled "Conflict of Rohingya Muslims in the Frame of Three Islamic Media in Indonesia" by Anggi Septa Sebastian and Iwan Awaluddin Yusuf (2013) focuses on the object of research or writing on policy where in the journal the writer explains policies or actions created by Islamic media. in Indonesia in dealing with the Rohingya ethnic conflict in Myanmar.

The fifth journal, "Human Rights Violations in the Conflict of Rohingya Human Rights Violations" by M. Angela Merici Siba and Anggi Nurul Qomariah (2018) focuses on the object of writing or research on *issues* or phenomena. In this journal, the writer explains the actions of the majority of the Rakhine ethnic groups which are considered as violations of human rights and a detailed explanation of the history of the origin of the internal conflict between the two ethnic groups.

In the journal "Ethnic Resistance of Rohingya Muslims to the Discriminatory Policy of the Burma-Myanmar Government" (Mitzy, 2014) the author emphasizes his findings in the form of resistance by Rohingya Muslims against the Myanmar government's discrimination policies. The findings of this writer are things that are rarely heard in the mass media, which so far have mostly exported the form of acts of violence that the Rohingya ethnic group has experienced. This indicates a form of Rohingya ethnic persistence as a form of resistance to be able to get a freedom to live a decent and recognized life, which is called to be able to gain independence.

In the journal "The Indonesian Government's Humanitarian Diplomacy Strategy in Cases of Humanitarian Crisis Experienced by

Rohingya Ethnic in Myanmar in 2017” (Kusuma & Sitorus, 2019) the author describes forms of discrimination and issues of human rights violations. The author mentions that it is in the form of awareness of the Indonesian government carrying out humanitarian diplomacy, this is in the interest of humanity, where the author sees Indonesia’s strategy by taking an approach in the form of diplomacy with the Myanmar government. An act of concern for Indonesia in the form of humanitarian interests.

Journal of “The Dilemma of ASEAN Way in Handling Rohingya Asylum Seekers in Southeast Asia” (Wuryandari, 2017) which focuses its research on ASEAN’s dilemma in dispute resolution and handling the issue of seeking Rohingya asylum, where there is a principle of non-interference which is a principle that must be adhered to by every ASEAN member countries. This is a form of principle or rules that must be obeyed to deal with a problem that occurs in ASEAN member countries, meaning that there are benchmarks used as a basis for dealing with a conflict so that other member countries are not harmed.

“CASE OF ROHINGYA ETHNIC HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS: IN ASEAN PERSPECTIVE” (Mangku, 2008) a study that discusses forms of violence and human rights violations against ethnic Rohingya, the author also emphasizes ASEAN’s position as a regional regional organization where each member must comply with the ASEAN Charter which has been mutually agreed . In this matter, ASEAN can play a role as a reference in the process of resolving domestic and international disputes that occur in ASEAN member countries.

In the journal “LEGAL PROTECTION FOR ROHINGYA ETHNISTS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS” (Arianta et al., 2020), a study that explains that there is legal protection for Rohingya ethnicity that is contained in international rules and instruments such as the universal declaration of human rights, international covenants on (1966 civil and political rights, eco-social and cultural rights), conventions (genocide, against torture), and

others. This shows the concern of the international community for the conflicts experienced by the Rohingya ethnicity.

This comparison can be seen from the first journal that focuses on policies or responses created by ASEAN in handling internal cases of the Rohingya ethnicity based on the principles of cooperation created by ASEAN, while the second journal focuses more on the response of the international world which is still considered ineffective in dealing with Myanmar ethnic conflicts. and the role of various countries and international entities in creating policies on cases of Rohingya ethnicity and the comparison of the third journal with previous journals is that the third journal focuses more on the domestic interests and policies of the Myanmar government in handling Rohingya cases or ethnic conflicts using different perspectives from the two journals. and the comparison of the fourth journal with the previous journal is the previous journal the actor or party that created the policy was the state or international entity, while the journal for the four policy actors involved was media. he is a mass. The comparison of the fifth journal with other journals is that the research concept used by the author is different from previous journals, namely by focusing on the object of writing *issue-problems* and discussing journals that further explain the actions of the Rakhine majority which are considered to be human rights violations against the Rohingya Muslim minority. The sixth journal focuses on the form of Rohingya ethnic resistance to be able to get a freedom to live a decent and recognized life, which is called to gain independence. The seventh journal, describes forms of discrimination and issues of human rights violations, and focuses on Indonesia's diplomatic strategy in the form of humanitarian interests, what distinguishes it from the sixth journal is placing Indonesia as an actor in the initiative to conduct diplomacy. The eighth journal discusses the situation of ASEAN's dilemma in positioning itself as a regional organization, where the dilemma is due to the principle of non-interference. The ninth journal looks at cases of human rights violations against the Rohingya ethnicity from an ASEAN perspective. The research focuses on ASEAN as the main

actor, and it is hoped that every country in conflict can submit to the ASEAN Charter that has been mutually agreed upon. Meanwhile, the last journal, the tenth journal, focuses on issues / problems that occur in Myanmar and looks at the protection that Rohingya can get from an international human rights perspective.

The ten journals are interesting to continue as an Intermestic study because these journals have different concepts or theoretical frameworks in each journal and the detailed discussion written by the author in each journal is different in previous studies, especially the fourth journal that focuses on mass media policies on Muslim conflicts. Rohingya. The continuation of the sixth journal is interesting to continue as an intermestic study because it turns out that there is resistance from the Rohingya which indicates the persistence of the Rohingya to get a decent life, and so they can be recognized as citizens of Myanmar. This is a domestic issue for Myanmar to resolve conflicts, which can be supported by an ASEAN perspective and an international human rights perspective as a supporter in the form of solutions or policies that can be used in resolving disputes or conflicts in Myanmar.

Theoretical Framework

In this research proposal, here we use a rationale or theoretical basis that we use to analyze our research topic is the development of globalization where the Intermestic approach appears as an approach that proves the existence of a transnationalism process where globalization is a studied phenomenon with many multi-actor involvement. in various activities. This touches all aspects of human life, be it economic, political, security, and socio-cultural so that it is multidimensional. Various disciplines have emerged that have implications for each of the fields of study of the community *evils tonic* including international relations (*Phenomenon - multi-actors, multi-dimensional, widely scope of discourse, interdisciplinary analysis*).

This approach is used because in this study there are many multi-actor engagements in discussing the topic of the moral crisis due to

the prolonged conflict in Myanmar through international respondents from both international countries and international organizations. Besides that, it also covers all aspects of human life, including politics, security, socio-culture, and so on.

Using the perspective of Peter Gourevitch where this perspective uses the domestic structure as a variable in explaining foreign policy and the regime of his government that achieves interests through public policy and political orientation which in general can influence his domestic structure in explaining *foreign politics analysis* (FPA) related to the moral crisis resulting from prolonged conflict in Myanmar. This study also uses Liberalism theory with various perspectives, namely:

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative type of research method that aims to build and understand reality like any other qualitative research analysis. Document analysis that involves data to be analyzed and interpreted to produce significance, understanding, and scientific expertise. This type of research is descriptive research where it explains the data based on the evidence that has been collected. The most basic study is descriptive research because it is seen as a definition that is able to describe current phenomena both scientifically and technologically. The results obtained from this research study will be very useful in the future and can be used to analyze the behavior of the actors for the actions they have taken. The data obtained in this research is descriptive.

Result And Discussion

A. Humanitarian Crisis Against Rohingya Ethnic in Myanmar

The crimes committed by Rohingya ethnic groups constitute crimes of genocide and acts of discrimination committed by Myanmar. Openly, Myanmar carried out extermination, murder and other crimes against the Rohingya ethnicity where the cause of the crime was committed on the basis of racial, ethnic and religious differences. Therefore, many Rohingya are trying to flee to safer places such as fleeing to nearby

countries such as Bangladesh and Thailand. The act of genocide is an act of utmost cruelty because it has deprived the Rohingya of their human rights. The crimes obtained by the Rohingya ethnicity include murder, rape, extermination, not being freed from practicing religion, not being recognized as citizens of Myanmar, and other crimes. If the element of action carried out by committing mass murder, religious discrimination, and has the aim of eliminating a minority group, it can be interpreted that the actions taken by the Myanmar government against the Rohingya ethnic minority constitute an international crime of genocide. (Putra et al., 2018)

Discrimination and crimes committed by the Myanmar government against the Rohingya is an act that violates the human rights of the Rohingya ethnicity, where the Rohingya are not given the opportunity to live in peace, properly, and are unable to get public facilities such as health, education, and get clear and strong legal protection. The existence and life of the Rohingya, who are considered as shadow ethnicities in Myanmar, began to occur at the beginning of Myanmar's independence from colonialism. Kompas.com reported that the discrimination faced by Rohingya began with General Ne Win's leadership. General Ne Win succeeded in occupying office by carrying out a coup against the Myanmar government by overthrowing the President of Myanmar from office so Ne Win made a policy by implementing an authoritarian system of government which the policy received support from the Myanmar Social Party. Discrimination against the Rohingya ethnicity is not only based on religious differences which constitute a minority status in Myanmar but also on political and economic interests. It can be seen that Myanmar's discriminatory treatment against the Rohingya is by forcibly taking land belonging to the Rohingya ethnic group with the aim of building settlements or residences for Buddhist residents. Discrimination against Rohingya also takes the form of burning houses and evictions (Kompas.com, 2020).

Judging from the cases in 2017 where the Rohingya ethnic group experienced continued violence which increased the death toll by approximately 400 people and in the next month from August to September refugees from Myanmar reached 123,000 and increased to 1,156,732 people. In this case, of course the Myanmar government must take an action to deal with this problem so that the people involved in cases of human rights violations that occur in their territory can be handled (the State). However, the Myanmar government has not taken firm action and movements to deal with this issue, where the Vice President of Myanmar himself, Myint Swet, does not admit that they (the government) have committed acts of violence and has denied the evidence that shows acts of violence or genocide by the government against the Rohingya ethnicity (Mangku). , 2021).

Aung San Suu Kyi as a strong democracy figure from the *National League for Democracy* (NLD) is also silent on the issue of the Rohingya crisis that has occurred and also does not admit to allegations of Myanmar's violence against the Rohingya ethnicity. In an interview by the BBC quoted by Liputan6.com that Suu Kyi said that "the world must understand that the fear of religious sentiment and persecution is not only felt by Muslims (Rohingya) but also for Buddhists." There are still many other arguments from Aung San Suu Kyi regarding the Rohingya issue (Hasan, 2017). This indicates that responsibility as an important or influential figure (leader) has ignored the sense of responsibility as a leader which is a moral value for a human being. Suu Kyi's silence showed her different attitude at the time of her speech in 1988, in which Suu Kyi's speech said that she wanted to harmonize the Myanmar nation, especially for "the unity of the diverse Burmese nations" (Hasan, 2017).

B. ASEAN's Role in the Moral and Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar

As a regional organization in Southeast Asia, ASEAN's involvement is an obligation in ending the humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya and civil society in Myanmar. However, this statement is not proven because the norms and principles of *non-interference* that are upheld by

ASEAN are the foundation for the sustainability of relations between ASEAN members as well as an obstacle to resolving mechanisms under ASEAN (Singh, 2014).

The humanitarian crisis has become a common problem in the ASEAN region. Demanding ASEAN to take a stand and do something because this is contrary to the original purpose of establishing ASEAN and also to carry out the objectives stated in the ASEAN Charter where all ASEAN member countries must maintain and enhance peace, security, and stability and further strengthen peace-oriented values in the ASEAN region who are entitled to a harmonious life.

One of ASEAN's efforts in dealing with refugees in the ASEAN region is by establishing the ASEAN Special *Institute for Handling Refugees in Southeast Asia Region*, an ASEAN special institution dedicated to introducing and enforcing human rights in the Southeast Asia region. These institutions are the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and the ASEAN Declaration of Human Rights (AHRD). ASEAN's commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights and basic freedoms as well as the goals and principles set out in the ASEAN Charter including the principles of democracy, rule of law and good governance. ASEAN members recognize the importance of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) as the main institution responsible for the promotion and protection of human rights in ASEAN which contributes to the formation of a community-oriented ASEAN Community and as a tool for progressiveness. Social development and justice, achieving a better quality of life for the people of ASEAN, and fulfilling human dignity.

ASEAN's credibility in facing this crisis is on a hard line. In their general response, ASEAN members, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Myanmar undertook diplomatic means to resolve this crisis. Unfortunately, however, ASEAN has not formally chaired a meeting of officials to consult on the Rohingya issue in the initial case. At the meeting of the heads of ASEAN members in 2012 when the crisis started, the high level of Rohingya propositions was raised from

Myanmar and Bangladesh so that internal conflicts have continued to this day in Myanmar. Not a single member of ASEAN dared to challenge Myanmar. The same thing happened in 2015 when ASEAN ignored the plight of the Rohingya. Although the former ASEAN Secretary General stressed his interest in the matter, this did not come without further precautions until the problem was only recognized as an irregular movement of people in Southeast Asia. Finally, since 2017, ASEAN has officially discussed the crisis in various forums. Continuing in 2018 at the ASEAN Summit, this summit discussed the Rohingya issue in particular, however, the point of attention was on repatriation, namely treating humanity in Myanmar.

The Heads of ASEAN Member States expressed their readiness to support Myanmar in the process of repatriation. ASEAN Leaders also welcomed the invitation to come together in a room by Myanmar to the *ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management* (AHA Center) to deploy an assessment team to identify possible areas of cooperation to facilitate repatriation and jointly developed by the Myanmar Disaster Management Department. . Furthermore, in 2019, the results of the summit were to conduct a “*Preliminary Needs Assessment*” regarding the repatriation of Rohingya refugees by the *Emergency Response and Action Team* (ERAT). However, the assessment has drawn some skewed responses. Asstates *Human Rights Watch* (HRW), this 56-page report was developed without input on behalf of the Rohingya and almost ignores the brutality of Myanmar. More than just noting Myanmar’s readiness for repatrias who ignore the situation on the ground as clearly stated in the *Preliminary Needs Assessment* that, “... ASEAN Member States declare their readiness to support Myanmar in the process of repatriation ... The purpose of the Preliminary Needs Assessment is to assess readiness of Reception and Transit Centers, including potential relocation sites identified by the Government of Myanmar”.

One of the efforts made by ASEAN in dealing with the military coup case currently occurring in Myanmar is by discussing or

following up on these issues in the *ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)*. The condemnation and pressure from the international community for the ongoing internal conflict caused ASEAN member countries to carry out the ARF to follow up and find a solution to the internal conflict and military coup. Until the last ARF in 2010, ASEAN was only able to create mutual trust in Myanmar towards ASEAN and could not provide a solution in resolving the internal conflict. The re-heating of the military coup in Myanmar has caused ASEAN to take action again in handling the military coup case that is currently happening in Myanmar. ASEAN once again held a summit in Jakarta with Foreign Ministers representing ASEAN member countries including General Min Aung Hlaing, the current leader of the Myanmar state. The ASEAN Summit held in Jakarta resulted in five consensus, namely: the relevant parties will exercise restraint and prevent acts of violence in dealing with the Myanmar conflict, initiate constructive dialogue in resolving the Myanmar military coup issue for the sake of the Myanmar people, ASEAN envoys will be facilitated by ASEAN in carrying out joint mediation. Myanmar, ASEAN will provide humanitarian assistance, and special envoys and representatives of ASEAN will travel to Myanmar to meet various related parties.

C. Military Coup and the Current Condition of Myanmar

Myanmar has brought back the newest internal conflicts in the international world. Myanmar's previous internal conflicts that have occurred and have not been resolved to date and are still on the agenda of issues that are still being discussed by international entities, especially ASEAN. The most recent internal conflict in Myanmar is a military coup. The military coup carried out by the Myanmar military junta has continued to this day. The Myanmar military coup occurred because the Myanmar military junta did not accept the results of the Myanmar government elections which took place in November, 2020. The Myanmar military junta considers the political party that won the General Election to have cheated on the votes it received. The political party that won the election result was the NLD Party led by Aung San

Suu Kyi. Based on the results of the General Election, the NLD Party won 258 votes for the lower house and 138 votes for the upper house for the seat of government. The military junta, aware of the results, issued its assumptions regarding vote rigging committed by the NLD Party and this led General Min Aung Hlaing to stage a coup and detain high-ranking officials and important figures from the NLD Party so that the party could not take power from the government. Due to the detention of important figures of the NLD party, the Myanmar military junta regained control of the seat of government and declared a state of emergency for the people of Myanmar for the next 1 year. The return of Myanmar's authoritarian military regime and the people who have known about the detention of important figures of the NLD party where these figures should have occupied the government after the General Election have caused Myanmar civilians to start staging demonstrations and violent protests in various regions. The act of opposing the military coup caused the military junta to begin to take firm action against civilians indiscriminately.

Even though various international entities and various countries in the world have urged Myanmar to stop the military coup, the military junta is still in power and has not heeded criticism and even tough sanctions that have been given by various international entities against the country. The country also ignored the strict sanctions given by the United Nations against Myanmar until various international entities including ASEAN conducted another review in resolving the military coup and internal conflicts that were still happening in the country. Currently, military coups in Myanmar are still happening and even the inhuman actions of the Myanmar military junta are still ongoing. On Saturday 22 May 2021, General Min Aung Hlaing stated that the current leader or president, Aung San Suu Kyi, would attend the trial regarding the election fraud case that was assumed by the military junta. Although Aung San Suu Kyi will appear at the trial with General Min Aung Hlaing (the leader of the Myanmar state), Aung San Suu Kyi's activities are still very limited by the military junta even only

to meet Suu Kyi's lawyer in person. The military coup and internal conflicts that are still occurring today in Myanmar must be reviewed and resolved together so that casualties from the military junta's cruel actions against civilians do not occur again.

Conclusion

Considering that they desperately need assistance from neighboring countries due to the various violence and oppression that occurred in Myanmar and ASEAN, they must immediately help and even take firm action against the actions of the Myanmar government which is still continuing its internal conflict with its civilians to this day. Myanmar as a country where the Rohingya minority lives must reconsider Rohingya citizenship, which is a problem point for the humanitarian crisis for the Rohingya, considering that if they look back at the historical record of the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar, they must be declared one of the official ethnic groups in Myanmar. The internal conflicts that continue to occur in Myanmar must also be considered by various international entities, especially ASEAN. All ASEAN countries must also be actively involved in solving the problem of Rohingya refugees and civil society in Myanmar related to the humanitarian crisis that is currently happening in the country, considering that Rohingya are one of the ethnic groups in Myanmar who have recently experienced oppression and violence in their own country of residence as well as civilians who are under threat in Myanmar.

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THE ROLE OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN PANDEMICS ERA: THE FORMED POLICE UNIT OF INDONESIAN NATIONAL POLICE (UNAMID XII)

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Abstract:

The Formed Police Unit of the United Nation African Mission in Darfur XII (UNAMID XII) is a Contingent of the Garuda Bhayangkara II Task Force for the Indonesian National Police at the United Nation Peacekeeping Mission stationed in Darfur, Sudan to replace UNAMID XI. UNAMID XII has been trained since 2019 and should have departed in March 2020 but due to the spread of Covid-19 in the world, the departure of UNAMID XII was postponed and departed in September 2020. This research aims to explain the role of the UNAMID XII in the Pandemics era. This research uses qualitative methods with data collection techniques in the form of Literature reviews and interviewing relevant sources to obtain sources that support this research. Based on the data that has been collected, the role of UNAMID XII in Darfur, Sudan is increase because of the pandemic era, not only to maintain peace but also to help the Darfur community become aware of the danger of corona virus. UNAMID XII distributed masks to the Darfur community and held a socialization program for the Darfur community about the dangers and prevention of the corona virus to increase their

awareness. In every activity, UNAMID XII personnel always implement and maintain Health protocol of Covid-19.

Keywords: *Indonesian National Police, UNAMID XII, Covid-19*

Introduction

Africa is known as a region that has abundant natural resources. However, the abundant natural resources are contrary with the conditions of the countries. Africa is a region with many prolonged conflicts. Even countries in Africa are often referred to as countries with “Resource Curse”. According to Joseph E Stieglitz, in his book, entitled “Escaping Resource Curse”, states that countries with abundant natural resources experience worse performance in economic development and good governance than countries with smaller natural resources (Macartan Humphreys, 2007). Where it is in line with what Sach and Warner stated, countries that have abundant natural resources have low economic growth, weak industrialization and prone to conflict (Jefrey D. Sachs, 2001). One of the African countries that experienced this is Sudan.

Sudan is a country located in North Africa and is the third largest country on the African continent and the sixteenth largest country in the world. Sudan is a country with abundant natural resources such as asbestos, chromium, cobalt, copper, gold, granite, gypsum, iron, kaolin, tin, manganese, mica, natural gas, nickel, petroleum, silver, uranium and zinc. However, the wealth of natural resources of Sudan is one of the causes of the conflict that occurred in the country.

The conflict in Sudan was motivated by a struggle of power, natural resources and ethnic differences. This conflict has been going on for more than 15 years and has caused many casualties. In 2003, conflict in Sudan returned to Darfur, 300,000 people are killed and displacing 2.5 million people (VoA, 2020). The conflict occurred due to the emergence of Rebel Group Movement named Darfur Liberation Front which later changed to the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and also emerged another group, namely the Justice and Equality Movement

(JEM). Several African ethnicities such as Zurga, Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit joined the rebellion group (Deldiya, 2017). The United Nation describes the humanitarian disaster that occurred in Darfur as the worst and must be ended immediately because the number of victims continue to increase.

The emergence of rebellious in consequences of the political and economic marginalization between the central and regional governments (Deldiya, 2017). The aim of this rebel group is a demand for the distribution of justice, especially for economic access that includes a decent life and democratic political participation. This group considers that for decades the African race has always been sidelined from the political and economic policy which is more favorable to the Arab race (Nasution, 2012).

Due to the attacks carried out by rebel groups, the Janjaweed militia group emerged. The members of the Janjaweed are from Arab race. The Janjaweed received financial assistance, logistics and weapons equipment from the Sudanese government. The Janjaweed was trained and armed against the SLM and JEM groups. Moreover, the Sudanese government gave the Janjaweed militia the authority to do anything to save Darfur (Deldiya, 2017). Caused 10,000 people of African race in Darfur died (DW, 2008). Based on the Human Rights Watch report, the death toll of African race in this conflict indicates the practice of genocide. It is caused criticism from other countries.

In 2004, negotiations were carried out between the Janjaweed militia and the SLM and JEM groups. As a result of the negotiation is an agreement to carry out ceasefire, security stability and humanitarian issues to resolve the Darfur conflict (Adnan, 2008). However, the agreement was violated by the Janjaweed militia as well as the SLM and JEM groups causing UN intervention in the conflict in Darfur.

Initially, the African Union intervened by sending the peacekeeping operations African Mission in Sudan (AMIS). However, the situation in Darfur did not improve. Hence, The UN Security Council sent assistance by forming the United Nation Mission in Sudan (UNMISS). Due to the

limited accessibility of UNMISS by the Sudanese government because of the unstable political conditions in Sudan, the Sudanese government finally agreed to join the UN peacekeeping in 2007 to resolve the Darfur conflict. With the approval of the Sudanese government the UN Security Council established the United Mission African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

The UNAMID mission is equipped with greater resources both military and logistical to protect civilians and observe the implementation of the peace agreement (HumanRightWatch, 2007). UNAMID has a mandate to provide protection to civilians and to assist in the distribution of human rights assistance in Darfur. In carrying out its mission, UNAMID is assisted by 97,000 military troops from 110 countries (Sambi, 2016). Indonesia is one of the countries that has also sent Formed Police Unit to the UNAMID Mission. The Indonesian National Police (INP) get involved by sent the FPU on the UNAMID mission since 2008 and has continued until the time this research was written.

However, in 2020, the contingent rotation of FPU UNAMID XI and FPU UNAMID XII are suspend due to the Covid-19 Pandemic that has spread over the world. The Secretary General has directed the suspension of all rotations, repatriations and deployment of peacekeeper, in order to mitigate transmission of Covid-19. The rotation should have been carried out in June 2020 but due to the Pandemic the rotation was finally carried out in September 2020.

The UNAMID XII mission will encounter more challenges because it not only has to encounter an endemic but also a pandemic in Darfur, Sudan. The pandemic, which has only occurred for one year, requires UNAMID XII to be more vigilant and increase its knowledge about Covid-19. Based on the background, this research will discuss about challenges and the role of Peacekeeping Operations of Formed Police Unit UNAMID XII of Indonesian National Police on pandemics era in Darfur, Sudan.

Literature review

The Role of UNAMID in Resolving Armed Conflict between Darfur Rebels and the Sudanese Government, Petrus Krisologus Jullio Sambu in the year of 2016.

In this research, the writers explain the role of UNAMID in the mission besides keeping peace in Sudan. The Role of UNAMID are protect civilian, build the Gender Equality Unit, create HIV and AIDS programs, human rights program and sanitation program. The scope of this research is not limited. And explain the challenges of UNAMID mission from the internal and external factor.

The internal factors are the delay sending country troops aid contribution, reinforcements from contributing countries, the peacekeepers who did not obey the instruction of the commander will be replaced, there is some information was covered by United Nation. The External factors are the cooperation of the Sudanese government in providing information, lack of facilities and infrastructure on a mission, lacking tools weaponry, bad relationship between the Sudanese government and UNAMID and others.

The Effectiveness of Peacekeeping United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) in Sudan Conflict in the year of 2007-2010, Hardi Alunaza and Bastian Andhony Toy in the year of 2018.

This research is explained into two points in explaining and analyzing the effectiveness of peacekeeping by UNAMID on the conflict in Sudan. First, the role of UNAMID in 2007-2010. Second, the challenge to UNAMID in conflict resolution of Sudan. The results of this research show the role of UNAMID in the reconciliation process of the establishment of a peace agreement between the Sudanese government and JEM in 2010 to halt military aggression on both sides and restore the situation in Sudan.

Theoretical Framework

Role Concept

Definition of role according to Soerjono Soekanto, role is a dynamic aspect of position (status), if a person exercises his rights and obligations in accordance with, then he plays a role. In an organization, everyone has various characteristics in carrying out the duties, obligations or responsibilities that have been given by each organization or institution (Soekanto, 2002).

The classification of roles according to Soekanto are:

- a. Active Role, Active role is the role given by group members because of their position in the group as a group activity, such as administrators, officials, and etc.
- b. Participatory Role, Participatory role is the role given by group members to the group which makes a useful contribution to the group itself.
- c. Passive Role, Passive role is the passive contribution of group members, where group members refrain from giving the opportunity to function.

Status (position), is defined as the position or place of a person in a social group. However, to make it easier to understand the terms above, the same meaning will be used and described in terms of position (status). The community in general develops three positions (status), as follows:

- a. Ascribed status, is a position in society regardless of spiritual differences and abilities. This position is acquired outwardly.
- b. Achieved Status, is a person that can achieve by deliberate efforts. This position can be achieved by anyone, depending on their respective abilities in pursuit and responsiveness.
- c. Assigned Status, is the position which are given. This status is often related to Achieved Status, in the sense that a group gives a higher

position to someone who has fought for something to meet the needs and interests of society.

Peacekeeping Concept

Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992) defines peacekeeping as a UN's existence into the field, with the agreement of all relevant parties, usually involving UN military and/or police personnel and involving civilians (UN, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping*, 1992). Peacekeeping involved the movement of armed forces under the command of the UN to prevent the expansion of conflicts and resolving military conflicts.

Peacekeeping operations are often deployed in regions or countries experiencing civil wars that are motivated by differences in ethnicity, religion, and national instability caused by the lack of existing government capability (UN, *Principles for the Conduct of Peace Support Operations (PSO)* The United Nations Institute for Training and Research, *Programme of Instruction in Peace-keeping Operations*, 1996).

According to the book with the title *The Blue Helmets: Review of UN Peacekeeping*, the definition of peacekeeping is an operation involving military personnel but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict. These operations are voluntary and are based on consent and cooperation. While they involve the use of military personnel, they achieve their objectives not by force of arms, thus contrasting them with the 'enforcement action' of the United Nations under Article 42 (Hillen, 2000). There are two main duties of a peacekeeping operation. First, to stop or stem conflict and created conditions to enable peacemaking efforts second, to supervise the implementation process of an agreement that has been negotiated by the peacemakers.

There are at least two impacts, according to Fetherston, on the peacekeeping function. First, peacekeeping acts as a tool of separation

and provide spaces where both sides (who are in the conflict) can withdraw from the confrontation. Secondly, and most importantly, the function of peacekeeping as a resolution of a conflict by improving communication, building and create trust and encouraging social, political and economic regeneration (Fetherston, 2002).

Methodology

The 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. The theoretical foundation is used as a guide so that the focus of research is in 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, newspaper and also interviewing relevant sources to obtain sources that support this research.

Result and Discussion

Indonesia is one of the Contributing Countries in United Nation Peacekeeping Operations. Indonesia is included in the top 10 countries that contribute to sending Peacekeepers, which is in the 8th place out of 119 countries. In the year of 2020, Indonesia deployed more than 2,900 personnel in peacekeeping operations including contingent Formed Police Unit of the United Nation African Mission in Darfur XII (Beritasatu, 2020).

UNAMID XII is a Contingent of the Garuda Bhayangkara II Task Force for the Indonesian National Police at the United Nation Peacekeeping Mission stationed in Darfur, Sudan. Indonesian National Police has deployed Indonesian FPU to Sudan on the UNAMID mission since 2008. FPU of INP was formed based on Presidential

Decree Number 4 of 2008 concerning the Indonesian Formed Police Unit (FPU) Task Force in the Peacekeeping Mission in Darfur, Sudan and Presidential Decree Number 23 of 2008 concerning the Addition of a Formed Police Unit Indonesia in a Peacekeeping Mission in Darfur, Sudan. This Presidential Decree was revoked and replaced by Presidential Regulation No. 5 in the year of 2010 (BPKRI, 2010). Until now, INP has deployed 12 waves of FPU to UNAMID missions since 2008. Currently, UNAMID XII mission is still ongoing.

UNAMID XII consists of 140 Indonesian National Police personnel including 120 male police officers and 20 female police officers with the mandate of mission to protect civilians without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance by UN Agencies and other aid actors and the safety and security of humanitarian personnel, mediate between the Government of Sudan and non-signatory armed movements on the basis of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD) and support to the mediation of community conflict, including through measures to address its root causes, in conjunction with UN Country team (UN, 2020).

The training for UNAMID XII personnel has been carried out since September 2019 for 8 months. The training includes English and Arabic language training, special skills such as water treatment, driver practice, food and beverage, machine mechanics and communication and tactical training. UNAMID XII should have deployed in March 2020 but due to the Covid-19 Pandemic, the rotation of UNAMID XI and UNAMID XII had to be postponed.

Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by a newly discovered coronavirus. The World Health Organization (WHO) confirmed that a novel coronavirus was the cause of a respiratory illness in a cluster of people in Wuhan City, Hubei Province, China, which was reported to the WHO on 31 December 2019 (Elsevier, 2020). Most people infected will experience mild to moderate respiratory illness and recover without requiring special treatment. Older people, and

those with underlying medical problems like cardiovascular disease, diabetes, chronic respiratory disease, and cancer are more likely to develop serious illness (WHO, Coronavirus, 2021).

The best way to prevent and slow down transmission of the virus is to be well informed about the COVID-19 virus, the disease it causes and how it spreads. The COVID-19 virus spreads primarily through droplets of saliva or discharge from the nose when an infected person coughs or sneezes (WHO, Coronavirus, 2021).

In less than a year, the COVID-19 virus has spread throughout the world. Many countries have prohibited travelers and foreigners from entering the country by implementing lockdowns. Due to the rapid spread of the COVID-19 virus, it is declared a pandemic. This pandemic has a major impact in many countries. However, this pandemic not only impacts on the economic sector but also on the labor sector, education, the tourism sector and even on social activities. All foreign and domestic activities were postponed and even canceled. The COVID-19 also affects Contributing Countries and the United Nations field operations.

In order to mitigate transmission of COVID-19, Secretary-General of the United Nations has directed the suspension of all rotations, repatriations and deployments of Uniformed Personnel until June 2020. However, because of the existence of a lockdown policy from the Sudanese government, UNAMID XI was unable to return to Indonesia, resulting in a delay in the deployment of UNAMID XII to Sudan.

UNAMID XI repatriation in September 2020 was followed by the rotation of UNAMID XII to Darfur. The departure of the FPU of INP this time is different from the previous missions. Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic that has hit the world, all activities must implement health protocols and activity restrictions. UNAMID XII has been adapting to new challenges while continuing to implement its mandate and not only has to face the endemic in the mission area but also has to face the Pandemic.

The challenge already felt by FPU UNAMID before departure, besides there was no clarity regarding rotation to the mission area, there were also 2 UNAMID XII personnel who were positive Covid-19 in August and were treated until they were declared negative. The departure of UNAMID XII was divided into 2 chucks, social distancing also carried out on the plane. According to Public Health Unit for Uniformed Personnel, to reduce the risk of Introduction of COVID-19 from one country to another, the FPU should implemented a 14-day quarantine period pre-deployment, and then another 14-day quarantine period post-deployment within the mission area. After the quarantine, post and orientation to the mission area will be carried out and the activities begin.

In its activities, UNAMID XII continues to carry out operational activities by securing VIP accommodation, guarding and patrolling around the Super camp located in Golo Town, Darfur-Sudan. UNAMID XII implements health protocols and social distancing in activities accordance with WHO recommendations. Even the arrangement of the beds is arranged in accordance with the regulations of the Public Health Unit for Uniformed Personnel. UNAMID XII spraying disinfectant regularly on personnel who have finished working in the field, accommodation and the environment.

The condition of COVID-19 in Sudan according to World Health Organization (WHO), reported cases COVID-19 in Sudan from 3 January 2020 to 23 May 2021, there have been 34,889 confirmed cases of COVID-19 with 2,446 deaths (WHO, 2021). The Sudanese people are less aware of the dangers of COVID-19 and rarely apply health protocols.

Due to the lack of education for Sudanese people about health, especially regarding the spread of the COVID-19 virus, UNAMID XII conducted two social activities, namely “Golo Mask” and “Charity 9 Mosques”. The activities were held in Golo town on March in the year of 2021.

In the “Golo Mask” activity, the Personnel of the UNAMID XII collaborated with the local commissioner to distribute masks and hand sanitizer to the people of Golo. There are 600 masks and hand sanitizer that have been distributed. Along with the distribution of masks and hand sanitizers, UNAMID XII provided education to the public regarding the spread of the COVID-19 virus.

The second activities are “Charity 9 Mosques”, majority of the Golo citizens are Muslim, however in carrying out their worship practices, the Golo people still practicing it in the field or even in front of the stores due to the inadequate mosque facilities. In the “Charity 9 Mosques” event, UNAMID XII has provided assistance in the form of money and goods to the 9 Mosques in Golo city to repair facilities and infrastructures so that the Golo people can carry out their worship practices in more devoted way, the mosques are Atiq Mosque, Kubula Atiq Mosque, Kulubar Mosque, Khusum Mosque, Mangga Mosque, East Saurah Mosque, South Saurah Mosque, West Saurah Mosque and Thayyiban Mosque. For the activities of “Golo Mask” and “Charity 9 Mosques” are the activities made by UNAMID XII of Indonesian National Police.

Prior, in the end of 2020 the UNAMID Mission began targeting rural areas of Zalingei, in Central Darfur, with a focus on locations where diverse groups from settled and nomadic communities are living together. Their goal was to spread messages on the importance of peaceful coexistence to address issues of mutual interest, including health (UNPeacekeeping, Fighting COVID-19 and promoting peace come together in Darfur, 2020).

UNAMID collaborated with the Central Darfur State Ministry of Health and the World Health Organization (WHO) in two-week project, was implemented with support from a national NGO called the Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO). UNAMID launched COVID-19 risk communication and community awareness projects targeting hot-spot areas, which featured peace and reconciliation messages that underscored the importance of leaving behind personal

disputes and coming together, irrespective of tribal and community affiliations, to fight a common enemy that is COVID-19.

These social activities are in accordance with the mandate of UNAMID, protect civilians, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance by UN Agencies and other aid actors and the safety and security of humanitarian personnel. Besides that, UNAMID support to the mediation of community conflict, including through measures to address its root causes.

In October 2020, the Juba Peace Agreement (JPA) is signed between Sudan government and five rebel groups, the agreement aims to achieve stability and peace in Sudan after decades of multiple civil conflicts. UNAMID supported the mediation and enable the participation of the parties and civil society in the process. The Joint Special Representative signed as a witness on behalf of the UN Secretary-General (UN, 2020).

UNAMID XII used an approach by improving communication, building and create trust and encouraging social, political and economic regeneration. Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, the role of UNAMID XII in the mission increase. Besides having to reduce conflicts, UNAMID XII also carried out a humanitarian mission by carrying out social programs for the Darfur community. UNAMID XII has succeeded in providing knowledge and prevention of transmission of COVID-19.

After 17 years, the UNAMID mission is planned to end on June 30, 2021. Peacekeeper personnel are gradually come back to their country from the mission area (Meliana, 2021). However, the United Nation asked FPU UNAMID XII to continue the mission in Darfur. The UN Department of Peace Operations asked for Indonesia's contribution to the mission in Darfur with the Police Guard Unit concept. The UN asked 140 UNAMID XII personnel of INP to contribute to the mission and requested an additional 40 personnel from INP. It will be composed by two Formed Police Units (FPUs) staffed by 180 officers. Police Guard Unit has a mandate to ensure adequate security and protection of UN personnel, facilities, and properties against any untoward security

event the UN Security Council authorized the retention of a Guard Unit from within UNAMID existing establishments.

Police Guard Unit also has to providing security to the logistic base and with the capacity to give a strong response and to anticipate any unforeseen threat spectrum related with civil unrest, or public demonstrations targeting the UN base exclusively, bandit and criminality affecting UN personnel and facilities, preventing the potential intrusion, pilferage of UN Equipment and looting and plundering of UNAMID assets. The contribution of UNAMID FPU of Indonesian National Police the concept of the Police Guard Unit is proof that the Indonesian FPU contributed to the mission in Darfur so that it cannot contribute back to that mission.

Conclusion

UNAMID XII has been adapting to new challenges. Not only have to face endemism but also have to face the pandemic. The task of UNAMID XII not only to maintain peace but also to help the Darfur community become aware of the danger of corona virus. With the condition of the Darfur community who are not aware of the transmission of COVID-19, UNAMID XII conducted two social activities with the aim of providing awareness to the Darfur community. The situation experienced by UNAMID XII can be anticipated because everything that happens on the mission is an irreversible dynamic.

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THE PRESENT AND FUTURE IN A COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE CASE STUDY OF UNHCR ACTION IN HANDLING COVID-19 IN REFUGEE CAMP

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Abstract

This article aims to describe how the problems and solutions of refugee rights during the COVID-19 pandemic in refugees camp around the world. The case study of this article is UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). UNHCR as the actor of global governance that has a mandate for refugee problem, also part of the global health governance actor in handling COVID-19 on refugees camp which have limited access, very poor condition, and compounded with this pandemic crisis. This is qualitative research that using the content analysis method to find out the application of UNHCR policy, strategy, and action to handle the coronavirus crisis in the refugee camp. The article found that UNHCR working with other international actors to maximize its programs, actions, and could minimize the spreading of the virus in the refugee camp. Its collaboration has the same common goal to out from this health crisis. This article shows how important the rights of refugees to have an equal present and future based

on international humanitarian law. The international actor (UNHCR) and other actors as the part which has the mandate to maintain and protect international peace and security with the possible challenge. The pandemic taught the importance of working together, of shared responsibilities, and of the need to ensure that health and other social services meet the needs of all people around the world.

Keyword: *Global Health Governance, UNHCR, Refugee, Refugee Rights*

Introduction

December 2019, the world was hit by a disaster that changed the pattern of human life from social, economic, technological, political and security aspects with the emergence of COVID-19 or the corona virus which attacked millions of people. John Hopskin Medicine explained that Corona virus is a new virus with the SARS-Cov-2 type that attacks the human respiratory system which spreads through droplets (liquid), then is released into the air, especially when humans sneeze. The name is based on its appearance when viewed under a microscope it looks like a corona or a crown. In humans, symptoms appear within 14 days of exposure to the virus with varying degrees of symptom. Common symptoms that arise such as coughing, runny nose, accompanied by fever and severe symptoms are difficulty breathing until the result is death (M. Sauer, 2021).

This corona virus is spreading so fast in China and around the world. The Chinese government itself immediately took action by closing public spaces and the Huanan market and its surrounding areas. In addition, the Chinese government also urges and evacuates its citizens and foreigners by releasing up-to-date information related to this virus (Winarto, 2020). The World Health Organization (WHO) on March 11 declared COVID-19 a pandemic, pointing to more than 14 million cases of the coronavirus disease in more than 216 countries

and territories worldwide and its spread at risk globally. The global epidemic itself is defined by WHO as an epidemic that crosses national borders and causes various negative impacts which globally will cause a crisis in various fields (World Health Organizations, 2015).

This global pandemic disaster requires joint action by all world actors to solve this problem. All heads of state, bureaucratic staff, medical personnel, influencers, world organizations, researchers, business people, observers and individuals work together and have the same goal, which is to fight this virus. Global Governance is the main key to solving and finding solutions in maximizing the impact of this pandemic. On January 29, 2020 in the launching of the Indonesian agenda in the Foreign Policy and Global Health Initiative (FPGHI). Retno Marsudi (Indonesian Foreign Minister) stated that the spread of the corona virus globally is a sign that no country is immune to the virus (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020).

Many countries make various strategies to protect the community and in their country. However, it is different from people who are stateless or stateless. This condition is felt by refugees in various parts of the world who live in overcrowded refugee camps and have limitations in social and health aspects. Even though they have been isolated from outside residents, this virus is very difficult to contain so that they are not prohibited from entering refugee areas. So these become two big issues in the international area which also require special collaborative action from the international community. From the description above, this paper tries to analyze how the process of preventing and handling COVID-19 in refugee areas with various challenges and risks that need action by global governance. The purpose of this paper is to determine the role of the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR) as an actor of global health governance that is responsible for dealing with refugee problems even in conditions of a health crisis. This paper can add a wealth of studies in the field of international relations in the field of global health governance and refugees.

Literature Studies

- **Health in Refuges Camp**

The issue of refugees and immigrants is currently getting more complicated which is exacerbated by various factors. In recent years conflicts in various countries have emerged, this has resulted in the increasing number of refugees scattered in European and Asian countries, most of which are developing countries. Refugees due to civil war and conflicts between countries, especially in the Middle East and Asia, such as Uyghurs (China), Rohingya (Myanmar), Iran, Syria, Palestine, and other conflict-prone countries.

The United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR) noted in its annual report that at the end of 2015 to 2019, the number of victims of conflict who were forcibly evicted around the world had a very high increase to more than 60 million people with 20 million more refugees fleeing from war and persecution. from various conflict areas, especially in Syria. The increase in the number of refugees made many countries in Europe and Asia create new policies that protect and minimize new arrivals (UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 2015). This is because many countries consider the issue of refugees as part of the issue of national security, so they tighten guard and policies related to the issue of immigrants and refugees.

According to the journal from Global Health University, the increasing refugee population is out of proportion to the available facilities and camps. So that the refugees were forced to live crammed under a narrow tent. This condition results in a high potential for disease. Their survival depends on foreign assistance. This journal also states that the death rate in refugee camps is quite high due to diarrhea, measles, acute respiratory infections, malaria, malnutrition, and other infectious diseases. In addition, diseases caused by viruses also spread very quickly, such as HIV. HIV itself was found in refugee camps due to the involvement of sex workers, rape, and limited access to and education about reproductive health (Mohammad, 2020).

A report from the WHO stated that the most common health conditions experienced by displaced persons in camps were hypothermia, burns, gastrointestinal diseases and the riskiest were respiratory infections. Poor sanitary conditions and air circulation causes the spread of viruses and bacteria. Dirty air and smoke around the evacuation area are risk factors for respiratory complications, lung cancer, and cardiovascular disease (Bin Sidek Ahmad & Busu, 2019). This is due to the lack of washing facilities and clean water.

- **Global Health Governance**

From the explanation of the facts above, it can be concluded that the health issue for refugees, especially in tents, is very serious, especially when it comes to a rapidly spreading virus. The role and concern of the international community are very much needed and important to maintain global security and the welfare of people who are included in the international community in the UDHR. According to the UDHR, health is both mental and physical and is a part of human rights that must be obtained by all human beings. So it is fitting for all international communities to create a healthy society by getting health services that are evenly distributed throughout the world, including refugees. In this case, the health condition of refugees is also related to the global virus which is also experienced by almost all over the world (Arras, 2014).

Sophie Harman explains the roles and actors in global health governance. She explained that there needs to be actors, policies and a set of international norms that regulate the roles and practices of global health governance substantively and comprehensively (Harman, 2020).

The Covid-19 outbreak that emerged at the end of December 2019 in mainland China and spread to various regions in the world without borders has had a significant impact and change for every country in the world. The impact is particularly on changes in behaviour and habits in environments with multiple boundaries and a set of health protocols to prevent the spread of the virus. According to protocol guidelines from the WHO world health agency, which urges the entire

world community to implement public health protocols by requiring the use of masks, washing hands, maintaining interaction distance, and avoiding public crowds by reducing activities outside the home and making the home the safest place (WHO, 2020).

This appeal was also adopted by every country and became a new rule for citizens in this time of the pandemic. Not all humans have a country with a government that can guarantee its security. This condition is experienced by refugees in refugee camps. The Covid-19 outbreak infects the refugee camp area. They find it difficult to stop the spread due to limitations in all aspects. So far they live and depend on foreign assistance. It is very difficult to implement a health protocol for hand washing. They lack water and that there is no clean water like in the Cox Bazar area. They live with small circulation and space. They cannot implement health protocols as advised by WHO. While the spread continues to increase in their territory. Seeing such conditions requires handling and management especially the virus outbreak in refugee areas.

If at the country level the media is being used to tackle the issue of the pandemic with global health diplomacy. So for the problem of refugees, apart from requiring active collaboration with communication at the state level, it is also necessary at the international level, or what is called global health management records as guidelines and norms in dealing with global problems, especially global refuge and viruses. In this paper, we highlight that there are two problems, namely refugees and the global pandemic which will be focused on discussing global health governance in the refugee cluster.

Research Methods

This research focuses on content analysis. In this study, the authors took the theme of this research because it relates to the problems currently being faced. This study uses a descriptive method that uses the latest sources from Literature reviews contained in news, articles and journals to obtain rigid data. In analyzing, the authors use the

concept of global health governance or Global Health Governance.

Theoretical Framework

The study of international relations is very broad in line with the development of globalization. One of them is about the concept of global health governance in addressing various global issues. Whitman defines that governance can be understood in terms of the nature and number of many actors involved both, across sectors, and at high and low levels. In the sense that all human systems in the world can be considered to be interconnected, even if their power is unequal and incoherent as a whole, global governance is a fact of the human condition (Whitman, 2009).

By definition, governances are actions and means that encourage collective action in dealing with problems and provide collective solutions to achieve common goals. Institutions require agreement on various matters, such as; membership, rights and obligations, decision-making, communication tools, mobilization and distribution, resources, dispute resolution, rules, mechanisms, formal or informal procedures. Governance is concerned with the wide variety of collective actions played by local community groups, transnational companies to UN security council (Pahl-Wostl, 2009).

Health governance institutions are managed by various formal or informal institutions (Mer-C) in the local (Ministry of Health) and International World Health Organizations, or in collaboration with institutions in other sectors (UNDP and UNHCR). So simply, Global Health Governance is defined as a process carried out by state actors such as state and non-state actors (IO, NGOs, and private sector) who collaborate to support the creation of solutions, policies, rules and implementation related to global health and security.

Explanation and Results

The Covid-19 pandemic is adding to an increasingly severe crisis for immigrants and refugees in various parts of the world. This virus

continues to spread to the largest refugee camps in the world. The Human Rights Commission said the rate of Covid-19 infection was alarming and was increasing rapidly in densely populated settlements that host millions of the world's most vulnerable to disease. In addition, the existence of this pandemic has given the refugee machetes that the humanitarian and health activists who distribute aid experience obstacles in terms of mobility. It is also because of their own concern because they have to reduce social activities. The global economic recession requires cutting humanitarian funding for refugee victims and limiting activities between countries to prevent the transmission of this virus. A number of countries where refugees and immigrants have fled, such as Germany, France and Bangladesh, have established a lockdown policy. For example, the government in Cox's Bazar district has established a policy of reducing public activity by closing shops in the Ukhia alley on April 19, 2020. The lockdown policy is tightened due to the emergence of the first case in the largest refugee camp that accommodates more than one million refugees. An official statement from WHO spokesman Catalin Berbaru contained the first two patients infected with Covid-19. He deployed the investigation team to act swiftly in dealing with the first two cases by tracing patient contacts for testing and providing medical services during quarantine. The government authorities say the prevention is to continue to educate the refugees and carry out tests on them.

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that there is a lack of up-to-date information about Covid-19 to refugees. US activists say that the internet ban in refugee areas is exacerbating and accelerating the spread of the virus because they are not well educated. He also said that the finding of the first case was proof that the realization of the precaution was poor by the competent authorities. NGOs Save Children also stated that the pandemic has shown the vulnerability of the population to the possibility that thousands of people will die in Bangladeshi refugees. Since the first cases were discovered, the number of infected has continued to increase. About 283 people died and nearly 19 thousand

people were infected with limited capacity for health, quarantine and medicine (Safiqul & Sam, 2020).

The plight of the pandemic has also been felt by refugees in Greece and Syria. In Atmeh, Syria with a density of nearly one million refugees which resulted in the number of Covid-19 cases increasing drastically at the end of 2020. It is impossible for a health protocol to be implemented. Refugees have long survived an ugly, narrow and dirty conflict. Nearly 40% of them have tested positive for infection. But most of them don't really care about the presence of this virus. Refugees said in their interview to the BBC that their lives were under threat of death whether or not the coronavirus was present. For them, this virus is only a small part of their suffering so far which has resulted in the loss of their family, property and property as a result of war. Rockets, military violence, gunfire, the sound of bombs exploding and Covid-19, are all challenges and death threats for them. The doctor at the Syrian camp said that the medical personnel there could not control all conditions related to health and safety. This is because they realize that the facilities and medical personnel available are very limited, not only for handling Covid-19, even for women who give birth and children are also very limited (Conwey, 2020). They have had to rely on foreign aid and international agencies to survive in this dire situation.

- **Refugee Rights**

The explanation of the situation above is only a piece of bad facts about the impact of the coronavirus pandemic experienced by the refugees. However, whatever the circumstances and conditions, refugees have a set of laws in the form of rights and obligations regulated by the 1951 international convention, the protocol of obligations relating to the status of refugees in 1967, the Universal Declarations of Human Rights, the American Declaration on Human Rights, the Cartagena Declaration, OAU Convention on Specific Aspect of the Refuges Problem in Africa, Arab Charter, European Convention on Human Right (International Justice Resource Center, 2020).

The definition of refugees under Article 1(A)(2) of the 1951 Convention defines a refugee as an individual who is outside his or her country of nationality or usual place of residence who is unable or unwilling to return due to fear and incapacity of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in certain social groups.

Furthermore, what is more, important than law and definition is the right they have as refugees under international law. Basically have a set of rights attached to them in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International humanitarian law for those who are in a crisis of conflict. The problems and issues of displacement are getting more complicated, so the UN has formed a special international institution that is given the mandate to deal with refugee issues, namely UNHCR. In his work program collaborates with various other international relations actors, both state and non-state actors. UNHCR under a set of binding laws has a duty to protect and grant the rights of refugees. These rights are in the form of protection from various violence, the right to live in safety, the right to access health, the right to get sanding and food, the right to get asylum, the right to receive basic assistance, the right to freedom of thought, and to get good and equal treatment as a human being. Economic and social rights, the right to access education, and the right to work. All of these rights are contained in a set of human rights. So handling the Covid-19 issue in refugee areas is the responsibility of global institutions. Especially under the UNHCR which deals with refugees and WHO which is responsible for global health.

- **The Role of UNHCR to Fight Covid-19 in the Refugee Camp Area**

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the official international organization under the umbrella of the UN which is responsible for dealing with the issue of refugees and migrants in various countries. UNHCR was formed in 1950, after the cold war, to help millions of Europeans who lost their homes and fled their

countries. In 1954 the organization was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its success in dealing with refugees in Europe (UNHCR, updated 2020). During its journey, UNHCR faced major challenges until early 2020 with the emergence of Covid-19 in almost all countries in the world. According to the report from UNHCR, Covid-19 has had quite a large impact and challenges. This virus has claimed more than 70 million people (December 2020). Meanwhile, 79.5 million people in the world have been forced to leave their homes because of conflicts, persecution and rebellion which have resulted in vulnerability to refugee populations in various countries such as Africa, Bangladesh, Jordan, Palestine, Syria, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ethiopia, Sudan, Zambia, Malaysia, Ukraine, Greece, Burkina Faso, Ecuador, and Guatemala. Refugees live under death threats from various external and internal causes (UNHCR, 2020).

The existence of Covid-19 does not only pose a health threat to UNHCR's work program. UNHCR is taking serious action by implementing various long and short term plans and strategies for refugees. Monitoring carried out by UNHCR has been carried out since the beginning of the pandemic with data stating that more than 74% of households with refugee status are only able to meet half or even less than half of their basic needs.

The entry of the second wave of the pandemic has been felt by many countries in mid-2020 with the tightening of borders and even the closure of land and sea routes with a national lockdown policy which has also affected UNHCR's performance in dealing with the Covid-19 issue in the midst of the pandemic. The urgent calls that UNHCR has received for protection have also risen sharply. Since WHO issued the official announcement that Covid-19 is a global pandemic, UNHCR has deployed all its staff in various countries to create specific agendas, plans and strategies to prevent the spread of this virus in refugee areas as well as the first response as a quick step in dealing with this virus (UNHCR).

Following are the roles and strategies carried out by UNHCR for refugees in various countries during the Covid-19 pandemic; (UNHCR, 2020)

- UNHCR collaborates with local governments, NGOs, multinational actors, the World Bank as an international financial institution, international organizations both under the UN, especially WHO, and other humanitarian activists to overcome the pandemic problems faced by refugees. For UNHCR the role of other actors is very important to distribute aid and information. Coordination was built as an immediate action that minimizes the dangers and impacts of the spread of Covid-19.
- UNHCR is expanding logistical and financial assistance to reduce the socio-economic impact caused by Covid-19.
- UNHCR improves monitoring and protection to ensure that the rights of refugees are maintained despite the global crisis caused by Covid-19.
- UNHCR recommends including refugees in national health systems in every country.
- UNHCR supports and provides medical assistance to local governments in each country by distributing medicines and essential supplies, in the form of personal protection for health staff; masks, goggles, gowns, disinfectants, and prepare special management.
- UNHCR advocates for and supports governments to include refugees in national COVID-19 preparedness and response plans.
- UNHCR focuses on ensuring access to water, sanitation and hygiene by educating about covid-19.
- UNHCR is also building or renovating isolation and quarantine facilities including through the use of refugee housing units, reused tents, hospital tents and semi-permanent structures.

- UNHCR trains and supports health workers in health facilities as well as community health workers on coronavirus preparedness and response.
- At the global level, UNHCR works with partners through the COVAX facility to access the COVID-19 vaccine for refugees and other populations in humanitarian situations. At the country level, UNHCR is working with the Ministry of Health, WHO, UNICEF, and other partners on vaccine strategy and implementation planning

The role of UNHCR and other international organizations is very important for refugees in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. UNHCR has a duty to provide services and protection for refugees. The contribution of UNHCR as a global actor who is given a special mandate to deal with refugee and immigrant problems in the midst of a global crisis situation can work optimally if collaborating with various national and international actors in dealing with refugee problems in the midst of a global health crisis. Pandemic conditions have highlighted the significant contribution that communities make to global protection and well-being. Local communities need international support to strengthen health facilities and ensure that the pandemic does not affect certain individuals or groups, especially the world's most vulnerable population, namely refugees. The explanation above shows that global health governance in handling Covid-19, especially in refugee areas, cannot run individually or in one institution. Health issues are currently the main ontological and epistemological fields of study. The role of institutions such as UNHCR, WHO, UNOCHA and other institutions have become a major subject in the international world. They depend on each other to carry out their mission in handling and resolving crises. In the process, we see that UNHCR, which plays a role in focusing on the issue of displacement, has created a number of agendas and strategies related to refugees during a pandemic involving many actors to maximize their role. UNHCR is also burdened by various inherent international laws regarding the

rights and obligations of refugee status, one of which is the right to physical and mental health. In a set of international rules and norms, UNHCR and other actors are working together to continue to provide protection and guarantee the rights of refugees as much as possible with the challenges of the current global crisis.

- **The Future of Refugee in Camp Area**

Throughout 2020, UNHCR saw an increase in the psychosocial and mental health risks of refugees. Many of them have been waiting for years for long-term solutions, while at the same time they do not have enough opportunities to live independently and for self-development.

With education and training opportunities delayed due to COVID-19 restrictions, many refugees see resettlement as the only way to a meaningful future. In the absence of prospects for using and developing their capacities, refugees live in uncertainty, hoping only to find placement in a third country.

The reality is, the chances of obtaining placement in a third country for refugees around the world, are very limited. More is needed to improve the refugee situation. UNHCR requests that refugees be given more opportunities for education and capacity building. This will have a huge impact on the good of refugees and enable them to contribute back to the communities that have provided them with shelter. The importance of psychosocial care and support for all refugees, as well as increased advocacy, is also needed (UNHCR Indonesia, 2021)

Conclusion

Covid-19 is a global pandemic that affects all aspects of life. 2020 is a year of crisis for almost all human in all countries, including the refugees living in border areas and refugee tents. Those displaced by war and violence in their countries face crisis and death threats at all times. With the global health crisis adding new threats to them. With access to health, social, economic, and housing that is narrow, dirty and limited, it is very difficult to implement a health protocol that

is in accordance with WHO recommendations. Despite the limited conditions, refugees still get their rights in accordance with a set of international rules and laws that are attached to them. So, to maintain and protect their rights, there is a need for health governance and management of Covid-19 handling in refugee areas. The special organization mandated to deal with refugee issues is UNHCR. UNHCR has an important role, especially in the conditions of the global health crisis. UNHCR collaborates with WHO and other actors in handling Covid-19 in refugee camps to initialize the social, economic, health and even death impacts. Good global health governance is very important as the main key to get out of a global pandemic. All actors involved and bound by international law have the same goal of protecting the entire international community. Health issues are closely related to international security, so it should be the main object of study at this time.

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THE ROLE OF THE STATE MIDDLE POWERS IN THE PANDEMIC TIME OF COVID-19: INDONESIA AND MEXICO IN THE MIKTA FORUM

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic has impacted various aspects of life, so that multilateral cooperation is increasingly needed. One multilateral forum that actively echoes the spirit of multilateralism during the Covid-19 pandemic, namely MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia) which is a forum for five middle powers that aims to bridge member countries in overcoming issues at the level global. Of the five countries, Indonesia and Mexico are the two lowest in terms of the quality of their handling of Covid-19. Therefore, the aim of this research is to describe the role of Indonesia and Mexico in the MIKTA forum during the Covid-19 pandemic which is analyzed through the comparative case study method with the application of the middle powers concept. Based on the results of the analysis carried out, It can be seen that there are significant differences in roles between Indonesia and Mexico in three factors, namely material, behavioral, and ideational. Material factors are seen from the material capabilities of the two countries, in this case the economic growth of the two countries

during the Covid-19 pandemic, the results show that both countries experienced negative economic growth respectively at -3.4% (Indonesia) and - 9% (Mexico). This condition causes the behavior of the two countries to also differ, which can be seen from their foreign policy and international activism in the MIKTA forum. Indonesia can be said to be more active than Mexico in the MIKTA forum, even in other multilateral forums to respond to Covid-19 at the international level, whereas when viewed from an ideational factor

Introduction

Since Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) case was first detected in the city of Wuhan, China in December 2019, countries around the world have started to make various efforts to prevent the entry of Covid-19 into their respective countries. Some countries have carried out a total lockdown and some other countries only appealed to the public to maintain health protocols and physical distancing.(Syawfi 2020).However, it cannot be denied that the presence of Covid-19 has led to major changes in various fields of life, ranging from health, economy, social, culture, politics, and so on, including in the field of international relations.

Therefore, every country in the world is increasingly strengthening its cooperation with other countries to handle the Covid-19 case, this shows that bilateral and multilateral cooperation is increasingly needed, not only in the health sector such as procurement of medical equipment and vaccines, but also in economic sector because every country needs to move its economy back after Covid-19(Anon 2020b). One of the collaborations in the post-Covid-19 economic recovery effort is cooperation between Indonesia and Mexico, in which the two countries play their roles as middle powers in the world political arena.

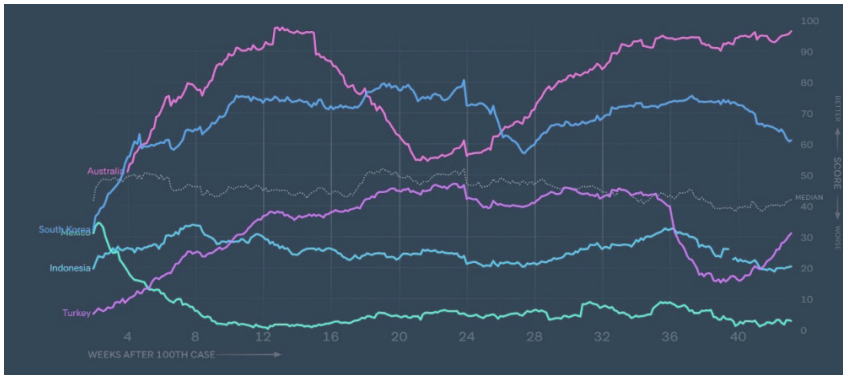
Currently, Indonesia and Mexico are faced with considerable challenges in facing various changes in the context of the increasingly polarizing world economy, so that this condition requires both

countries to be more cooperative, not only able to play a role in their material capabilities, but more than that, namely maintaining spirit of multilateralism in the midst of a pandemic. To that end, Indonesia and Mexico agree to cooperate in various fields, from health cooperation to cooperation in the digital economy, agriculture, tourism, and a sustainable green economy.(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2020a). This cooperation is not only important in ensuring the economic security of the two countries, but also as a form of solidarity among MIKTA member countries (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia) in suppressing disruptions to essential economic activities amid the Covid-19 pandemic.(Sriyanto 2020).

MIKTA itself is an informal forum of five middle powers that was formed on the sidelines of the 68th meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) on 17 September 2013, with the aim of bridging gaps in the multilateral system and building consensus on global issues. complex and challenging (Anon tt). Indonesia and Mexico are among the countries that play an important role in helping MIKTA to reduce the social and economic impacts of the Covid-19 by collaborating with member countries of the G20 and encouraging the World Health Organization (WHO) to coordinate with various parties in responding to Covid -19(Anon 2020a).

In the midst of their important role at the multilateral level, especially in the MIKTA forum, what is interesting is that it turns out that Indonesia and Mexico are two countries that still have a high number of Covid-19 cases and are still considered not good at handling them. This is based on data from a scientific publication entitled the Covid Performance Index made by The Lowy Institute in March 2021, it shows that Indonesia is ranked 89th out of 102 countries for handling Covid-19, while Mexico is even worse at being ranked number one. 101. When compared to other countries in the MIKTA forum, Indonesia and Mexico are in the lowest rank, because the other three countries are still in a better position, such as Turkey at 72, South

Korea at 21,(Institute 2021). The comparison of the five countries can be seen in the graph below:



Source: <https://interactives.lowyinstitute.org/features/covid-performance/>

Of course this has a very bad impact on the economic conditions of the two countries, where the economic loss borne by Indonesia due to Covid-19 is IDR 1,356 trillion throughout 2020.(Zuraya 2021). As for Mexico, Covid-19 has resulted in the country's economy shrinking 8.5% in 2020 and this is the biggest one-year decline since 1932(Yolandha 2021). This condition in the end created a separate obstacle for Indonesia and Mexico as middle powers to play their role at the multilateral level through the MIKTA forum in responding to Covid-19.

Based on the above background, in this study the authors ask a question, namely "How do Indonesia and Mexico as middle powers play their role in the MIKTA forum in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic which has a negative impact on the economic conditions of the two countries?". The purpose of this research is to describe the role of middle powers in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic at the multilateral level by taking case studies of Indonesia and Mexico in the MIKTA forum.

Literature review

In this Literature review section, the author examines several previous writings related to research topics regarding the role of middle powers during the Covid-19 pandemic. One of the writings referred to is the research conducted by Radiye Funda Karadeniz (2020) in his writing entitled 'The Middle Power Moment' Revisited in Global Governance: A Chance for MIKTA's Legitimacy Crisis in Post-Pandemic World ?. This article answers the question of whether the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic carries a risk or opportunity for MIKTA in dealing with the legitimacy crisis that occurs at the global governance level.

However, in this article, Karadinez argues that Covid-19 will provide an opportunity for MIKTA to strengthen its position at the global level, as long as middle powers as members of MIKTA can also play their roles at the same level, for example, such as South Korea and Australia as members of MIKTA. which are considered the most successful in handling the Covid-19 case, this can be used as a momentum by middle powers to contribute to the global level by developing vaccines, playing an important role in humanitarian action, and becoming a bridge between developed and developing countries to gain access. to the availability of medical equipment and vaccines, so that this contribution can strengthen the legitimacy of MIKTA at the global government level, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. This momentum is what Karadinez calls 'The Middle Power Moment' (Karadeniz 2020).

In addition, according to Erik Brattberg (2021) in his writing entitled Middle Power Diplomacy in an Age of US-China Tensions, the role of middle powers has also become increasingly visible since the Trump administration decided to withdraw from multilateral forums which were later exacerbated. with increasing rivalry between the United States (US) and China during the Covid-19 pandemic. As soon as Trump in April 2020 threatened to stop funding to WHO amid the pandemic, the European Union held an international conference on

May 4, 2020 in order to raise funds amounting to 7.4 billion euros or about USD 8 billion for the development of the Covid-19 vaccine. This fundraising involves several countries such as the UK, Canada, Japan, and several other countries without involving the US.(Brattberg 2021).

Based on the two writings above relating to the role of middle powers during the Covid-19 pandemic, it can be concluded that during this pandemic, middle powers can strengthen their position at the global level by utilizing multilateral forums, this can become a form of middle powers. diplomacy in balancing the power of the great powers during the pandemic. For this reason, specifically in this paper the author will discuss the role of Indonesia and Mexico in the MIKTA forum during the pandemic.

Theoretical Framework

The concept of ‘Middle Powers’ in International Relations

The concept of middle powers in international relations has increasingly emerged since the term was used in a lot of academic literature and at the political level after the end of World War I, because of the presence of middle powers that are increasingly being taken into account at the global government level. The term middle powers itself actually refers to non-great powers that have the power to influence the international system in specific cases, form a significant regional environment, and refrain from dependence on great powers.(Robertson 2017). As explained by Gareth Evans (2011), the role of middle powers at the global level is not only seen in terms of material capabilities, but also in the actions they take such as the tendency to create multilateral solutions to international problems and unite various ideas from the international community to be used as a guide in carrying out their diplomacy, which in other terms is known as middle powers diplomacy.

In short, middle powers diplomacy is a type of diplomacy carried out by middle powers in creating global and regional initiatives without any assistance or role from the great powers. (Paris 2015). Middle power countries use this diplomacy to suppress their policies towards

other parties, so that they are able to create peace and prosperity in their regional or global environment. (Evans 2011). Based on this view, according to Kardinez (2020) the characteristic of middle powers diplomacy is its concentration on the capacity of the state in a specific scope to influence the international system by building coalitions and developing multilateral institutions. Although then the level of influence that middle powers can create is different from one another, so that this condition divides the concept of middle powers into three parts, namely traditional middle powers, established middle powers, and emerging middle powers.

Although the definition of the three concepts is still being debated, most researchers later agree that there are three factors or indicators that can explain the role of middle powers at the global or multilateral level, namely material, behavioral, and ideational factors that influence policy. abroad of a country. Material factors are seen from the material capabilities of a country at the middle level (medium-sized), behavioral factors are seen from its foreign policy which tends to lead to multilateralism, soft-power, and innovation, while ideational factors are seen from self-identity as a middle power country. recognized by the international community(Bezglasnyy 2013). These three factors are interrelated with each other in shaping the role of middle powers as traditional middle powers, established middle powers, and emerging middle powers. These three factors are also used by the authors as indicators to analyze the roles of Indonesia and Mexico as middle powers in the MIKTA forum during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Methodology

This research is a qualitative descriptive study using a comparative case study method. The type of data used is secondary data collected through library research techniques, namely data collection techniques by examining a number of literatures from books, journals, scientific articles, and the internet as research instruments. The data analysis technique used in this research is in the form of content analysis, which

is a research that is in-depth discussion of the contents of written information to explain the phenomena that occur, so that relevant analysis can be obtained in answering the existing problems.

Results and Discussion

It cannot be denied that the presence of Covid-19 has disrupted the stability of the international system by causing a number of adverse impacts on public health and world economic conditions, so that the Covid-19 pandemic has caused a global crisis that must be borne by all countries. Every country has a different way of responding to Covid-19, this depends on the readiness and strength of each country.

Countries that have strong institutions and more efficient health systems will be able to better cope with the Covid-19 pandemic because they are supported by scientific knowledge and research, so they can produce solutions more quickly. On the other hand, countries that do not have such a system will find it more difficult to cope with the Covid-19 pandemic (Gardini 2020). Therefore, the existence of cooperation and commitment between countries is expected to be able to restore world economic conditions and revitalize the stability of the international system in order to produce freedom, peace and prosperity. (Cimmino et al. 2020).

Cooperation between countries in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic has been carried out in various multilateral forums, one of which is MIKTA. Based on the results of the video-conference at the 18th MIKTA Foreign Ministers' Meeting on February 3, 2021 which involved five Foreign Ministers of each member country (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia), it was stated that MIKTA would continue to be committed to upholding the the spirit of multilateralism in facing the Covid-19 pandemic situation by encouraging global institutions to collaborate with each other in ensuring the availability of access, distribution and security of affordable medical devices and vaccines (MIKTA 2021). However, the commitment of the five countries in responding to Covid-19 through

the MIKTA forum is also faced with a number of challenges from the domestic conditions of each country, considering that the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has expanded to economic, social and political aspects. This will be a separate obstacle for MIKTA member countries to play their role at the multilateral level, especially for Indonesia and Mexico, where both countries still have bad scores on efforts to deal with Covid-19 in their respective countries.

In accordance with the concept of middle powers, the roles of Indonesia and Mexico in the MIKTA forum during the Covid-19 pandemic will be seen from three factors, namely in terms of the material capabilities of the two countries, their foreign policies, and the identity of the two countries as middle powers. These three factors will determine the role of the two countries in the MIKTA forum during the Covid-19 pandemic. To see the material capabilities possessed by Indonesia and Mexico, the authors use indicators of economic growth in the two countries during the Covid-19 pandemic. As stated by Anton Bezglasnyy (2013), a country's economic growth is a reflection of its military and industrial power which is complex,

Based on the Gross Domestic Product (PDB) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the Indonesian economy in the second quarter of 2020 was based on current prices at 3,687.7 trillion rupiah, but at constant prices with the base year 2010 amounting to 2,589.6 trillion rupiah. When compared with the basis of constant prices or yoy (year on year), Indonesia's economic growth in the second quarter contracted -5.32%, which means that Indonesia's economic growth experienced negative growth.(Wuryandani 2020). However, in the third quarter of 2020, Indonesia's economic growth has increased as seen from the contraction of -3.4%, although it is still negative but has shown improvement.(Ginting 2021).

Meanwhile, Mexico experienced a more severe economic growth throughout 2020, based on its GDP in the second quarter of 2020, Mexico's economic growth experienced a slowdown and contracted at -17%, although it later experienced an improvement in the third quarter

of 2020 where there was an economic growth of 12.1. %. However, in total the Mexican economy still contracted by -9%. This condition is the biggest contraction that Mexico has experienced since the great depression in 1929, even having a negative impact on the labor market in Mexico from April to May 2020, as many as 12.5 million Mexicans lost their jobs so this number increased the unemployment rate in Mexico by 4.5%, an increase from the previous month in March 2020 which was at 3.3%(Zaga, Ortiz, and Trujillo 2020).

The negative economic growth experienced by Indonesia and Mexico throughout 2020, of course also has an impact on the government budget in various fields, including the budget for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the two countries. In 2020, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a budget of 8.6 trillion rupiah, an increase of 9.3% from 2019, in which the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget was at 7.9 trillion rupiah.(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2019). However, due to the unfavorable condition of Indonesia's economic growth, in 2021 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia only received a budget of 8.1 trillion rupiah, a decrease of about 0.11% from the previous year. Even though in 2021, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted a proposal for a budget of 11.3 trillion rupiah, but based on the letter of the Minister of Agriculture, the Head of Bappenas, and the Minister of Finance only set a budget for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as stated.(March 2020).

As for Mexico, its government budget will also experience a decline in 2021, nationally the Mexican government budget will decrease by 6.4%, which has an impact on budget cuts in each region of Mexico and its ministries, including the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This condition causes Mexico to be ranked first as the country that has the highest death rate due to Covid-19 in all Latin America regions(Ellis and Nagl 2021). This certainly presents a number of challenges that must be faced by the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs in carrying out its diplomacy at the multilateral level.

Based on the picture of the economic growth of the two countries, it can be said that the material capabilities of Indonesia and Mexico experienced weakness during the Covid-19 pandemic, which had an impact on Indonesia and Mexico's international activism in the MIKTA forum. This will be further explained through the analysis of the second and third factors of the middle powers concept used, namely the behavioral factors seen from the foreign policies of each country in carrying out Covid-19 diplomacy through the MIKTA forum, and ideational factors seen from their identity. (self-identity) of the two countries as middle powers in the international system.

For Indonesia, although it is still considered not good at handling Covid-19 cases, it turns out that Indonesia is still actively involved in promoting common interests and aspects of gender mainstreaming in handling Covid-19 through the MIKTA forum. Even the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs also encouraged other MIKTA member countries to conduct economic and health cooperation to maintain trade stability, global supply chain, mitigate impacts, protect the vulnerable, and encourage acceleration and distribution of vaccines. (MoFA 2020b). More broadly, even Indonesia is also actively involved in other multilateral forums in order to strengthen cooperation in handling Covid-19.

For example, Indonesia together with Ghana, Liechtenstein, Norway, Singapore and Switzerland initiated a resolution on global solidarity to overcome Covid-19 at the United Nations General Assembly, 188 countries also supported by sponsoring the resolution. Furthermore, Indonesia also participated in the COVID-19 International Coordination Group meeting initiated by Canada, and actively conveyed Indonesia's interests regarding Covid-19 at the 25th Meeting of the ASEAN Coordinating Council (ACC). (Day 2020). These facts have shown that the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on Indonesia's economic growth has not reduced Indonesia's role at the multilateral level, especially in carrying out Covid-19 diplomacy in various forums. Not only does it play an important role in MIKTA,

more than that Indonesia is also actively encouraging efforts to deal with Covid-19 at the global level while maintaining the spirit of multilateralism which was one of the focuses of Indonesia's foreign policy during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Whereas for Mexico, with the lowest handling graph for Covid-19 of the four other countries in MIKTA, it turns out that Mexico is also trying to implement a new normalization policy gradually in its country, but Mexico's international activism amid the Covid-19 pandemic is not as strong as Indonesia. The constraints faced by Mexico include the weak side of state institutions that deal with welfare issues in Mexico and the federal system which makes coordination of the president and governor difficult.(Giraudy, Niedzwiecki, and Pribble 2020). In addition, with the budget cuts for the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its capacity to push for a number of programs and initiatives in MIKTA has also been hampered, which in turn puts MIKTA at risk of losing its legitimacy at the global level. As explained by Robertson (2020) that the initiative of the middle powers in the MIKTA forum will gradually decline, even for more than 7 years of existence, the presence of Covid-19 presents the greatest risk for MIKTA.(Robertson 2020).

As for the identity factor, each country in the MIKTA forum has its own identity as a middle power country that was formed long ago even before MIKTA was established. Like Indonesia, which has a long history of independence and foreign policy activism since its independence in 1945. Indonesia's identity as a middle powers country was later recognized during the SBY administration by carrying out its role as a regional power with global interest and concerns.(Sinaga, Farhana, and Prayoga 2019). Meanwhile, Mexico, furthermore, has long gained recognition as a middle power country, namely at the same time as the formation of the United Nations (Glazebrook 1947). However, although these identity factors have long been obtained by Mexico, Mexico has experienced a diplomatic stagnation in behavior regarding its membership in MIKTA.

The identity of middle power countries is then questioned again during the current Covid-19 pandemic, which allows the emergence of a new middle power moment, in the sense that countries that are stronger and have succeeded in balancing their role domestically and internationally in overcoming Covid-19 will more politically positioned at the international level than other countries that did not succeed. Including for MIKTA member countries during the Covid-19 pandemic, many patterns of international relations have begun to change, for example South Korea, Australia and Turkey prioritize diplomacy with neighboring countries rather than using the MIKTA forum to overcome Covid-19 (Karadeniz 2020). This condition will pose a threat to Indonesia and Mexico in playing their roles at the multilateral level, especially in MIKTA.

Although the spirit of multilateralism continues to be echoed by MIKTA in various meetings, the real actions of each MIKTA member country will determine MIKTA's existence at the global level. If each member country does not contribute well, then this will harm the MIKTA forum itself, so it is not surprising that some researchers have a pessimistic view of MIKTA's contribution at the global government level, due to the Covid-19 which poses a number of challenges for member countries. MIKTA. Indonesia and Mexico then faced a dilemma to overcome their problems domestically, but were also required to play an active role at the international level. However, based on the results of the analysis through the concept of middle powers by reviewing three indicators,

Conclusion

The presence of the Covid-19 pandemic has had a huge impact on the lives of people in the world, and has even had an impact on changing the international system and global order. The spirit of maintaining multilateralism in the midst of a pandemic has become the focus of foreign policy in various countries, including Indonesia and Mexico, which are two middle powers in the world political arena. Indonesia

and Mexico are also actively involved in multilateral forums, and one of the forums that unites various middle power countries is MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia). However, it cannot be denied that the Covid-19 pandemic has also had an impact on the economic conditions of each MIKTA member country.

Of all MIKTA member countries, the two countries most affected by the presence of Covid-19, namely Indonesia and Mexico, which in the assessment by The Lowy Institute, said that Indonesia and Mexico were in the lowest rank compared to the other three countries in MIKTA. The impact that was felt most by the two countries was that their economic growth slowed down and contracted with a value of -3.4% (Indonesia) and -9% (Mexico) respectively throughout 2020. The negative growth of these two countries had an impact on Indonesia's role. and Mexico in the MIKTA forum which analyzed from three factors based on the concept of middle powers, namely material, behavioral, and ideational factors.

Based on the results of the analysis that has been carried out, the roles of Indonesia and Mexico in the MIKTA forum have behavioral differences, which is indicated by Indonesia's international activism which is more prominent than Mexico's in responding to Covid-19. This is due to differences in the domestic politics of the two countries which then have an impact on the implementation of each country's foreign policy. Indonesia, with its domestic problems, is still able to play an important role at the global level to deal with Covid-19 cases, in contrast to Mexico, which is very affected by Covid-19, resulting in instability in Mexico's domestic political system and ultimately also affecting Mexico's activism in forums. multilateral forums, such as the one in MIKTA. Even though, When viewed from the ideational factor, Mexico gained legitimacy as a middle power country earlier than Indonesia. However, this did not have a significant impact on the readiness of the two countries in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic and the role played by the two countries in the MIKTA forum.

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ENERGY MANAGEMENT TOWARDS RENEWABLE ENERGY: ENERGY POLICY MANAGERIAL IN INDONESIA BENCHMARKING TO OTHER COUNTRIES

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Abstract

This research will focus on the energy handling process that takes place in several regions in Indonesia. The focus is on how the managerial activities carried out at the provincial and regional levels become the driving force for the handling of existing energy. One of the important and at the same time important aspects for Indonesia is how to increase this energy consumption is increasing. This figure will increase in 2030 (Renewable & Agency, 2017). This becomes a serious challenge when faced with these needs that must be served, considering that economic needs are a fact of energy. This requires a mature concept related to existing policies. The latest data required good collaboration between local governments and providers of energy equipment and processing. Furthermore, there will be more details related to how this ongoing energy handling is an integral part of local government policies. On the other hand, the community taken very important role to the managerial.

Keywords: *Renewable Energy, Policy, Indonesia, Germany, Management*

Introduction

The main problem with fossil fuels is their unequal geographic distribution, which makes oil a geopolitical problem (Scheffran & Singer, 2015). The largest reserves of fluid fossil fuels are located in crisis regions where the dependence of a few producers in the so-called “Strategic Ellipse,” stretching from the Middle East to Central Asia, intensifies a new “Great Game” over political influence in this region. Currently identified oil reserves are concentrated in the Middle East (ca. 67%), natural gas in the successor states of the former Soviet Union (43%) and the Middle East (29%), and overall resources extractable at the high 2004 price levels may be similarly concentrated.

After addressing the startup problem, renewable energy sources (other than large dams) offer an alternative with less risk, conflict and security implications. (Scheffran & Singer, 2015). International wars, armed conflicts, and other disasters from the use of renewable energy are very unlikely to be compared to oil and nuclear technology (Scheffran & Singer, 2015). But there is a risk if renewables are scaled up to the same order as fossil and nuclear energy at a very high rate (Scheffran & Singer, 2015). Since renewables require large areas to collect energy, as seen from large dams, they run into land use disputes, first of all with food production. (Scheffran & Singer, 2015). In order to avoid problems that disrupt the existing energy system, sustainable energy switching will maintain the economic, social, and ecological suitability of each technology. (Scheffran & Singer, 2015). Using careful attention to regulation of biotechnology use and safety standards for the production and maintenance of power plants and transmission equipment, risks to health and the environment can be reduced (Scheffran & Singer, 2015).

The trend of handling energy in technology continues to develop towards a more renewable direction, this is in line with the number of

countries that have ratified the Kyoto protocol, including Indonesia. (Jupesta et al., 2011) Likewise Germany as one of the countries that is much more mature in ratifying the Kyoto protocol, where Germany has a policy to immediately change its energy handling with *Energiewende* energy policy. (Stiftung, 2013). In addition to the Kyoto protocol as a convention ratified by both countries, the next aspect to be considered is the implementation of its policies. Germany with the *Energiewende* and Indonesia with policies in progress.

Granted this is not apple to apple to compare. Given that the two countries have different economic conditions and different country systems. However, specifically in dealing with renewable energy, it can be compared because renewable energy is a new concept, and the two countries can be said to have just started together even though there is a time gap in research and application. On the other hand, the aspect being compared is the aspect of policy and its relationship with the community. So that aspects such as economy, country topography, and aspects that are not related to how international values related to renewable energy can be ignored. This paper will explain how the concept of energy change management is specifically carried out by Indonesia, which is compared to Germany.

Literature review

In the journal entitled “Energy and Non-Traditional Security” written by Fitriani Ardiansyah, Neil Gunningham and Peter Drahos, they explain how Indonesia is experiencing a state of confusion regarding the handling of this energy, they even refer to this confusion as Trilemma confusion. (Ardiansyah et al., 2012). This means that there are several important aspects that affect this confusion, namely energy security itself, climate change, and energy poverty.

Unlike what was done by Sami Andoura entitled “Energy Cooperation under Aegis of the Weimar Triangle”, his research shows that there is a disagreement in the concept of energy policy. In his research, he emphasized that in general every country has economic

motivation in its energy policy (Andoura, 2010). This economic motivation is the main motivation for this energy cooperation. So that the cooperation that is built will lead to economic efficiency and effectiveness. This is shown in the form of energy cooperation, the emphasis is on how this energy cooperation becomes a collaboration that is able to produce energy across national borders so that it can cover all market needs. (Andoura, 2010)

This is inversely proportional to the journal written by Piotr Buras Cooperation: Bartek Nowak, Anna Dzieszowska and Jędrzej Trojanowski entitled Poland-Germany: Partnership for Europe? Interests, opinions of elites, prospects. The journal states that the communication pattern between Germany and Poland is more about political communication between countries regarding the determination of energy handling schemes, in this case renewable energy. (Buras et al., 2013). This scheme emphasizes on the determination of the agreement between the German and Polish government elites, where in the public sphere there is no need for massive communication, given the trend that has also emerged in the community towards renewable energy (Buras et al., 2013).

In contrast to Craig Morris and Martin Pehnt, in a journal entitled The German Energiewende, explained that the communication pattern carried out for handling energy, especially renewable energy, is carried out in a community-based way where each community that has the Go Green label or the like has a role in developing policies related to the energy transition (Buchanan, 2017). Each community has a role to carry out campaigns or socialization related to policies or management schemes launched by the government. So in the case of Germany, the communication pattern that is applied is much lighter and even more..

In the journal entitled Renewable energy policy scenarios as implementation moderation of fuel subsidy policy in Indonesia by Ferdy Novianto, Sumartono, Irwan Noor and Lely Indah Mindarti, it is explained that there is a communication mechanism that must be carried out massively in order to create a conducive condition.

for the implementation of energy handling (Novianto et al., 2018). Apart from the complexity of the bureaucracy, of the various energy handling schemes that exist, in the case of fuel subsidies, for example, the role of government communication to the community is crucial for implementing the policy. If this is related to the handling of renewable energy, there is a need for a much more efficient scheme which aims to shift an energy management scheme towards a new energy handling which must be explained to the public. This will later be related to how to connect the technical management of renewable energy with the bureaucracy and society so that later a subsidy structure will be created for a much more efficient energy management. (Ferdy et al., 2018). The implementation scheme is known as the GSCA Structural Model.

Theoretical Framework

To see the relationship between energy use in Indonesia and Germany, the Norm Diffusion methodology which comes from constructivists is used (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Theoretically, there is a tipping point where the two countries adopt international norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). This international norm is present as one of the emergencies adopted in handling this renewable energy. In principle, the presence of technology will indirectly change the handling of existing energy. However, the people who are affected as well as actors have the mechanism to carry out what has been declared. The norms that were present led to the pattern that what was happening in Germany was like the ongoing progress which was adopted by the Indonesian people. One of the tipping points that occurred was a result of the increasingly scientific handling (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Technology and society that intersect directly eventually force society to lead to a more empirical scientifically in energy development technology (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

The prevailing international norms can eventually be partially adopted in the policies applied by a region to the country. This is strengthened where the role of the community specifically can work

directly so that it can become legitimacy for the state in making policies (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Apart from that, the intrinsic quality which becomes an important foundation in determining policies and norms itself will determine the strength of this energy handling. Materialism, instrumental utility maximization vs “logic of appropriateness” the action itself is good, choice do we choose to follow a norm, or is it simply “internalized”(Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998), This means that the possibility of maximizing each policy with the norms that have been absorbed, there is a quality sharpness that affects the norm itself(Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

Methodology

In this study using qualitative methods with data obtained through literature studies. The data reference used is data from energy-related research institutions and journals that explain how a country’s energy management is handled. Existing data are processed as evidence and reference facts of the relationship between one country and another. The data used are qualitative and quantitative data, where qualitative data is used as a descriptive reference and quantitative data is used as a reference for facts on how sophisticated a fact is. The relationship between the data and what will be analyzed is how the data is present as a pure description which can later be explained further with the theoretical framework.

Result and Disucussion

Indonesia Renewable Energy Managerial

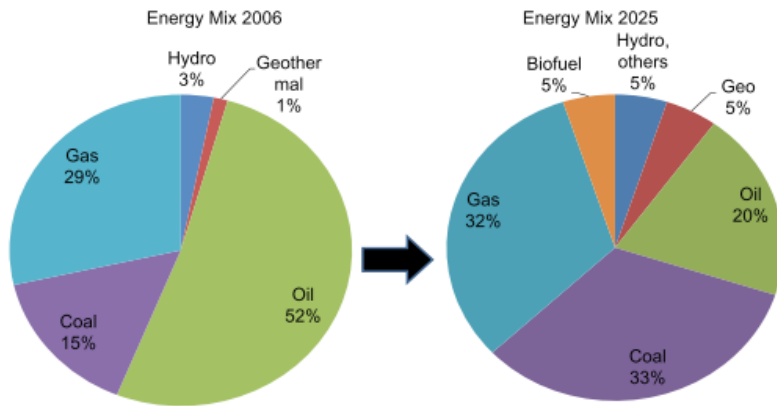
Inequality in access to electricity in Java and outside Java is quite high, where the electrification ratio of DKI Jakarta has reached almost 100%, while the provinces outside Java, especially eastern Indonesia, for example East Nusa Tenggara and Papua, are still below 70 % (Ibrahim, 2014). Nationally, currently the use of clean and renewable energy in Indonesia has only reached around 6% of the national energy mix (Ibrahim, 2014). Renewable energy sources can be used without

limits. Renewable energy sources consist of air (hydro), geothermal, biomass, sun, wind, ocean waves and nuclear. Hydro energy sources have the greatest potential with 769.69 MW of resources in Indonesia (Ministry of PPN RI, 2012) (Ferdy et al., 2018). One of very potential is Geothermal. Due to data obtained from electromagnetic radiation is not accurate because geothermal covers the entire area, but only on land. Meanwhile, the geothermal energy in volcanoes, even in the oceans, is immeasurable. Apart from inaccurate data, renewable energy has not been exploited properly, as evidenced by the limited installed capacity with the number of available resources. (Ferdy et al., 2018). Development of renewable energy development took at least five years and five years in developing (Ferdy et al., 2018). On the other hand, the application of solar power is also an important part considering its application in the Nias region. The data shows that the energy cost of the PLTS planned in the Nias area is Rp. 307.02 / kWh from the cost of fuel from PLTD operating in the Nias area. If PLTS can be implemented, which is 20% of the system capacity, then the use of fuel oil can be saved by around 1.95 million liters per year which is equivalent to IDR 2.16 billion per year. (Nafis et al., 2015).

The Eastern Geothermal Working Area is less attractive to investors (small potential), and if the Work Area has no bidder, the Government can appoint BLU / BUMN based on their respective abilities to develop geothermal potential. "In carrying out Exploration, Exploitation and / or Utilization, the Government may appoint a Public Service Agency or State Owned Enterprise which operates in the geothermal sector. (Hermanto & Narindro, 2019).

Figure 1 shows the Mixed Energy Policy (2006), which states that renewable energy (geothermal and hydropower) will increase from 4 to 15 percent within 20 years. Biofuels were introduced with the aim of meeting 5 percent of total energy consumption by 2025. Biofuel development is expected to create at least 4 and 7 million jobs in 2010 and 2025 respectively. In 2008, the transport sector was replenishing 26 Mtoe, as illustrated in Table I. Replacing 5-20 percent of this oil with biofuels will reduce 1.5-6 billion liters of

fossil oil consumption per year. Since the transport sector used 30 percent of total energy consumed in 2008 (in this calculation, energy obtained from biomass for cooking in rural areas is not included)



Source: Jupesta (2010)

Government make regulations based on the hierarchy of Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning statutory regulations. The large geothermal potential in Indonesia needs to have great benefits to be developed as an energy source of choice, especially for the prosperity of the Indonesian people. Therefore, state management must be regulated by an exclusive policy. Therefore, the Government made regulations for geothermal operations, especially in the upstream part. Law Number 27 of 2003 concerning Geothermal Energy is one of the solutions undertaken by the Government to encourage geothermal development to meet national energy needs at that time. (Hermanto & Narindro, 2019).

The aforementioned other party is a business entity, which is every corporation in the form of state-owned enterprise, regional-owned enterprise, coop, or private company that is established based on applied regulations, working on constant type of business and continuous business, operating and located in Republic of Indonesia [Article 1 point (2)]. These things are also in effect of exploration, feasibility study, and exploitation activities. Therefore, it can be summarize that geothermal is natural wealth which is controlled by the state and utilized to the

greatest benefits of people (Hermanto & Narindro, 2019). The state's responsibility to fulfill the people's prosperity is done by working on geothermal.

In Indonesia, there are many stories about providing energy at the village and community levels with renewable energy. Tri Mumpuni, Executive Director of the Institute of Business and Community Economics (IBEKA), has worked for 20 years empowering rural communities to build micro-hydro power plants (PLTMH). According to Tri Mumpuni, the top down approach model that is often used by the government should be paired with a bottom-up approach, where the community is involved and their capacity is developed to manage PLTMH in their village (Ibrahim, 2014).

Germany Renewable Energy Managerial

What people want in energy is energy services. In other words, we don't want gallon gas, but mobility; not electricity and fuel oil, but a cold storage area for food and good lighting, a comfortable home (Buchanan, 2017). In 2015, a survey found that 55 percent of Germans believed climate change was a "very serious" problem, much more than 27 percent felt that the economic crisis was the biggest problem - perhaps because the German economy has proven to be very resilient. The last few years thanks in part to green technology. Unsurprisingly, the survey determined that 79 percent of Germans believe that energy efficiency and climate change are good for economic growth and can create jobs. Surveys have repeatedly found that less than 10 percent of Germans are "climate skeptic (Buchanan, 2017). The term 'Energiewende', which first appeared in the 1980s within the minority sphere of the German energy policy debate, was adopted as the official headline of the new German energy paradigm in 2011 (Fabra et al., 2015). The German approach to political decisions has been going on for a long time. The timeframe for the energy transition to a decarbonization energy system has a number of specifics. Among other things, the strong political ties with the prize for renewable and renewable energy are ambitious on the one hand and the cessation of the use of nuclear power on the other.

(Fabra et al., 2015). One of stepstone that German made is its decision in 2011 using combination energy, phase out of the nuclear energy and increasing the renewable while developed it (Bitoune, n.d.) There are 3 plants for mid and long term (Fabra et al., 2015):

- The nuclear phase-out trajectory of 2000/2002 was extended by 8 years for the older reactors and by 12 years for the newer reactors.
- Greenhouse gas emission targets were set for 2020 (40%, now unconditional), 2030 (55%) and 2050 (80% to 95% below 1990 levels).
- Ambitious targets for energy efficiency and the roll-out of renewable energy sources were defined for different energy sectors, including the power sector.

In other hand, there are some important point to be the corner stones to going that condition (International Energy Agency, 2013):

- Priority access for renewable energy (RE) to the power grid.
- Priority transmission and distribution.
- Fixed price for every kilowatt hour produced for 20 years for many technologies.
- Tariffs are set technology-specific and specific with regard to further provisions (such as site, system services, etc.).
- Reduction of the tariffs as a result of technical and market development.
- Equalisation of additional costs for electricity from renewable energy between all grid operators and electricity suppliers.
- Independence from public budget.
- Regular monitoring and evaluation process, comprehensive accompanying research and analysis.

The federal government's objectives in relation to increasing the use of renewable energy are a cornerstone of the Energy Concept of September 2010.

The Energy Concept sets out specific milestones and targets to the year 2050, including (International Energy Agency, 2013):

- an increase in the share of final energy consumption from renewable energy sources from approximately 10% in 2010 to 60% by 2050;
- an increase in the share of electricity generated from renewable energy sources from approximately 17% in 2010 to at least 80% by 2050

Germany is a society where people are concerned about their comfort, so that all these devices are becoming more efficient, we have to make sure that people don't just decide, say, that a car with twice the fuel mileage means they can drive twice as much. Well a lot at the same price (Buchanan, 2017). Increasingly, new modes of flexibility will need to be tried out (Buchanan, 2017). The housing association is working on a flexible housing concept to allow rooms to be separated easily to end the unbroken growth in per capita living space over the last few decades. (Buchanan, 2017). Elsewhere, residential complexes now have highly efficient washing machines for general use in basements, and car sharing provides people with efficient mobility to meet their needs. (Buchanan, 2017). They will find solutions on their own as they become more aware of the problems posed by unpredictable energy price fluctuations and the impact of carbon emissions. (Buchanan, 2017).

Energiewende is implemented in a very complex practice involving changes in law and business in society (Lada et al., 2015). The most important of these projects are the following: Renewable Energy Act, European Union Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) / EU 2030, power market reform, regional cooperation within the European Internal Market framework, energy efficiency strategies, expansion of network infrastructure, a gas supply strategy, and a discussion platform for debating issues with interested parties (Lada et al., 2015).

Benchmarking Between Two

Differences

Indonesia government does not see the energy reserves, but merely meeting the demands of the community (Ferdy et al., 2018). This is what happens in some countries in the world. This problem is getting bigger when the energy supply provided is dominated by fossil energy sources, which are now on the critical threshold, so that the current energy state becomes inefficient (Ferdy et al., 2018). Renewable energy is only as an alternative energy and not used as much as possible. In contrast to Germany, where the government uses survey data as a reference where 70% of the people agree to a change towards renewable energy (Buchanan, 2017).

On the aspect of the scale of application, Indonesia only makes renewable energy, especially geothermal, the most considered. This happens because what is being designed cannot be formulated in a comprehensive manner. This was followed by low political will from the government, even though the existing laws do regulate, but they do not necessarily develop directly. For the country's own agenda, Germany has made the energy transition a big agenda for the country.

Similarity

Both countries are international actors who have both ratified the Kyoto protocol. However, a more fundamental principle is how the norms related to renewable energy actually exist in society. If this business is not very profitable in Indonesia, it means that the development of renewable energy requires high costs, but in the community itself, this renewable energy is very helpful for their energy supply. On a smaller scale in the Nias community, this has even become one of the driving forces for the economy. Likewise in Purwakarta, West Java, where the Solar Power Plant is one of the pillars of energy supply in Purwakarta (Fauzi Wibowo et al., 2019). As also happened in Germany, the community has also started using solar energy as an independent energy supply for existing housing. It can even be paid by the state in exchange for helping supply the country's electricity

supply. The concept of handling energy between the two countries at the community level is not too dependent on the government. The phenomenon that occurs in both countries is flexibility at the community level, even when Germany is a strong government, in the sense that it has a direct role and policies have a direct impact, the community builds solar panels as an alternative energy, just as villages in Indonesia build solar panels. for his own needs.

Conclusion

In principle, the two countries have different forms of society. Policies regarding the application of renewable energy also face the same challenges in the two countries, namely regarding how to transition to its mass application. The social aspect that plays a strong role here is how the prevailing norms are, where it comes from international norms as one of the philosophical concepts of handling energy with supportive values for the environment with renewable energy successfully embedded in society. This is what makes the two countries have a driving force to change the handling of energy from non-renewable to renewable ones. The concept of renewable energy is in principle born from technology which is then distributed so flexibly. This flexibility in the absorption of technology creates international norms which are indirectly adopted by society. The great consensus of the Kyoto protocol and the carbon reduction agendas that were born from government to government and implemented directly by the government, are refuted by the norm diffusion theory, meaning that the absorption of technology by the community and directly applied by the community.

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THE EFFECT OF K-POP ON THE SENSE OF GENERATION Z NATIONALISM

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Abstract

Over the past decade, K-pop has been a wave of cultural phenomena that rapidly go global because of technological advances. This popular music genre originated from South Korea has created groups of enthusiasts in various parts of the world, including Indonesia. In Indonesia, the K-pop wave targeting teenager or the generation Z, who uses gadgets a lot in their daily life. In this research, we try to examine to see how the influence of the K-pop phenomenon as an international entity can affect Indonesia's domestic structure based on an intermestic approach and a constructivist perspective rooted in the Symbolic Interactionism Theory by Herbert Blumer. The subject of this research is K-pop as an international phenomenon that can affect domestic objects, namely the norms of generation Z. The data in this study were obtained by using a questionnaire survey method on samples and also literature study through secondary data obtained from various journals, previous research, books as well as websites that is authoritative and relevant to the subject and object of research. In this study, we conclude that there is

a relationship between the K-pop phenomenon and the change in norms within generation Z. How a person interprets K-pop can affect their actions or norms. Pleasure and love for objects belonging to the K-pop phenomenon can diminish the sense of nationalism in generation Z Indonesia.

Keywords: *K-pop, Generation Z Indonesia, Intermestic Studies, Nationalism*

Introduction

K-pop or Korean-pop is a popular genre of music culture originating from South Korea. Over the past decade, K-pop has become a wave of cultural phenomena that, thanks to the sophistication and development of technology, have gone global very quickly. The increasing globalization of K-pop has led to the growth of fan groups in various countries, one of which is Indonesia. K-pop entertainment has a high level of consumption in Indonesia. Outside of K-pop, various entertainment originating from South Korea also dominate the Indonesian entertainment market. This situation has the potential to lead to cultural imperialism. In addition, looking at the development of Kpop entertainment in Indonesia, it is likely to influence individuals who like it (Putri & Reese, 2018). In Indonesia itself, K-pop is favored by various groups, ranging from a teenager, even young mothers. However, the biggest group of K-pop fans in Indonesia is teenagers, known as Generation Z.

Generation Z is considered the future generation of Indonesia with abilities that are more versatile, individual, open-minded, entrepreneurial, more global, and always doing activities by utilizing technology. Through this technology, Generation Z can find access to various information about K-pop. During the pandemic, Generation Z's consumption of K-pop entertainment has increased because various activities are carried out at home, which causes boredom to make Generation Z continue to entertain themselves and look for entertainment that can be accessed easily via the internet. Generation

Z's level of consumption of K-pop entertainment is high compared to consumption of other entertainment. Besides making K-pop as entertainment, Generation Z also views K-pop as a center for pursuing a musical career. By Generation Z, K-pop has many interpretations and meanings. This meaning is what shapes how Kpop as a culture, as a phenomenon, can affect an individual. In this study, we are interested in discussing how K-pop can influence Generation Z's norms, particularly on Generation Z's sense of nationalism. For the author, this is very interesting to discuss because it returns to the characteristics of Generation Z, which is more global and openminded. However, on the other hand, it is also considered the future of the nation how an international entity can influence the norms of the nation's next generation. Is the meaning of K-pop by Generation Z can encourage the growth of a sense of Generation Z Nationalism to advance the country or diminish the sense of Generation Z nationalism?

Literature review

Literature review of previous studies is an essential component in research as a reference to ensure that there is no similarity between research that is currently being carried out and research that has already been carried out. For writers, a Literature review is needed to gain a more precise and in-depth understanding of the issues being studied, help form and build arguments, and become a source of reference for writers. In this study, the authors use secondary sources in the form of national and international journals that have been published and have similar problems and research topics with the author.

First, **Pengaruh Budaya Korea (K-POP) Terhadap Remaja di Kota Cirebon** in the Journal of Communications (UNJ journal) vol.1, no.1, 2019, pages 1-26 written by Ida Ri'aeni et al. This research emphasizes how K-POP is endemic to adolescents. Around Cirebon City, K-pop is more associated with all Korean culture. It was found that some teenagers still prefer national culture and get to know Cirebon's local culture, such as Tarling, Mask Dance, Sintren Art, and

Batik. Nevertheless, they still want to get the newest update of the development of K-POP in terms of music, lifestyle, and culture. They think that following these developments is in line with the emerging modernity.

Second, **Korean Wave dalam Fanatisme dan Konstruksi Gaya Hidup Generasi Z** in Jurnal NUSA vol. 14, no. 1. 2019 pages 125-134 written by Karina Amaliantami Putri et al. The purpose of this research is to understand and analyze the lifestyle of generation Z, who are fanatical fans of the Korean Wave. The results of his research, four factors make generation z fanatical about the Korean Wave. They are admiration, addiction, desire, and loyalty. The element of fanaticism inherent in generation z leads to the indirect formation of their lifestyle identity, which turns the Korean Wave into entertainment, spending much time and spending money associated with the Korean Wave.

Third, **Korean Wave: Lingkaran Semu Penggemar Indonesia** in Sosietas Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi vol. 10, no. 2, 2020 pages 887-893 written by Ananda

Wahidah et al. This research focuses on the consumption practices of Korean fans in Bandung, namely the Bandung Korean Community (Hansamo) and Korean dance cover members. The results showed that Korean Wave fans' consumption was for Korean music, films, dramas, and Korean beauty products that increase in demand. The presence of idols/actors/actresses as brand ambassadors adds to their prestige as fans in fulfilling their desire to look the same as idols/actors/actresses. Beauty products from Korea are more superior to local products from Indonesia even though the benefits and functions of Korean beauty products are not always suitable for Indonesian fans.

Fourth, **Membangun Kembali Sikap Nasionalisme Bangsa Indonesia Dalam Menangkal Budaya Asing di Era Globalisasi** published in Jurnal Pesona Dasar vol. 3, no. 4, 2016 pages 65-72 and written by M. Husin Affan and Hafidh Maksum. Indonesian cultural values such as cooperation, friendship, warm hospitality are basic features that can make Indonesians love and preserve the nation's

culture. With the entry of foreign cultures that are often difficult for the public to select, the government and society have an important role in maintaining Indonesian cultural values. These cultural values do not mean that we must be closed to foreign cultures, but the values and philosophical meanings of Indonesian culture must be used as a source of inspiration and creativity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper uses an intermestic approach to explain K-pop as an international phenomenon that can affect domestic norms. As part of International Relations studies, intermestic uses to study and explain the interactions, correlations, and linkages between international and domestic issues that impact phenomena, policies, ideas, values, and norms of a country.

This paper also appreciated Herbert Blumer's idea as one of the constructivist perspectives rooted in Symbolic Interactionism Theory. Helbert Blumer summarizes the three main premises of this theory. First, an individual's activities that based on the meaning embedded in the object. It means that actions are encouraged not because of spontaneity but because of the individual's interpretation of the object. Second, the meaning is created from the process of social interaction. The object's meaning is the result of a shared (inter-subjective) meaning. In addition, the meaning is agreed upon by two or more parties. Third, the meaning can change depending on the individual's interpretation. The change of an individual's interpretation will also change the meaning and significance of the object. This implies that the meaning is something that not static but dynamic by the interpretation of the subjects involved in it.

The meaning of K-pop is created from the result of shared meaning that was explained by Blunner's premise. The same thing also happened to nationalism's meaning. Specific action cannot be a Conclusion of the norm. How a K-pop fan interprets the meaning of K-pop that can affect his sense of nationalism, not on his status as a K-pop fan. Therefore,

using a constructivist perspective to explain these issues will be able to explain more precisely how a K-pop phenomenon can affect the nationalism of generation Z in Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

This research is a qualitative research with a descriptive method that seeks to explain how an event can occur, which can help understand in-depth understanding and precisely explain the problem being studied. Overall, the data used to describe the problem, provide arguments, and provide the right opinion were obtained by the author through secondary data sources by studying various literature sources such as books, journals, research results, media news, as well as from internet sites or research object websites, as well as sites that are authoritative and relevant to the problem being researched.

Result And DiscussionS

What is K-pop?

K-pop is short for Korean Pop-music (Romano, 2018), a nickname for pop culture from South Korea. K-pop is the heart or core of South Korean culture that has become a worldwide phenomenon, which includes music, TV series, and shows, or what is also known as Hallyu (Green, 2018). The economic crisis that struck Asia in 1997-1998 became the beginning of President Kim Dae Jung's initiative for a national economic recovery program through cultural policies and made the cultural sector the main program to promote economic growth (PARK, 2016). Kim Dae Jung saw the economic potential of media and entertainment, then introduced several programs in developing South Korean culture, known as the 1998 New Culture Plan, *Munhwa saneop jinheun 5 gaenyun gyehoek* or Five-Year Cultural Industry Promotion Plan, The Vision 21 for the Cultural Industry in 2000 and the last one is The Vision 21 program for the Cultural Industry in a Digital Society in 2001. These programs aim to introduce South Korean culture and carry out the Korean culture industry. Since then, K-pop has become

one of South Korea's best export products. The world of Korean culture is known as the Korean Wave.

The first wave in which K-pop occurred is between 1997 and 2007 and spread to almost all regions of Asia. Meanwhile, the second wave of the K-pop phenomenon spread globally from 2008 until now (Green, 2018). Between 1995 and 1998, before culture became an industry for South Korea, three music agencies emerged, namely SM Entertainment, YG Entertainment, and JYP Entertainment. These three music agencies introduced the idol concept that now dominates the K-pop industry (Romano, 2018). In 2002, K-pop began to penetrate the international scene when a female solo singer with the stage name BoA gained popularity in Asian countries (Putri & Reese, 2018).

In the second wave of K-pop, K-pop became more known to the world because of the advance in technology. Several K-pop groups that are worldwide includes Super Junior, Big Bang, and Girls Generation, as well as EXO who currently being and warmly discussed, followed by BTS and Blackpink. Apart from the government, which continues to support the K-pop music industry, and the innovation that is always served by K-pop idols and agency, the convenience of accessing all information from various parts of the world via the internet is one of the factors K-pop can get worldwide.

How K-pop Enters Indonesia

The entry of K-pop culture in Indonesia was when the Korean drama 'Endless Love' aired in 2002 on one of the private television networks and it became popular. The drama had a neat storyline and short episodes with amazing actors that played their roles amazingly. Endless Love marked the entrance of the Korean wave in Indonesia (Simbar, 2016).

Korean wave in Indonesia then got bigger after RAIN a singer and an actor that starred in a popular drama Full House held a concert in Indonesia in 2005. Seeing the success of RAIN's concert in Indonesia made other Korean idols held concerts in Indonesia. One of the biggest

agencies in South Korea SM Entertainment held a concert in Indonesia back in 2012 called SM Town Live World Tour III that presented all its idols. This concert became the first biggest K-pop concert to be held in Indonesia with more than 50,000 audiences. The popularity of K-pop culture in Indonesia has also influenced the Indonesian music industry to produced boy bands and girl bands such as SM*SH and Cherrybelle that had a concept just like the boy bands and girl bands from South Korea (Rakhmat & Tarahita, 2020).

K-pop in Pandemic

The covid-19 pandemic made K-pop culture even more popular because many people who initially had no interest in K-pop culture became interested. The growth of K-pop culture is because of the lockdown, the public wanted entertainment, and K-pop was one of the most popular trends in this pandemic. During the pandemic, the K-pop industry uses digital like social media to provide a platform for their idols. We cannot separate the development of K-pop culture in the community amidst this pandemic from the role of social media such as Instagram, Tik Tok, Youtube, Facebook, and Twitter which can spread information very quickly and make cultures such as K-pop easier to recognize.

Because the pandemic occurs, Youtube is the platform that agencies use to promote their idols since they cannot hold fan meetings or concerts. They use Youtube to entertain fans by uploading content containing the idol's daily life and online live concert. Idols also released many albums and singles at the time like this. Indonesia is one of the countries that contributes a lot to the sales of albums and singles from their idols such as BTS, Blackpink, and EXO. Fans usually use Spotify to stream songs from their favorite idols. The rapid development of K-pop during this pandemic can be proven by Indonesia occupying the second position in terms of global streaming (Supriyanto, 2020).

With the increasing number of K-pop fans, especially among Generation Z, online shops and Indonesian-made products take advantage of this Korean wave to boost their business by using K-pop

idols as their brand ambassadors. The idols that become the brand ambassadors of their product are idols that currently viral, such as;

BTS, who is the brand ambassadors of Tokopedia; Blackpink, who is the brand ambassadors of Shopee; and NCT, who is the brand ambassadors of Nu Green Tea. Moreover, these companies also invite Korean idols as guest stars at their events. This has led to an increase in the number of users and consumers of products that appointed Korean idols as brand ambassadors for their companies. This can be proven when Tokopedia held the shopping festival with BTS as their brand ambassador. Based on Nielsen's data, the program was watched by 1 out of 4 Indonesian television viewers, and there were more than 1 million views on the Tokopedia Play video streaming channel. During this event, there were as many as 5 million visitors opened the Tokopedia site, and more than 5000 items were sold every minute. There were also 40 thousand 'Tap Tap Box' boxes opened every minute (Lawi, 2020).

What is Nationalism?

Nationalism is known as love for the country. During the last few years, nationalism has become an issue because nationalism is considered infrequent now. In the history of the Indonesian nation's struggle, nationalism is known as a word that evokes the spirit of struggle against oppression and colonialism by the colonialists (Kusumawardani & Faturochman, 2004). The sense of nationalism in Indonesian society began when Budi Utomo was born in 1908 and become the first organization to unite Indonesian youth to fight for independence and against colonialism (Nainggolan, 2019).

Indonesian Dictionary defines nationalism as an understanding or teaching to love the nation and state. In another view, nationalism is defined as a sense of love for the country, feeling the same as ethnicity or culture within one (Kusumawardani & Faturochman, 2004). Indonesian historian figure, Hara, stated that nationalism is a pride to show our identity as part of a nation that was born from self-awareness and not passed down. Nationalism is a sense of pride from an individual in being part of a country. These various views and

definitions of nationalism have a core that leads to a concept of national identity, which has a function in showing individual identity among the world community (Kusumawardani & Faturochman, 2004). The feeling of pride in the identity of a country becomes an impossible and challenging thing if a citizen has not been able to find that sense of pride in themselves.

Nationalism Nowadays

The sense of nationalism in the modern era and globalization has become a new urgency for every nation, one of which is Indonesia. If nationalism is one of the driving forces for the growing feeling of advancing the nation, then a sense of nationalism becomes even more important to be embedded in Indonesia's young generations, which in this study is focused on Generation Z. Even so, with the diminishing boundaries of the world and the inclusion of various values, cultures, and beliefs from other countries, the nationalism of Indonesia Generation Z has become diminished. Not a few Generation Z understand the values or culture of other countries better than the values or culture of Indonesia. Generation Z also knows more about foreign idols than their nation's heroes.

Globalization and massive information exchange have made Generation Z more reference to the values or cultures of other countries and awareness of global issues. The perspective of Generation Z is also becoming more diverse and not limited to the perspective of the environment around them. This affects the sense of nationalism in Generation Z. However, the nationalism in Generation Z is not a narrow nationalism. Generation Z nationalism no longer about fighting for the country or acting heroically like a hero but supporting their country through social media with a broader reach. The nationalism possessed by Generation Z is far different from the nationalism possessed by the previous generation. The modernization of technology and information does affect the sense of Nationalism. However, not a few Generation Z have other ways to show their nationalism because of this modernization.

Understanding Generation Z

Generation Z refers to the generation born between 1995-2015. They were born and grew up with a very different experience compared to Generation Y. Generation Z has never been separated from the use of the internet in its various activities. (Dwidienawati & Gandasari, 2018). The life of Generation Z has always been in line with technological developments towards a more advanced direction, the development of communication systems, and social developments that have become more global. Generation Z is the first generation to have access to digital communication technology on a wide scale in the form of cellphones/smartphones, Wi-Fi, and computers (Bassiouni & Hackley, 2014). This communication technology allows them to find information from various parts of the world easily and more quickly. Because of this, it is said that Generation Z has more knowledge about the world. Generation Z is very much tied to online activities that can connect them with the international world (Tulgan, 2013). The internet has the most significant role in the activities of Generation Z in adolescence (Hinduan et al., 2020).

Growing up in a much more modern environment, Generation Z has a mindset that is also much different than the previous generation and follows the conditions of the surrounding environment. Generation Z is generally more risk-averse, has fewer expectations, and has self-confidence but is still cautious (Tulgan, 2013). This is influenced by the environmental conditions where Generation Z grows, which is much easier and more practical but requires caution and strategies to be superior to the others.

How Indonesia's Generation Z Understanding Nationalism and K-pop

The meaning of K-pop and nationalism that has previously been described is based on a literature study, while the author considers that the meaning of something is always different for each individual. How an individual interprets and interprets something always depends on how they view it. Likewise, nationalism and K-pop for Generation Z.

Each individual has its meaning. Generation Z personally interprets nationalism and K-pop based on the perspective of each person.

In general, Generation Z defines nationalism as the love of the homeland. However, some define nationalism as taking heroic actions as a citizen from the start of the simplest actions, for example, following the independence ceremony on August 17 or loving local products. Indonesia's Generation Z views that a sense of nationalism is a feeling of not being ashamed to be part of Indonesia, pride in everything Indonesia has, such as culture, language, and local products. Generation Z also interprets nationalism as a sincere and conscious sense of love and pride for their nation. Nationalism is a feeling that is bound and obligatory for a citizen.

On the other hand, Generation Z interprets nationalism with a variety of interesting views and highly reflects the characteristics of Generation Z itself, which has always been considered an open-minded generation. Generation Z interprets that nationalism is not obligatory, let alone it is lowered or also depends on one's citizenship status. The sense of nationalism does not depend on where individuals are born and raised, nor it becomes an obligation for individuals to love the land of their birth. Nationalism is something about sincerity and not a feeling that grows out of doctrine and obligation.

Moved to what about Generation Z Indonesia interpret K-pop as an idol. The majority of Generation Z interpret K-pop as entertainment. K-pop that presents music, dance, visuals, and fun characters are part of the entertainment. Especially in times of pandemic, Generation Z consumption of K-pop entertainment increase and be more intense than they are used to be. Apart from that, K-pop fans have a deeper bond with their idols. K-pop fans have high admiration for K-pop idols. This feeling can be present because fans appreciate K-pop music whose lyrics always contain the meanings of life and appreciates the difficulty of becoming an idol that K-pop idols and stars go through (Green, 2018). These feelings drive Generation Z to interpret K-pop

not only as an idol but also as an inspiration and reference in music or achieving goals, a role model in dress, and also act.

Discussion

The existence of a process of meaning that appears before taking action results in a link between nationalism and K-pop in Generation Z. This connection can be seen from how one's nationalism influences one meaning of K-pop and vice versa. From how they interpret the meaning, someone's actions will appear in how they respond to nationalism and K-pop.

A particular action that a person takes as a result of its interpretation of K-pop cannot be immediately categorized as an action that can reduce nationalism. The meaning of an object, nationalism, and K-pop, can change depending on one's interpretation. Besides that, the meaning of an object is also encouraged by the interactions made by the individual. K-pop fans in Indonesia form special groups with the same pleasure to interact and exchange information. The form and process of interaction can affect the process and how the individual perceives an object. The meaning created from the social interaction process produces shared meanings that can create categories or views that refer to what kinds of actions of liking K-pop include reducing the sense of nationalism and which are not.

K-pop fans who interpret K-pop not only as entertainment tend to be influenced by the values of culture inherent in K-pop. Their admiration for idols or K-pop stars influences them to imitate their idols. Generation Z K-pop fans in Indonesia have a tendency to feel very familiar with their idols, which encourages them to follow activities carried out by their idols, motivating and directing them to emulate and behave the same or equal to the idol they admire. They are also dressing like K-pop idols and eat foods recommended or promoted by their idols.

Such actions will become more obvious when they hang out with other people who share the same passion. Hanging out with people who

share the same passions and ways of acting can encourage an individual to be more passionate about doing activities that they feel comfortable and want to continue. K-pop socially influences generation Z of K-pop fans. Their attitudes, thought patterns, and cognitive activities change little by little to become like Korean people. This fanaticism indirectly forms a fan lifestyle itself (K. A. Putri et al., 2019).

Not only changing their actions, but the easy access to information via the internet has also given Generation Z more facts, knowledge, or information about South Korea related to K-pop or the country itself. This information can then change the beliefs of Generation Z. This information impacts becoming more resilient to a teenager's beliefs or conversely, changing his existing beliefs because they feel they have found other beliefs that more reflect them.

Moreover, during a pandemic, Generation Z tends to consume entertainment from abroad compared to domestic. Most Generation Z's spend their time connected to the internet, increasing its consumption of K-pop entertainment since Generation Z prefers accessible entertainment. This action could potentially affect Generation Z nationalism thru the admiration that is too excessive for their idols.

Nationalism in Generation Z is also inseparable from the character of the generation itself. The intense exchange of information via the internet has made Generation Z a generation that develops its preferences according to what they want, and best reflects itself. In the end, K-pop as an international phenomenon will continue to influence domestic norms, Generation Z norms. The meaning of each individual, the information received, and the interactions carried out by Generation Z will influence the norms of nationalism in itself. Being a K-pop fan does not necessarily diminish the sense of nationalism of Generation Z. However, it is how Generation Z interprets and acts as a K-pop fan that can diminish the sense of nationalism. Even so, it is still undeniable that nationalism will always be an urgency for Indonesia's young generation.

Conclusion

As an international phenomenon, K-pop does affect the domestic elements of a country. K-pop as a South Korean culture has succeeded in influencing fans, which in this study focuses on Generation Z. Even so, we cannot separate this influence from the perspective and how a K-pop fan interprets K-pop. By Generation Z, K-pop as a culture is interpreted as entertainment and interpreted as a role model. This meaning can change Generation Z's mind and behavior to follow their idols. Excessive admiration encourages Generation Z to change itself to follow how their idols act and behave. In addition, interactions with fellow K-pop fans also increase the enthusiasm and passion towards K-pop. These actions could cause the loss of a sense of nationalism in Generation Z. It is not that being a K-pop fan can lose one's sense of nationalism. However, it is behavior that imitates K-pop idols and believes in their values that can diminish one's sense of nationalism. Admiring the culture of another country is good, but it will be much better if the feeling of admiration combines with a feeling of pride in their own culture. It would also be better if that admiration could provoke the spirit of Generation Z to also introduce the values and culture of Indonesia to the world.

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DRAMA ONCE A MONTH AS A MEANS OF TRAINING PUBLIC SPEAKING AND PREVENTING BOREDOM LEARNING FROM HOME

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Abstract

During this pandemic, there are a lot of lifestyle changes that occur suddenly and drastically. Activities outside the home that suddenly became taboo and learning activities turned into screen devices. All these modified and indoor activities force the world community to adapt, including school children who have to go to school from home. The activity of attending school from home caused some commotion at the beginning of its implementation and even left problems after several months of running. In response to this problem, the author aims to propose a suggestion to create a once-monthly drama show that will alternately star the children in a class, with the aim of proposing this idea is to tackle schoolchildren's boredom during online learning and train the child's social skills. The research method used in this paper is a qualitative research method with the data obtained is secondary data. The secondary data in question is obtained from previous research that has been conducted by previous researchers. There are also several findings, namely

from the author of the journal entitled FEAR OF ENGLISH PUBLIC SPEAKING: CAUSES AND CONQUEST (M. Sabri), where the research results of the title reveal that the factors that cause fear of speaking in public in English are faced by students. and methods that can help students effectively overcome their fear of public speaking English.

Keywords : *Online school activities, Drama, Pandemic, Child outreach.*

Introduction

Starting from April 2021, globally, more than 3 million people have died from the corona virus, until last weekend. A lot of news that is still worrying, only a little relief. According to data from Johns Hopkins University (JHU), this figure is almost the same as the population in the cities of Kyiv (Ukraine), Ccaracas (Venezuela) to Lisbon (Portugal). This number is also higher than the population in the City of Chicago (US) of 2.7 million and is equivalent to the combined population of the cities of Philadelphia and Dallas (US). The vaccination movement has been swiftly carried out by various countries, but the increasing cases have forced the imposition of new lockdowns and restrictions around the world. ndia recorded a record increase of 261,500,000 daily positive cases in April 2021. The capital New Delhi recorded an additional 24,000 positive cases over the past 24 hours and faces the threat of a shortage of hospital beds. On the one hand, Brazil recorded 67,636 positive cases of Covid-19 on a daily basis over the past 24 hours, along with an increase in the death toll by 2,929 cases (WHO, 2021).

On the one hand, one of the other impacts that can arise due to the COVID-19 pandemic is boredom. Boredom itself can result from and come from monotonous routines, such as too many tasks, lack of self-control, high pressure, disrespect, difficult rules to understand, conflicting demands, being ignored, missed opportunities, and deadlines on assignments. In the context of students, it means that the boredom experienced by students comes from monotonous things and

must be changed so that students do not experience boredom. Learning boredom occurs as a result of pressure for students to always obey school regulations. Saturation of learning also occurs because of the same routine that is always done every day. This saturation of learning will greatly affect the continuity of student education. It means that school regulations that are implemented regularly can help in terms of student education in schools. This in itself was especially exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic, where many students felt bored at home (Al-Tamimi, 2020).

It can be said that the intersmetik study itself is a study in which then the knowledge of an aspect of international relations itself becomes something that is “buried” (Al-Tamimi, 2020). “Buried here refers to how the value of international relations can be something that is local to society. In this case, the author tries to emphasize the importance of public speaking training, especially in a pandemic like this (Angraini, 2016). As is well known, the corona virus that has hit the whole world, including Indonesia, has forced many people to be indoors and comply with the health protocols that have been announced and affirmed by the Indonesian government (Ayuningtias, 2019). The author argues that if you are at home, you will inevitably experience a lack of interaction with other people, which of course this interaction is different from the interactions carried out together with family at home. Most of the interactions outside the home are of a professional nature and on the one hand are public speaking (Docan, 2020). This untrained public speaking ability will decrease along with the length of time a person is constantly at home, one of which is through drama (Girsang, 2020).

Literature review

In this urgency, the author refers to several previous studies, including:

RESEARCHES	THE RESULTS
Public Speaking Instruction: Abridge to Improve English Speaking Competence and Reducing Communication Apprehension (Nasser Omer M. Al-Tamimi)	The results illustrate that the public speech performance of students increases and low understanding of communication is shown after one teaching term and public speaking practices that support the experimental group.
Rules of Three Analysis in Persuasive Public Speaking Presentation (Yuli Angraini)	It was identified that only one group used the rule of three in their group's persuasive public speaking presentation and it made their speech more focused and understandable while the other three groups ignored rule of three in their persuasive public speaking presentation and that led to the speech message.
FEAR OF ENGLISH PUBLIC SPEAKING: CAUSES AND CONQUEST (M. Sabri)	The results of this study reveal the factors that cause the fear of speaking in public English faced by students and methods that can help students effectively overcome their fear of speaking in public English.
PUBLIC SPEAKING' SEBAGAI BAGIAN DARI KOMUNIKASI EFEKTIF (KEGIATAN PKM di SMA KRISTO FORUS 2, JAKARTA BARAT) (Lasmery RM Girsang)	In communication science, public speaking skills are part of effective communication, namely conveying messages to audiences in a way that is appropriate and attracts attention. Currently, public speaking is one of the absolute skills needed in the global era. This is triggered by the demands of the times and existing technology that forces individuals to compete to improve their quality.
The Benefits and Necessity of Public Speaking Education (Tony Docan)	Learning to be an effective and ethical public speaker is one of the most empowering and rewarding educational goals that people can set for themselves. Even the best ideas are worthless and do not receive praise if they cannot be shared effectively with others.

RESEARCHES	THE RESULTS
LEARNING PUBLIC SPEAKING SKILLS FROM AN ETHNOGRAPHY STUDY OF <i>KAMPUNG INGGRIS</i> (Estiana Tri Karmala)	Students who have studied English for several years still cannot speak English fluently and they can overcome the weaknesses of teaching English in schools or universities and the community's need to learn English with English courses.
Using Debate As Their Character Building (Satria Adi Pradana)	The purpose of language learning is to communicate. Therefore, it will be in vain for language learners who cannot use the language at the end of the lesson. As one of the English skills to learn, speaking is an important aspect to learn.
The Effectiveness of English Conversation to Improve Student's Speaking Skill (Suparman)	It can be said that the best language learning process is to practice it
University Students' Perceptions of Videotaping as a Teaching Tool in a Public Speaking Course (Latifa El Mortaji)	The results revealed that students' public speaking skills improved over the course of one semester in terms of content, followed by non-verbal communication, verbal communication, organization, and language.
The Role of Drama in the Teaching of Speaking and Listening as the Basis for Social Capital (Andy Kempe)	Drama teachers' knowledge and understanding of semiotics can be used to a great effect in drawing students' attention to the obscure nature of verbal and physical language and thereby enhancing their ability to make convincing connections between aural and visual signs.

RESEARCHES	THE RESULTS
PandemiCovid-19: Ancaman atau Tantangan bagi Sektor Pendidikan? (Martodirejo, 2021)	It has been more than six months since the Covid-19 pandemic has hit the world, including Indonesia. Almost all sectors of life are affected by this pandemic. The education sector is one of the sectors that has felt this impact. The purpose of this study is to understand the impact of the impact of Covid-19, especially on the education sector. The method used is literature study. The hope is that sufficient information will be available to support decision-making related to policies in the field of education after the Covid-19 pandemic. The Covid-19 pandemic must be faced with positive thinking so that it can be passed and lessons learned. Thus, it can become learning that can actually develop education and other fields.

Based on the brief discussion above, the writer here sees the urgency that public speaking is an important aspect to have to be able to compete in this modern era and the corona pandemic must not stop this. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to be able to find out how tips and ways that can be taken to be able to continue to improve public speaking learning, especially during the pandemic so as not to get bored.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

PUBLIC SPEAKING

There is a good chance that there will be public speech, in one form or another, as long as there are people. But most of the public speaking experts involved with public speaking in business communications trace the origins of modern public speaking back to ancient Greece and Rome. Of course, those societies don't have slideshows to help with public speeches. But they do have a need for public speaking. As a result, they developed a method of public speaking which is still being studied today. Basically, public speaking is a presentation that

is given directly in front of an audience. Public speeches can cover a wide variety of different topics. The purpose of the speech may be to educate, entertain, or influence the audience. Often times, visual aids in the form of electronic slideshows are used to complement the speech. This makes it more attractive to listeners. Public speaking presentations are different from online presentations. Online presentations available anytime. Public speeches are usually limited to a specific time or place. Online presentations often use slideshows (Karmala, 2020).

DAVID EASTON AND GABRIEL ALMOND'S INTERMESTIC THEORY

The theory developed by David Easton and also Gabriel Almond in the intermestic aspect basically demands how a good system model is used in carrying out a policy (in this case, the implementation of a drama or roleplay program in an existing class). The fundamental political process resulting from globalization creates a situation in which contemporary policy studies cannot ignore the relationship between the domestic and international context in the policy-making process. In fact, globalization results in these two challenges not only for a country's national policy due to 'borderless' ideas and global network policies that can influence national policies, but also to certain policy theories that prefer to be isolated either in the domestic or international sphere. As a result of globalization, it is difficult to distinguish between policies that are influenced by international politics and those that are influenced by domestic policies, because the two are interrelated. The process of political change is now taking shape in the context of these interrelationships and as a result, a new approach called the intermestic (international-domestic) approach is needed. Policy changes can be explained by a number of theories developed based on different thinking and methodologies. Many theories result from exclusive studies in a particular country and ignore international or cross-country processes so that they are considered a domestic approach. For adherents of the institutionalism model, policy changes are considered the result of the nation's efforts to achieve predetermined goals. The government as the

main policy actor is considered as a complete force that has rationality to actualize the interests of the state. There is no politics in the policy making process because everything is directed towards achieving a homogeneous national interest. The state-centered approach describes state institutions that sometimes act stably and sustainably over a long period of time and the policy process is described as a system in the form of steps, consisting of agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy evaluation, policy change, and termination policy. In this aspect, it can be said that the model of the political policy system in Indonesia is that it can be implemented into policy changes in the world of education during the pandemic, one of which is by implementing a drama or roleplay procurement system, at least once a month, with the aim of increasing capability children's public speaking (Kurniawati, 2017).

Methodology

The method used in this paper is a qualitative research method where the data obtained is secondary data. Secondary data obtained from previous research that has been conducted by previous researchers.

Result And Discussion

THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SPEAKING ABILITY

It can be said that basically, the basic skills that a person can have in order to communicate well are four basic skills, including writing, listening, and so on. This is what actually must be honed, because this skill will later be able to influence how students will be able to communicate well in the public. Teachers in schools, even though the learning system may be carried out online, should be able to use this opportunity as much as possible to make students more diligent in the learning process that occurs (Pradana, 2017)

THE INFLUENCE OF ROLEPLAY DRAMA ON PUBLIC SPEAKING ABILITY AND ALSO OVERCOME BOREDOM

To solve this problem, many methods can be used. One of them is drama (Pradana, 2017). Drama is a method for learning a second language. There are several principles in it. The first is to help students overcome their initial reluctance to talk, encourage, provide opportunities, and start from something simple. Second, it helps students get an idea of what they are going to talk about. Third, ask students to talk about what they can talk about. Fourth, provide appropriate feedback. Fifth, combine speaking with listening and reading. The last one is to include speech act teaching in teaching speaking. Based on the above principles, drama has the criteria as a method of teaching speaking. It encourages thinking and creativity, enabling students to develop and practice new language and behavioral skills in a setting that is relatively non-threatening and can create the motivation and engagement necessary for learning. Drama can increase the confidence of students who hesitate, because in drama activities students will have different roles and responsibilities. Therefore, the use of drama in improving students' speaking skills is very appropriate (ISLAM, 2020).

Speaking is saying something that expresses an idea or opinion, or is used when expressing an idea that they think is true. The speaker must encode the message, and the listener must decode or interpret the message that is passed on to him. According to the above statement the speaker is the person who conveys the message, and the listener is the person who gets the message. Everyone involved in communication has the opportunity to be a speaker as well as a listener. Speaking generally in its informal form, interactive conversations between two or more people that occur in real time and are spontaneous have a broad interpersonal function and those involved share symmetrical rights. They state that the characteristics of conversation and its implications are (1) oral, (2) spontaneous in real time, (3) interactive, constructive and reciprocal contexts occur, (4) interpersonal function, (5) informal,

and (6) Expressing wishes, feelings, attitudes and judgments (Armia, 2020).

One platform that is also quite supportive to make the child concerned can think creatively is to use or carry out drama which is aimed at developing thinking, education and creative traits that may still be hidden in the child concerned. Basically, learning drama also has many benefits, where in this drama, children can easily absorb some new vocabulary that is useful for them in carrying out their daily conversations. Several studies conducted have also been successful in proving and also showing that the use and implementation of drama as a learning or teaching method in this classroom has also been proven (ESL or EFL). Another special impact that is also useful is where then this drama is directly and indirectly able to increase self-confidence in students, because in this drama they will be asked to play a role and say some dialogue from a character that may be different from the character. native to them, so that slowly they will easily move out of their comfort zone during this time. They will also be more confident in learning certain other languages and this drama can improve their foreign language skills, if this drama is done in English (ISLAM, 2020).

When students are given situations to role play, they have attempted to think of appropriate language with which to express their views and thoughts for communication. It also helps them acquire speaking skills and oral fluency, which also helps increase their self-confidence level. Since speaking skills require more 'practice and exposure', role playing can play an effective role. Clear observation of similar assigned situations helps students to adapt to the moods and vocal expressions of certain situations, which they can then do. For example, when they are assigned to play the roles of salesmen and customers, they are introduced to a 'different social context' that is new, interesting, and challenging for them. This gives them the opportunity to show their creativity as their lifestyle, language, emotions, environment, expressions and body language will be different. As they prepare for the drama, it not only helps them to regain their confidence but also

helps in acquiring fluency in the target language. Because role play is a communication-based technique, it must be applied to see its effectiveness through various situations in a controlled environment. Since role-playing is related 'mainly to the communication aspect', it is therefore suitable for subjects related to linguistic abilities, namely language, literacy and social skills training. To test linguistic skills, it can be done by designing scenes of everyday life, especially situations that use vocabulary to learn, students can be encouraged to use language in a free and interesting way. Role-playing can be used as a useful technique for 'personal development' through case studies in 'health care strategies' with a group of nursing students and how videotapes help observe an individual's gradual progress in a 'constructive' way. There are several more advantages that he has adapted from the writings of experts in their respective fields (Ayuningtias, 2019).

This, of course, on the one hand can also be used as a means of eliminating boredom that may afflict children from the learning process that occurs at home. As is well known, the existence of the COVID-19 pandemic has robbed many of the opportunities that children and students have in feeling freedom when interacting with other people. The boredom that hit can then be used as a means of playing drama or roleplay, with the aim of improving the students' abilities or abilities in the aspect of public speaking. On the one hand, through this activity, students seemed to get different experiences related to their lives and other social situations, which helped them to be more open to their rigid behavior. The parties that are expected to work together in the success of this program are, of course, teachers, schools, parents of students, and the government. Starting from the main organizer of this program, schools must prepare several preparations such as adequate space, gather teachers, ensure parents agree to their children's involvement in the drama, ensure health protocols are implemented, and prepare basic materials for drama materials. The teacher as the driving force of the running of this program must be able to do several things such as seeking good cooperation between the teacher and the school to make

stories and prepare sets, organize children during rehearsals and taking pictures, and arrange time so that the process of making and recording dramas is not interfere with the teaching and learning process.

The strategic steps that can be taken to make this program a success. The first step can be started from the formation and training of a team of teachers who are willing to help the drama process from finding the title every month to the final execution. Then Step Two After the teacher team is formed, the school can start to do online socialization with parents about how the technical progress of drama is, if the parents agree to run this program, the program can be continued by starting to select children who will appear each month along with performance titles, and further communication with the parents. Step Three Approaching the performance day, the teacher will form a separate group for in-depth coordination in giving the script, determining the training schedule, and making simple properties. And Step Four When students and teachers are in school and ready to perform, everyone involved is required to follow the applicable health protocols. Although the government is not directly involved in making the drama, the government can socialize and promote this program to the wider community if it is considered that the feedback given is good enough. In brief, we can say that role playing techniques have a positive impact in improving the speaking skills of learners as they give students the opportunity to explore various real-life situations and enable them to speak accurately and confidently in those situations in the target language. Although it was during role-playing in large classrooms that the situation went awry and the performers sometimes forgot their embarrassing lines, eventually with the help of a little feedback from the teacher this problem was resolved. The teacher can provide immediate verbal feedback or written feedback in case of technical difficulties while recording the action.

SOME THINGS TO DO TO OVERCOME THE BOREDOM OF LEARNING DURING THE PANDEMIC

Learning activities at home during the pandemic have created a number of obstacles especially for students. Learning activities that are usually carried out at school and then carried out for a long time at home make a person feel that he is losing physical interaction with friends and teachers. Especially at this time restrictions on activities outside the home and the appeal to “just at home” are like a very disturbing specter. The problem has an impact on mental conditions so that it also affects physical conditions. In this limited state, boredom of learning becomes a natural thing for students. Some of the causes include a steady routine that seems monotonous, a living environment that has limited space, boredom experienced by family members, physically limited chat partners, piling up tasks, too often staring at computer or cellphone screens, plus some teenagers. having liver problems. As a result, mental conditions are not okay, for example excessive anxiety, overthinking, laziness, moodiness, unresolved tasks, sensitive, and so on. For some people, bad mental conditions can also result in physical conditions, such as loss of appetite, resulting in insufficient intake of the body and illness (UNICEF, 2020).

In order not to cause depression, stress, or other psychological problems, these prolonged boredom conditions must be addressed immediately or perhaps must be prevented before they occur. Things that can be done include the first, exercise. Students can make time to exercise. It doesn't have to be strenuous exercise, just light exercise that can be done in the home environment. This helps maintain physical health and improves mood mentally. Then another thing that can be done is to create an agenda. Often students forget the importance of this step one, even though it is very beneficial for the organization of their activities. Therefore, they can make an agenda for their activities starting from getting up early to resting at night. They can arrange agendas starting from the main things such as learning schedules and task deadlines, then insert them with companion activities. They must

make sure that the activities of the companion each day can be varied (UNICEF, 2020).

Conclusion

From the results of the above discussion, it can be concluded that the provision of drama or roleplay in a class can improve students' public speaking skills. But on the one hand, the "class" conditioning here certainly has a different meaning, given the fact that now the corona pandemic is breaking out. The corona pandemic or COVID-19 for short has also made children have to study at their homes because of the health protocols proclaimed by the Indonesian government. This then makes the procurement of this drama a little more complicated to implement, because the only media that can be used are digital media, without really being able to describe the atmosphere in this drama. This then makes children even more challenged to use good dialogue because they can only rely on their voices to describe the atmosphere in the drama or roleplay. Therefore, it is hoped that, in this condition, the existence of this drama can actually train children in doing public speaking. On the one hand, the implementation of this drama is also expected to get rid of boredom from the children when they are inside the house. These ideas will later have an impact on children so that later they can develop a good social communication spirit after they experience boredom learning from home, and these ideas will also last for about 3 months. For the sustainability of this program, it will adjust to the existing conditions of the children and also the teachers who teach at the relevant educational institutions. With better mental health and children's immunity, it is hoped that children can avoid the spread of the Covid-19 virus and reduce the curve for Covid-19 sufferers.

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THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC: SENSE OF BALANCE BETWEEN UNITED STATES & CHINA IN HEGEMONIC STABILITY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic has brought changes to the global order. China is the first country from the emergence of the Coronavirus outbreak and is globally affected. The US during the Trump administration stated that the Covid-19 virus originated from China and must be held responsible; the pandemic has further exacerbated relations between the United States and China. The two countries have indirectly expanded their hegemony during the pandemic. This includes non-hegemonic countries to work together to overcome Covid-19 and also includes countries that make the Covid-19 virus vaccine which are highly sought after and needed by these non-hegemonic countries. There are two basic assumptions of the theory of hegemonic stability, namely the assumption of neorealism and neoliberalism. On the basic assumption of neoliberalism, the existence of a hegemonic state can create common interests because there are no actors above the state and create order between countries. China and the US are considered the leaders and protectors of the non-hegemonic states. Non-hegemonic countries benefit from the contribution of China and the US as hegemonic countries. However, neorealist

assumptions do not rule out the US and China can use this hegemonic position to create liberalization and exploitation in non-hegemonic countries that benefit China and the US. This theory is used by the author to analyze how the relationship between the US and China as two hegemonic countries due to the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic which has an impact on global change and stability.

Keywords: Covid-19 pandemic, Hegemonic stability, USA & CHINA

Introduction

Over the past 30 years, China has experienced an unprecedented economic and technological upgrade and has grown from a developing country to a global economy (Hein, 2020). The Covid 19 pandemic has stretched relations between the US and China even further after the trade war, Hong Kong, the South China Sea, the Huawei controversy, and the Uighur conflict in China. The pandemic has accelerated and increased the economic and geostrategic competition between the two world powers. The United States and China, directly and indirectly, expand their hegemony through the Covid 19 pandemic.

The Covid 19 pandemic has also brought changes to the global order. China as the first country from the impact of the Coronavirus disaster must feel the many negatives from its emergence. Not only China but countries around the world are also feeling the impact of the virus transmission. The US during the Trump administration made a statement that the Covid 19 virus originated and was made in China and felt that China was the country that had to be responsible for the Coronavirus. The pandemic has further exacerbated relations between the United States and China. The two countries have indirectly expanded their hegemony during this pandemic. Extending cooperative relations to non-hegemonic countries to overcome Covid and also including the

maker of the Covid 19 virus vaccine which is highly sought after and needed by non-hegemonic countries.

By looking at the background of the problem, what about the relationship between the US and China as a hegemonic country due to the Covid 19 pandemic? And what impact will it have on global change and stability? These two questions become research questions that will answer the questions that occur.

Literature review

The Politics of Blaming: the Narrative Battle between China and the US over COVID-19 (Nadya & Qiaoan, 2020) During the COVID-19 pandemic, we witnessed a global surge in nationalism that seemed to be global. In this article, we focus on the “narrative battle” over COVID-19 that has escalated between two major competing powers - China and the US. Guided by a sociological cultural approach, we uncover the meaning-making process behind narrative battles through in-depth hermeneutical reconstruction of each country’s reactive performance as articulated in political speeches and mass media. We show that, in the Chinese narrative, the country that emerged from the “age of humiliation” became a major world power that was no longer subject to “oppression” from the West. “Relations with China, as the storyline unfolds, China is blamed for the global pandemic, assuming again the role of dangerous actors on the world stage. Our research shows that current communication is reactive. We suggest that recognition of narrative combat and recognition of its performative functions in public spaces is the first step towards mutual understanding and meaningful dialogue between these two world powers.

Covid-19, China and the future of global development (Schindler, 2020) is a journal that tells about tensions between the United States and China that have increased in recent years, and the Covid-19 pandemic has increased their competition. If maintained, China’s more effective public health response and economic recovery will enhance

its leadership credentials in the field of global development. This article describes the origins and characteristics of China's development policies and vision and argues that in a post-Covid world this may be an attractive alternative to the US-led development paradigm for many developing countries. We compare the universalism and rigor of contemporary development orthodoxy with China's emphasis on bilateral and pragmatic forms of development cooperation that arise from its domestic experience. While China's development aid and loans increase its soft power, partner countries are offered significant autonomy and flexibility

From this paper, three factors can influence the future of China's leadership in the field of global development; reconciliation of global financial governance and China's development loans, the outcome of America's upcoming presidential election, and domestic discontent in China over the Belt and Road Initiative.

China, the US, and the Power-Transition Theory: A Critique (Chan, 2007) is the title of a book that tells about China's growth has recently drawn attention to the transition to power theory, which argues that the danger of a great war is greatest when challengers are increasingly dissatisfied threatens to take over the hegemon of diminishing satisfaction. Steve Chan questions this prevailing view by analyzing the ongoing extent to which power is shifting among the leading powers, exploring the signs of their future growth, and looking for indicators of their relative commitment to the existing international order. To better understand the strategic motivations of rising and falling countries, insights are drawn from the theory of prospects and past episodes of peaceful and violent transitions (such as the end of the Cold War and the outbreaks of the First and Second World Wars). He concluded that China is unlikely to trigger a confrontation with the US, and while a military conflict in the Taiwan Strait is possible, this is more likely due to China's inability to prevent US involvement than its willingness to provoke the US.

This book places China in a comparative and historical context, where the investigation is informed by the experiences of other major powers and related theories in international relations, such as those of extended deterrence, preventive warfare, and democratic peace. Comparisons and theoretical orientations and opposing perspectives will be of great interest not only to students and scholars of international relations and Chinese politics but also to policymakers and professionals.

Theoretical Framework

There are two basic assumptions of the theory of hegemonic stability, namely the assumption of neoliberalism and neorealism.

The First Assumption of neoliberalism as presented by Kindleberger and the version of neorealism by Gilpin and Krasner. The neoliberalist version views the importance of fulfilling the common good. The assumption of neoliberalism also sees the difficulty of realizing rules to maintain the stability of international trade and providing financial assistance to countries facing crises because of international conditions with the distribution of power that is evenly divided between countries. The existence of a hegemonic state to provide the common good is needed because there are no actors above the state (Wyatt-Walter, 1996). According to Kindleberger, the common good becomes the basis of the theory of hegemonic stability because all countries can benefit through the system regardless of their contribution to providing the common good (Webb and Krasner, 1989). This then allows the country with the minimum contribution to become a free rider in the hope that other countries can replace their contribution in providing the common good. Snidal (1985) then views this phenomenon as a form of failure of cooperation between actors. Therefore, a hegemonic state is needed which acts as a stabilizer. On the basic assumption of neoliberalism, the existence of a hegemonic state can create a common good because there are no actors above the state and create order between countries. China and the US are

considered the leaders and protectors of non-hegemonic countries. Non-hegemonic countries benefit from the contribution of China and the US as hegemonic countries. However, the neorealist assumption does not rule out the US and China can use this hegemonic position to create liberalization and exploitation in non-hegemonic countries that create benefits for China and the US.

The second assumption is that neorealist agrees with the concept of the common good with neorealist but they also have another assumption, namely the possibility of realizing an open world economy. This assumption is based on the capability of the hegemonic state to promote liberalization without threatening state security. At the same time, the open world economy is able to increase state income, economic growth, and the political power of hegemonic countries. This system is also supported by the capability of the hegemonic state to make other countries comply with the established rules, including opening trade (Webb and Krasner, 1989). In addition, the neorealist version also describes the possibility of exploitation of a hegemonic state against a non-hegemonic state. This exploitation can occur because the hegemonic state can form a system structure that benefits itself and forces other countries to comply with the established system (Wyatt-Walter, 1996). The hegemonic state plays a role in encouraging other countries to join in alliances based on liberalism for relative gain. This situation increases economic growth and development, thereby preventing countries from attacking other countries because of a sense of balance (Watson in Clark, 2009).

The power of the hegemon plays a role in shaping and maintaining universal rules, norms, and values. Without the presence of a hegemonic state, the liberal world economy can still grow, but cannot develop optimally. A country can be said to be a hegemonic state if it succeeds in transforming an existing system and applying values which are then followed by other countries (Arrighi, 2006). But then, the position of the hegemonic state in the international world order can experience

a power shift or transition. This can happen because the hegemonic country is unable to overcome the crisis and restore economic stability

Methodology

The research method used is qualitative. Qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words. This research does not use calculations or is termed scientific research which emphasizes the natural character of the data sources. This research method intends to understand the phenomena of what is experienced.

Result & Discussion

Tensions between China and the US due to Covid 19

President Trump attacked China by stating that China is the cause of the coronavirus in a UN speech, demanding that the WHO organization hold China accountable because it is considered a spreader of the corona outbreak throughout the world

Trump's videotaped speech to the UN General Assembly, which was restricted due to the pandemic, was followed by a recorded speech from China's President Xi Jinping, calling the coronavirus a crisis everyone is experiencing. Xi Jinping described China as having a population of 1.4 billion people as responsible for fighting Covid-19.

In Xi Jinping's speech, any attempts to politicize problems or stigmatize must be rejected. Overall, the speeches of the American and Chinese presidents, broadcast from the world's largest diplomatic forum, mark the growing divide between the two superpowers during Trump's first term, which has raised world concerns about a new cold war (Gladstone, 2020). Trump wants further WHO investigations into China regarding the origin of the Covid 19 virus. Trump has accused him of having a laboratory in Wuhan which is the site of the formation of the coronavirus. Trump considers WHO siding with China, which he considers the main suspect in the coronavirus chaos. WHO's praise for China which is considered fast and successful in handling the Covid-19

virus is inversely proportional to the United States which is considered slow and unsuccessful due to the increase in Covid-19 cases and is one of the countries that has had many fatalities due to the pandemic.

China's Vaccine Aid

As of February 2021, China has exported or is in the process of exporting Sinopharm and Sinovac vaccines to 22 countries and will provide vaccine assistance to 53 developing countries including Pakistan, according to Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Wang Wenbin. China denies it is using the coveted vaccine as a diplomatic tool, which Chinese President Xi Jinping says will be used for global good. China has promoted cooperation in fighting the pandemic but has never pursued any geopolitical goals, or calculated any economic gain, or attached any political conditions.

Vuk Vuksanovic, a researcher at the London School of Economics (LSE) and the Belgrade Center for Security Policy said that China is using “vaccine diplomacy” to characterize China’s vaccine policy, which is a continuation of China’s “mask diplomacy” aimed at shaping China as a responsible player. an answer that was able to reduce the global shortage of essential goods during the pandemic so that China slowly but surely began to shift the hegemonic position of the United States. Vuksanovic said “Vaccine policy is about repairing the reputational damage caused by China due to the initial outbreak, increasing China’s political influence with individual countries, building China’s global soft power capital, and trying to win a share of the global vaccination market competing with the United States vaccine producers (VOA, 2021).

China also carries out a lot of regional and bilateral cooperation related to the handling of the coronavirus. Such as cooperation with ASEAN or ASEAN 3+. China has provided a lot of assistance, offering socialization in handling the coronavirus by China, and also vaccine research. So that China’s position in the global order will be increasingly needed and become an alternative to US actions in postponing WHO

The impact of tensions between China and the US on the global order

The two-year period ending 2019, the US contributed \$ 893 million to WHO. The US provided \$ 453 million to WHO in fiscal 2019. China contributed just under \$ 86 million during that period. China has increased its funding to the agency as a result of the pandemic. In recent months, China has announced an additional \$ 50 million in contributions to the WHO. (Andrew Restuccia, 2020). The World Health Organization (WHO) is now on the verge of a clear threat by Donald Trump at this time, right in the middle of a global infectious disease pandemic. President Trump claims the WHO mishandled the initial COVID-19 response. Therefore, in April Trump suspended funding for the organization (Michael T. Abrams, M.P.H., 2020)

Global health leaders have approached Donald Trump, warning that his decision to suspend funding to the World Health Organization recklessly jeopardizes the chances of ending the pandemic as quickly as possible. The existence of the WHO can accelerate handling in world countries, especially developing countries with aid and vaccine research by the WHO institute. . Experts say they are disappointed and shocked by the announcement of the US president, which will not only deprive WHO of the resources needed to lead the battle but also have the potential to undermine international collaboration between scientists (Sarah Boseley, 2020)

The world after Covid 19

Globalization Setbacks.

If the world crisis is deliberately designed to undermine globalization, it will look like a global response to COVID-19. Countries closed their borders, restricted the flow of information, were separated from global supply chains, and isolated themselves. In the view of neoliberalism, the policy should be privatization and freedom of trade. So far, there is little reason for optimism that globalization will return soon. Many international trips remain suspended; many companies assume that pre-existing supply chains, especially those

involving China, will not be rebuilt immediately. The escalating zero-sum climate of US-China relations is unlikely to abate any time soon, and will further accelerate the release of globalization such as the one that occurred in December 2019.

The decisive and detrimental shift in the balance of power.

Analysts have long predicted the decline of the United States and the rise or rise of its challengers. Some of these are driven by structural and secular trends, some by policy choices in many capitals. At first glance, COVID-19 appears to have accelerated these changes. Meanwhile, China's alleged success in overcoming the pandemic, coupled with Beijing's aggressive diplomatic offensive combining economic aid and political warfare, appears to be elevating China's global position higher. Singaporean expert Kishore Mahbubani's typical argument that the geopolitical effects of the pandemic have "created a massive gap that China has fully exploited, on its way to victory over the post-COVID-19 world.

Erosion and possibly the collapse of the liberal order.

The main institutions and relationships on which the world has traditionally depended on previous crises are absent or lacking in these crises. The United Nations Security Council and the United Nations are non-entities themselves; The World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund have foundered in halting the downward spiral of protectionism and economic downturn; The G7 didn't even agree to meet; The European Union initially did little to help the worst-affected member states; and WHO was discredited as a mouthpiece for China and then abandoned by the United States. Much of this dysfunction stems from US-China rivalry and spilling over to international institutions.¹⁸ But friction between the leading states of the US order and their democratic allies has also increased rather than decreased; America, under the Trump administration, initially reacted to the crisis by increasing its isolation from the relationships and institutions that made order work. If American policy, in particular,

continues in this direction any longer, the pressure on the liberal order may be unbearable.

The decline of democracy and the rise of liberalism and populism.

Democracy has suffered a double blow to its global standing. First, the public health response in many democracies to the pandemic is weak. Democracies such as Italy, Spain, France, Great Britain, Brazil, India, and most clearly the United States have experienced some of the worst effects of COVID-19, and these losses have been exacerbated by the failure of governance. The response was slow and hesitant by many of the country's leaders; deficiencies in testing, tracking, and providing medical supplies; and the overwhelmed hospital system have all demonstrated the weakness of democracy in the world. The second blow came from the authoritarians and their would-be impersonators. Many autocrats have used crises to consolidate power and quell dissent. As an authoritarian country, many journalists have been jailed in increasing numbers, and other dissidents have become targets of state oppression. If the Cold War ends in a democratic victory over an authoritarian system, perhaps the pandemic will mark the end of the post-Cold War era and the shocking reversal of the authoritarian/populist model's victory over democracy. And if the world order as we know it displays American domination, deep globalization, an expanding liberal order, and the rise in liberal political values, perhaps COVID is propelling the international community into a new era.

The pandemic does not lead to de-globalization but to re-globalization along geopolitical lines.

While trade, finance, and human flows all plummeted at the height of the pandemic, the fundamental drivers of long-term globalization of technology are narrowing the gap, the quest for trade-spurring economic growth, and recognition that global problems are not recognized borders. If anything, they are underlined. For example, there is a need for growth to reduce the debt burden devastated by the

depression caused by the pandemic, but there is a confidence that it will eventually result in a revival in global trade.

In some ways, crises can create opportunities for deeper globalization. As individual nations and leaders grapple with the next phases of the COVID response, particularly antiviral vaccines, vaccine development, contact tracing, and mass immunity, it will become clear that no single nation-state can develop them alone. The resulting networks, some developed organically and others strengthened by institutional mandates and incentives, would create networks that bind nation-states together rather than distance them. Likewise, continued declining birth rates among industrialized countries, coupled with aging populations and increasing entitlement payments, would present governments with the most unattractive of options likely to increase immigration to replenish the workforce.

Second, globalization will increasingly occur within rather than across geopolitical lines. The quest for simple US-China diversification and separation is likely to result in a diversion of trade and investment flows to other countries, particularly historic allies such as Europe and Japan and other regions, such as South America and Southeast Asia, where these countries have their own. Incentives to minimize their vulnerability to Chinese coercion. Geopolitical logic will reinforce and accelerate this trend as deeper trade and economic integration can strengthen the “free world” economy to compete with Beijing. And globalization driven by the fourth industrial revolution plays against China’s advantages in terms of cheap labor and benefits the benefits enjoyed by the United States and its geopolitical allies of a relatively highly educated workforce and wealthy consumers.

Pandemics have not resulted in dramatic and detrimental changes in the balance of power.

Even optimists will admit that America’s geopolitical position has deteriorated as a result of the crisis. That China appears to be gaining the upper hand in its fight against the spread of COVID-19 just as the United States and its major allies are working hard through the

toughest phases of the lockdown reinforces the waning impression of the West, and especially America, of power and creation. a perception that Beijing now enjoys a window of opportunity to achieve its goals while Washington and its democratic allies are silenced. However, if the psychological equilibrium shifts rapidly, the material balance does not change in a decisive or lasting way. The pandemic is having a devastating effect on every major economy and market: nearly every geopolitical unit that has ever been touted as likely to undermine US dominance The European Union, Russia, India, or Brazil is suffering serious economic scars. If anything, the flight of international investors to the United States in the midst of the crisis underscores a fundamental source of US structural strength.

From the Chinese Communist Party's point of view, the most promising indicator is the fact that the pandemic has shaken America's global and domestic confidence in the United States. In the medium and long term, however, it is unclear whether these issues will benefit China. If a year from now, the United States appears to be acting more competently at home and abroad, the deeper sources of American soft power and prestige can reassert themselves. And if the United States takes the lead in vaccine development and distribution but an area where it is well-positioned for success then the bounce-back soft power could be substantial.

On the other hand, for China, the long-term diplomatic trend appears more unsettling. The fact that dozens of countries are calling for an international investigation into the origins of the pandemic, that international outrage against China is growing rapidly on many continents, and that a number of countries that previously accommodated China are turning to tougher lines all indicate that Beijing may face a more balancing coalition. tough in the years to come. Indeed, forming an effective balancing coalition will require more skilled US diplomacy than it has been lately. But it is very likely this pandemic will hit China more than the United States.

The liberal order prevails and is revitalized.

However poorly performing the institutions of the liberal order during the early stages of the pandemic, they still have greater worldwide legitimacy than any reasonable alternative. And unless the United States reacts to the crisis by leaving only the institutions and relationships it creates a prospect that doesn't seem as bizarre as before the more likely scenario is that innovative new reforms and institutions are collapsing.

Complaints about the weaknesses of international institutions are often in line with expressions of nostalgia for the golden age of multilateral cooperation in the past. But such an era never existed. International institutions always face challenges and geopolitical criticism for their failures. But they adapt and stick around, and it can happen again. What may emerge is a shift to a two-tiered order: one level involves world democracy and has a higher level of cohesion and ambition, and the second is a broader order involving more countries and a lower level of cohesion. and ambition, reserved only for transnational problems such as pandemics and climate change.

US military alliances will likely prove more relevant in the increasingly competitive world that is now emerging; The imperative to reduce economic dependence on autocracy could lead, over time, trade and investment agreements focused on deepening relations between America and like-minded democracies. And if the United States commits to striving harder for influence in obscure but important institutions that China seeks to corrupt, the payoff could (over time) increase the effectiveness of those institutions.

Admittedly, the suspension of US participation in WHO is inconsistent with this assessment. Likewise with the Trump administration's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, or its tendency to trade wars with democratic allies. So, the important caveat here, and across all dimensions of the more optimistic scenario, is that it will depend on whether the United States plays a leading or destructive role in the coming years.

The pandemic has proven more deadly for autocrats and populists than it is for democrats.

Authorities and populists have short-term advantages in the face of a pandemic, for example, in implementing ruthless public health measures and exploiting the incitement that accompanies suffering. But months after the pandemic, there appears to be no gain for the enduring dictator. The countries that showed the most effective response were liberal democracies, including South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Denmark, New Zealand, and Germany. Singapore, a soft authoritarian city-state, is a prime example of a non-democracy crafting an effective response and is almost an exception that attests to the rule.

The performance of the world's foremost authoritarian regimes has been between mediocre and catastrophic. China's delayed response to the outbreak of the coronavirus, which has once risen, takes advantage of the advantages that authoritarianism offers, including mass lockdowns and mass surveillance. But that response is necessary because authoritarian systems have prevented more effective initial responses, and the pandemic has almost certainly caused a much higher number of infections and deaths than the government admits. Iran, Russia, Turkmenistan, and North Korea also appear to be particularly badly affected, with damage only obscured by a lack of transparency. As noted earlier, many democratic countries also underperform. But the bottom line is that no type of political system has a monopoly on the incompetence of early responses, and democracy is still well positioned to win over governance challenges in the long run.

From a free press, an independent judiciary, opposition parties, decentralized government, to elections, democracies have self-correcting ecosystems that alert when policies don't work, information channels for suggesting new approaches, policy laboratories for experimenting with different responses, and channels of accountability for citizens to reward or punish elected leaders and administrators serving under them. On the other hand, authoritarian systems circumvent these mechanisms, either of which could threaten autocrats'

monopoly on power. Indeed, in the near future, such a crisis could provide political protection for leaders to consolidate control; they can also create rapidly growing anger and resentment for populist leaders. But the authorities cannot forever hide from the converging pressures of unaffected citizens, malfunctioning health systems, eroded controls, and economic pressures imposed by crises, and their political systems tend to be more fragile than democracies when faced with such challenges.

The bigger challenge for democracy may be in shaping a global narrative about which system is performing better. Authoritarian information campaigns that are often unconstrained by truth also create propaganda benefits for autocratic regimes, at least in the short term. But one lesson from the Cold War is that authoritarian information campaigns traded short-term effectiveness with long-term persuasiveness because they relied on a gap between truth and propaganda that became difficult to defend against over time. policy effort than democracy has shown so far, but there is no reason they cannot compete (Fitria, 2013).

Conclusion

The United States still maintains its hegemonic leadership influence in the global arena due to its strong alliances, leadership qualities, and pervasive ideological influence. The current COVID-19 pandemic has the potential to change the distribution of international electricity. As China is leading the international response as a global superpower in the pandemic, it marks calls for the rise of the United States. Since America has become an international force in modernizing institutions, maintaining its hegemony and influence over international organizations. And just need the will to act. Under President Donald Trump America is going through a strange phase. However, the complex economic interdependence between China and the US will force cooperation for economic recovery after the pandemic. It will be a moment for the US to assert its power around the world as a hegemon.

In Conclusion, although China has a very strong economy, they cannot completely dismantle America's hegemonic leadership. Although the Polarity system undergoes continuous changes, the US foundation rests on a solid political system that allows the United States to maintain its hegemonic leadership.

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THE IMPACT OF THE ITE LAW POLICY IN LIMITING FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OPINION IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The development of information and communication technology has a big impact on its users. However, its use can have a negative impact that leads to hate speech and hoaxes. This is what prompted the government to issue Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions. However, in practice, many people abuse it to silence those who want to criticize. The government considers the ITE Law policy not to limit society but so that people in Indonesia do not abuse their right to spread hatred. This causes the freedom of expression and opinion of the public to be increasingly threatened because of the articles that can ensnare them if they have wrong opinions. It causes the decline in freedom of expression and opinion in Indonesia. This study aims to discuss the impact of the ITE Law policy on its implementation in Indonesia. This research method is a qualitative research method by examining the sources of textbooks, journals, and news to support data and information.

This study indicates that in issuing laws, the government must be selective in implementing articles and provide clear objectives so that the ITE Law does not limit the public in expressing opinions. Therefore, it is hoped that the government can protect the right to freedom of expression for all. However, the community must also be wise and responsible in writing and conveying something on social media.

Keywords: *Freedom of speech and expression, Policy, The information and electronic transaction law no. 11 year 2008*

Introduction

During the Soeharto era. The government severely curtails freedom of expression and opinion. Anyone who dared to criticize the New Order government, that person will be punished according to his actions. Meanwhile, post-reform Indonesia allows the public to get information and communication widely, which encourages a vast space to express public opinion. Over time, the development of information and communication technology increasingly developing makes various information in various aspects of life appear on media pages. Various people from all walks of life get complete freedom in expressing their respective opinions. However, because they have too broad freedom, it is not uncommon to express their opinions to the community and provide constructive criticism or suggestions. Instead, they often provide comments that refer to hate speech, insults, and insults.

In addition, the impact of the development of more sophisticated technology and communication is that there are many crimes in cyberspace or on the internet, which are often referred to as cybercrimes. There are so many cybercrimes that internet users have experienced. However, it is more difficult to investigate a suspect who committed a crime in cyberspace because the identities given in cyberspace are sometimes inaccurate. Therefore, to overcome and anticipate the various problems generated by information and communication

technology development, the government also issued a policy, namely the ITE Law. However, as it was implemented in Indonesia, the ITE Law had an impact that made some state leaders and the community contra and even disagree with the contents of this law. Thus, many people argue and opinions in response to the ITE Law policy issued by the government. Like Prof. Bagir, who has his own opinion on the ITE Law. According to Prof. Bagir, there are several relationships in implementing this ITE Law. The first is that the ITE Law has an explicit objective, namely to regulate electronic transactions and electronic information to be carried out. According to him, the reality between law and reality is very different. The law says that the ITE Law is regulatory, but the ITE Law is compelling in reality. So, according to Prof. Bagir, the application of the ITE Law has become an anomaly. And then, Professor Bagir revealed that the ITE Law reminded him of the colonial history of hatred. The ITE Law, according to him, was rubbery and had colonial elements (Rofiq Hidayat, 2021). In addition, according to some people, the phenomenon of the ITE Law policy is considered to restrict or limit the right to expression and opinion.

In our opinion, this topic is fascinating to raise because there are two different opinions and acknowledgments from some parts of the community and the government. The government considers that the ITE Law policy does not limit society but that people in democratic countries in Indonesia do not abuse their rights to spread hatred. This study also aims to discuss the impact of the ITE Law policy on its implementation in Indonesia. Thus, the government in issuing laws must be selective in applying articles and provide clear objectives so that the ITE Law does not limit the public in expressing opinions. Therefore, it is hoped that the government can protect the right to freedom of expression for all. However, the community must also be wise and responsible in writing and conveying something on social media.

In addition, this topic has an element of intermestic studies, which is also one of the scientific studies that we use as a reference for

studying and raising this topic. The relationship between this topic and intermestic studies is that in this topic, there are phenomena that are closely related to the development of globalization, namely advances in information and communication technology. With advances in technology and communication, international issues can be easily recognized by the domestic community and vice versa. Thus, it is not uncommon for international intensity to influence domestic policies issued. So, the government thinks that the ITE Law provides facilities for public movement not to spread hate speech in public spaces, such as social media.

Literature review

Several journals guide the writing of this research, including in (Syahri, 2010) entitled Freedom of Opinion through New Media in the Shadow of the Information and Electronic Transaction Law (ITE), which tells about how the existence of policies can threaten the components of democracy. New ones that the state has issued. The result of the discussion is that the existence of the ITE Law, which is a regulation in disseminating information on electronic media, must be matured to clarify the existence of the existing rules.

(Setiawan, 2017), with the title Freedom of Individual Expression in Digital Age Human Development, contains a new digital generation in a social context and a social change that affects this development. In addition, there are government policies that affect the digital society, namely the ITE Law. The difference from previous journals is that it discusses changes such as digital and connects them with the existence of government policies on the ITE Law.

(Sistawan, 2019), with the title Freedom of Expression According to Article 27 Paragraph (3) of the Law on Information and Electronic Transactions, containing the ITE Law Article 27 paragraph (3) is considered to be a law that limits freedom of expression because of the meaning of the formula “insult. and/or defamation ”is still biased, not concrete, and prone to abuse. The potential for misuse of the article

in restricting freedom of expression is not a meaningful reason for revoking this article. The difference from the previous journals is in explaining Article 27 Paragraph (3), which is used.

(Sunday, 2017) with the title Regulation Restricting the Use of Information Technology associated with Freedom of Opinion and Expression in Indonesia, contains restrictions on the use of information and technology that are regulated by laws and regulations must deal with the right to freedom and expression as part of human rights in The 1945 Constitution is guaranteed in Article 28F. Freedom of expression needs to be guaranteed and protected. Based on previous journals, both discuss the right to freedom of opinion; the difference lies in the comparison and limitation of opinion.

Theoretical Framework

Freedom of Expression and Opinion from a Human Rights Perspective

Human rights are basic rights that are inherently attached to the human being himself. Human rights have universal and eternal characteristics, which we must respect, protect, fulfill, and not ignore, reduce, or even take away by anyone. Respect for human rights, and its fulfillment, apart from being an obligation and responsibility of the government, the role and participation of the community are, of course, very much needed for maximum achievement.

Firmly, Indonesia has recognized the right to freedom of expression by including it in various regulations. Where one of them is recorded in the 1945 Constitution in the 2nd amendment, the 1945 Constitution, especially in article 28F, which recognizes that “every society has the right to express opinions and obtain information to develop their personal with their social environment, and be worthy of obtaining, storing, seeking, owning, processing, and conveying information on all types of channels provided”.

Freedom of expression and opinion is a form of supporting societies and developing and developed countries, especially in countries with universal human conditions. Apart from that, freedom of expression is

also an important indicator of democracy. One of the basic principles of freedom of expression is that freedom of expression is a form of the concept of freedom. Since freedom is a human right, freedom of expression is a part of it, inherent in and develops with it.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Universal Covenant on Human and Political Rights (ICCPR) provide guarantees for freedom of expression (opportunity to expression), namely in Article 19 written recognition. In his written admission, freedom of expression is seen as a basic right and a right that can realize other human rights. With society's full tolerance for inclusive free speech, two important things have emerged: At the personal level, free speech is the key to development, dignity, and all people. Through the exchange of ideas for free information between the public and individuals, the public understands life in a wider world environment. Causing the community to have the opportunity to develop their level of life. Not only that, a person will feel protected and respected by the state because of the right to express his opinion. At the national level, freedom of expression is one of the indispensable drivers of good governance in social and economic change. So, it can be seen that freedom of expression encourages the existence of upholding other human rights.

Every individual must own freedom of opinion. Because this is included in human rights, every individual who has an opinion must be respected and protected. The principle regarding the protection of freedom of expression is already contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. In addition, the right to freedom of politics has also been protected in the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which includes the right to freedom of expression, so that these points should be obligatory and necessary for every country.

Methodology

The method used in this study uses qualitative research methods in obtaining data. The data obtained use data collection methods that

are carried out using document studies or literature studies, such as journals, news, articles, and reports and sources obtained via the internet. We detail that the sources we get from the document study are official documents with external documents, such as information materials produced by an official institution, articles, and news. We also analyze the sources obtained to succeed in getting the final result of this paper.

Result And Discussions

Definition and Scope of the ITE Law

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2008, which contains Information and Electronic Transactions or the ITE Law, was issued by the state on April 21, 2008, in the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2008 Number 58. Where there are 13 chapters, 54 articles of The ITE Law, in this case, there are various explanations regarding the formation of the ITE Law which can be observed from the considerations that have been based on this decision, including:

- a) There is a national development, where national development is an ongoing process that must always be responsive to the various dynamics that can occur in society;
- b) The globalization of information has resulted in Indonesia being placed in a part of the world's information society, which requires the formation of regulation on the control of Information and Electronic Transactions that exists at the national level so that the development of Information Technology can be carried out optimally, equitably, and can spread to all groups of society who have the benefit to educate the life of the nation;
- c) The use and utilization of Information Technology has a crucial role in trade and also the progress of the national economy so that the welfare of society can be formed (Safitri 2018) thus requiring the establishment of regulations on information and electronic transactions at the national level as answers to developments that occur, both at regional and international levels. Based on these

conditions, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has enacted the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (hereinafter abbreviated as ITE Law).

As for Article 1 sub 1 regarding the definition of Electronic Information, which is one of a collection of electronic data that includes but is not limited to writing, sound, images, maps, designs, photos, electronic data interchange (EDI), and, or electronic mail, telegram, telex, telecopy or the like, letters, numbers, signs, access codes, symbols, or perforations have been carried out and have a meaning or can be understood by someone who can understand them. Not only that, in Article 1 sub 3, the definition of information technology in Indonesia has been emphasized as a way of collecting, preparing, storing, processing, announcing, analyzing, and disseminating information. (Philemon, 2008). With that, the use of information technology and electronic transactions can be implemented by the principles of legal certainty, benefits, prudence, good faith, and freedom in choosing a technology or being neutral in using technology (Safitri 2018).

Purpose in the Use of Information Technology and Electronic Transactions

- a) Educate the life of the nation which is part of the world information society;
- b) Developing trade and the national economy to improve the welfare of the community;
- c) Increase the effectiveness and efficiency of public services;
- d) To open the widest possible opportunity for everyone to be able to advance their thinking and abilities in the field of optimal and responsible use and utilization of Information Technology;
- e) Provide a sense of security, justice, and legal certainty for users and operators of Information Technology

The establishment of the ITE Law applies to all people who have taken legal actions which have been regulated in the law, both occupying

the Indonesian jurisdiction and outside the territory of Indonesia, which can have legal consequences that are within the jurisdiction of Indonesia and outside the jurisdiction of the law. Indonesia, where Indonesia's interests can suffer losses. That way, the achievements of the jurisdiction of this law are comprehensive, where it is not only stipulated for legal actions that have been in effect in Indonesia and those carried out by Indonesian citizens, but this regulation also applies to legal actions that have been carried out outside the jurisdiction of Indonesia whether they are carried out by Indonesian citizens or foreign citizens or Indonesian legal entities and also for foreign legal entities in Indonesia. With that, this refers to the use of information technology to electronic information and electronic transactions that are cross-territorial or universal (Safitri 2018).

The important thing in the ITE Law is that there are criminal provisions that have been regulated in Articles 45-52. Furthermore, the ITE Law has also been regulated about the threat of criminal sanctions. The ITE Law also regulates not a criminal act, such as an act that a person commits, which aims to conduct research, test electronic systems, and protect electronic systems that are legal and not against the law. In addition, the ITE Law has also been regulated relating to dispute resolution if a system dispute has occurred and when an electronic system and information technology dispute has occurred (Safitri 2018).

The impact of the ITE Law

However, the formation of the ITE Law had a big impact. Quoted from designers, according to the Executive Director of SafeNet. Damar Juniarto responded, namely that the ITE Law harmed the social and political fields. When viewed from the negative impact in politics, politicians use the ITE Law to bring down their opponents. Furthermore, in the social sector, the ITE Law is used by someone to report to one another for revenge, bartering cases, shock therapy, and criminalizing critical people. In addition, there are many problematic articles, and there are rubber articles as well as multi-interpretative

articles which cause the ITE Law to be immediately revised. According to Damar, since the beginning, SafeNet has asked for a revision of Law Number 19 of 2016 concerning amendments to Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (UU ITE) (Trans7, 2021).

In addition, the existence of multiple interpretive articles in the ITE Law also causes negative impacts such as; First, freedom of opinion, especially in opinion and also to criticize, has been limited. A situation like this makes the community into shock therapy, making some people respond carefully, and others choose not to have an opinion. Second, there is arbitrariness committed by law enforcers in determining that the perpetrators involved in the ITE Law are guilty and deserve to be convicted. However, law enforcers do not sort and choose which elements of the article have been violated first. Third, legal certainty does not guarantee, and fourth, that these impacts make the legal objectives of forming the ITE Law as a whole not running well. Fifth, triggering unrest and disputes among community members who easily report each other to law enforcement and add to the source of conflict between the authorities and community members, and finally, namely that the legal objectives for the formation of the ITE Law are not fully implemented (Mainake and Nola, 2020).

Freedom of Expression and Opinion in the ITE Law

Freedom of expression is known as freedom of speech. In expressing his opinion, everyone has the right to freedom of expression and opinion. This includes the freedom to express opinions without intervention, seek, receive and share information and ideas through any media, and without looking at anyone. In general, freedom of expression is important for seeking the truth, advancing knowledge, and participating in decision-making processes, especially in the political arena. Meanwhile, there are threats to freedom of expression and opinion due to the actions of a party in power against the media or conflicting political beliefs. The following are examples of tactics used to silence freedom of expression and opinion:

1. When permission to allow information is denied
2. There was physical and emotional intimidation
3. Illegal access to basic information
4. The existence of laws and regulations that can limit
5. Lawsuits in the name of defamation, both written and oral, are being misused

Currently, freedom of expression and opinion is still limited because the ITE Law is considered threatening. Quoted from the Amnesty International website, President Joko Widodo has asked the Chief of the Indonesian National Police to increase oversight in implementing the ITE Law, which is carried out consistently, accountable, and legally. In addition, President Joko Widodo also said that if the ITE Law could not provide justice, then President Joko Widodo would ask the DPR to make changes to the rubber article, which could lead to multiple interpretations in the law. This creates threats to freedom of expression and opinion from the rubber particles in the ITE Law. This statement was welcomed by Amnesty International, which stated that the application of the ITE Law should provide justice to the people.

Komnas HAM also supports the revision of Law no. 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (UU ITE) to safeguard and protect the right to freedom of expression and opinion conveyed by the Commissioner for Studies and Research of Komnas HAM, Sandrayati Montana. Sandra stated that the right to expression and opinion is fundamental. The first is the existence of state sovereignty in the hands of the people so that the voice of the people can be conveyed by issuing opinions and expressions that form the basis of government administration. Second, freedom of opinion and expression is essential because it can be a form of monitoring, criticism, and suggestions for better and more democratic governance. And third, the state has an obligation to respect, protect and fulfill human rights, especially in terms of the rights to freedom of opinion and expression, as for the coverage of the right to freedom of expression and opinion according

to Sandra, namely such as speech and political expression; religious, artistic, and symbolic expressions; the right to protection of personal data; press freedom; rights to the internet; the right to information and public information; academic freedom; expression and national security and privileges. In addition, he also said that freedom of opinion and expression could be limited, but this can be limited under certain circumstances. In doing so, the limitation must be based on the law, where democratic societies need it most, and protect public order, public health, public morals, national security, public safety, and the rights and freedoms of others. (Komnas HAM RI, 2021).

In the ITE Law itself, two articles specifically formulate the limitations on the right to freedom of opinion contained in Article 27 and Article 28. In particular, these two articles have limited the existing content or content of information or electronic documents uploaded (Kastrat BEM UI, 2020). The articles above initially had the aim of obtaining legal certainty that guaranteed freedom of opinion that all permanent citizens could do without injuring the rights of other citizens (BPHN, 2015). This is what makes people today feel limited in voicing their opinions. Those who initially were able to issue opinions and expressions became afraid to voice them because of the ITE Law established by the Indonesian government.

Table 1: List of the Number of Cases entangled in the Rubber Article of the ITE Law 2008-2019

the alleged article	number of cases	About
Article 27 paragraph 1 of the ITE Law	2 cases	immoral
Article 27 paragraph 3 of the ITE Law	209 cases	Defamation
Article 28 paragraph 2 of the ITE Law	66 cases	Hate speech
Article 29 of the ITE Law	7 cases	Threats of violence

Source: <https://id.safenet.or.id/daftarkasus/>

Table 1 lists the number of cases entangled in the 2008-2019 ITE Law. We detail that from 2008-2019 the results show that since the

enactment of the ITE Law, the ITE Law has ensnared many people where the cases have increased almost every year. There are insults to figures/authorities/public bodies, hoaxes, and racial or hate speech in the alleged article. In explaining the table above, we can see that cases of defamation and hate speech get the most cases handled. However, it still needs to be revised in the rubber article because it has multiple interpretations and causes social impacts. Where in chapter 27, verse 1, about immorality. This article is very vulnerable to punishing victims of online gender-based violence. Furthermore, in Article 27, paragraph 3 concerning defamation. Vulnerable to be used for the repression of legal expressions of citizens, activists, journalists, and the repression of citizens who criticize the government, police, and the president. Then, in article 28, paragraph 2 concerning hate speech, it is prone to become a means of repression for religious minorities, citizens who criticize the president, police, and government. Finally, article 29 on the threat of violence is very vulnerable to punishing people who want to report to the police.

Even though the ITE Law was created to keep Indonesia's digital space clean, healthy, ethical, and productively utilized, and be able to anticipate harmful internet abuse and as a legal umbrella to ensnare cyber crimes. However, its shortcomings can limit freedom of expression and opinion in the public sphere. Due to the existence of the ITE Law, people are afraid to have opinions which will result in reduced freedom of expression and opinion in Indonesia. Its implementation in Indonesia still creates a sense of injustice because the article still causes multiple interpretations that must be interpreted carefully not to be misunderstood. According to the National Police Chief, General Listyo Sigit Prabowo, in an interview with CNN Indonesia, explained that using the ITE Law in the community in recent times has been unhealthy because the legal umbrella governing the digital world has actually created polarization in society. He also mentioned that many parties reported using the ITE Law instead. He also believed that the

ITE Law was repressive towards certain groups but blunt towards other groups.

In its application, the ITE Law has caused losses and polemics in society. It can be seen and since the beginning of the formation of the ITE Law, it has only been regulatory. As a result, law enforcement related to the ITE Law can threaten freedom of expression and opinion. Therefore, it is necessary to loosen up in its application. In fact, the problematic implementation of the ITE Law in Indonesia is the reporters plus paid buzzers who are more inclined towards the authorities. This makes the ITE Law ineffective, plus many rubber articles that still cause multiple interpretations, and the government must be selective in applying the articles and provide clear objectives so that the ITE Law does not limit the public in expressing opinions. Thus, freedom of expression and opinion is intended as a form of criticism that also gets protection from the law if used wisely.

Conclusion

It can be concluded, the ITE Law was created to protect Indonesia's digital space from being clean, healthy, ethical, and productively utilized, as well as to be able to anticipate harmful internet abuse and as a legal umbrella to ensnare cyber crimes. However, its shortcomings can limit freedom of expression and opinion in the public sphere. As a result, the ITE Law made people afraid to hold opinions, resulting in reduced freedom of expression and opinion in Indonesia. Its implementation in Indonesia still creates a sense of injustice because the article still causes multiple interpretations that must be interpreted carefully not to be misunderstood. In recent times, the ITE Law has been unhealthy because the digital world's legal umbrella has created polarization in society. Thus, it is hoped that the government in issuing laws must be selective in applying articles and provide clear objectives so that the ITE Law does not limit the public in expressing opinions. Therefore, it is hoped that the government can protect the right to freedom of expression and opinion for all. However, the community

must also be wise and responsible in writing and conveying something on social media.

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HANDLING OF THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This paper tries to discuss the governance of handling the Coronavirus Diseases (Covid 19) pandemic in Indonesia. Despite having implemented a total lockdown until September, the number of positive cases of COVID-19 in India has reached more than 4.7 million with a death rate of more than 78 thousand people. Meanwhile, Indonesia has never been recorded as having carried out a total lockdown. The result is no better than India. When the first case of Covid-19 was confirmed in Indonesia on March 2, 2020, globally the confirmed cases had reached 88,948 cases. Throughout September, there were seven records of positive additions to Covid 19. The author performs an analysis of the best among the worst government policies. This paper uses the literature method, collecting as much information as possible from print and electronic media related to Covid19 in Indonesia, the authors analyze Indonesian government policies. This paper recommends a comprehensive evaluation of the Indonesian government's policies in handling Covid 19. This is

because Indonesia is now in the top position in the statistics on the number of deaths due to COVID-19 in Southeast Asia.

Introduction

The Indonesian nation has a long historical experience related to the incidence of widespread disease transmission (outbreaks) in the past such as cholera, bubonic plague, influenza. Cholera, which was first discovered in the second decade of the 19th century in Saudi Arabia, plagued Indonesia through the activity of sending pilgrims by ship (Eric, 2014) Likewise bubonic plague, caused by rats carried by rice imports from Myanmar (Thamrin, 2020) . Today, starting December 31, 2019, to mid-June 2020, even until the end of 2020, the Indonesian people experience prolonged suffering due to the emergence of a new infectious disease called Corona Virus 2019 (IFSW, 2020).

Coronaviruses are a large family of viruses that cause illnesses ranging from mild to severe symptoms. There are at least two types of coronavirus that are known to cause diseases that can cause severe symptoms, such as Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) is a new type of disease that has never been previously identified in humans. The virus that causes COVID-19 is called Sars-CoV-2 (KEMENKES, 2020).

To prevent the spread and transmission of the Coronavirus from spreading widely into society, the government has made a series of policies to deal with it. Some of the policies made by the government are written, and some are not. Written policies include laws (UU), Government Regulations instead of Law (PERPU), Government Regulations (PP), Presidential Regulations (PER PRES), Ministerial Regulations (PERMEN), Regional Regulations (PERDA), Regent Regulations (PERBUP), Mayor Regulations (PERWALI), and others including Decree (SK), and letters from the government. Meanwhile, an unwritten policy takes the form of an unwritten invitation from the government, community leaders, traditional leaders, cultural leaders,

religious leaders, which contains prohibitions and appeals related to the prevention and handling of COVID-19.

Examples of written policies such as KEPPRES No. 11/2020 concerning Determination of Public Health Emergency 2019 Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19), PERPU Number 1 Year 2020 concerning State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability for Handling Pandemic Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), and/or in the context of Facing Threats Endangering the National Economy and/or Financial System Stability; Government Regulation Number 21 of 2020 concerning Large-Scale Social Restrictions in the Context of Accelerating the Handling of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), Circular No. 57/2020 28 May 2020 concerning the Extension of the Work From Home (WFH) Implementation for State Civil Servants (ASN) until 4 June 2020; Presidential Decree (KEPPRES) No. 12 of 2020 concerning the Determination of Non-Natural Disaster for the Spread of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) as a National Disaster, and others.

Literature review

Research title Turkish State Governance in Handling the COVID-19 Pandemic written (Noviyanti, 2021) by Siska Noviyanti from Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia . The purpose of this research is to describe the Turkish state governance in handling the COVID-19 pandemic. Policies implemented by the Turkish government in suppressing the spread of coronavirus include restrictions on traveling and lockdowns. Economic and social policies are implemented to protect the welfare of its citizens in the face of a pandemic. The normalization process was announced with a few loose policies but remained in vigilant mode against the spread of COVID-19. The method used in this study is a qualitative type. Based on the research that has been done, it can be concluded that Turkey can act quickly and responsively in preventing the spread of coronavirus and face the COVID-19 pandemic with policies implemented so that mortality rates do not continue to

increase and recovery rates continue to increase. The implication of this research for the development of science is as consideration for a country's governance in implementing policies to deal with a situation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Responding to the trend of the development of the spread and transmission of Corona which continues to increase, since April 17, 2020, the President announced COVID-19 as a national disaster through KEPPRES No. 12 of 2020. Coronavirus cases continue to increase in number. As of June 17, 2020, the total number of positive corona cases in Indonesia reached 40,400 people, 15,703 recovered patients and 2,231 patients died (www.tribunjogja.id). The number of cases of people infected with Corona continues to increase, it is estimated that the curve will slope at the end of 2020. After the determination of COVID-19 as a pandemic, the reaction of the community has been mixed. Some residents feel afraid, angry, panicked, confused, and sad (Utami, 2020).

The Covid 19 pandemic is one of the pandemics in contemporary history. While deepening globalization and the massive development of information technology, this pandemic presents a bigger and more complex challenge. The study that emerged shortly after Covid 19 was declared to have emerged was its impact on the global and domestic political economy. If previous pandemics were transmitted through animal intermediaries or special interactions between humans, Covid 19 has a character that is transmitted directly between humans (Shereen, 2020).

Governments in many countries are faced with a confusing situation when the Covid-19 outbreak appears. They are forced to take strategic steps to deal with and respond to the pandemic situation. Each country shows different readiness. The Covid 19 pandemic has also shown the good and bad governance and government policies of a country. Initially, the Indonesian government showed stuttering and was trapped in denial of the urgency and impact of Covid 19

before finally taking the steps needed to deal with the pandemic more systematically (Mas'udi, W., & Winarti, P. S., 2020).

Methodology

Writing in research using the literature method. This method is used because bibliographically it is useful for reconstructing empirical information which is the theme of writing. Apart from its function as a bibliographical aid, this method is appropriate to be used as an alternative to getting around the writer's limitations in going directly to the field. The data collection technique in this study is to use the literature study method. Various secondary data include mass media articles, print, and online related to the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

Result And Discussion

Indonesia's Stuttering Facing the Pandemic Crisis When the first case of Covid-19 was confirmed in Indonesia on March 2, 2020, globally confirmed cases had reached 88,948 cases. The first confirmed case of Covid-19 in Indonesia was reported by WHO in "situation report 2", where Indonesia was recorded along with 5 other countries, namely Armenia, Czechia, Dominican Republic, Luxembourg, and Iceland (WHO, 2020). The crisis triggered panic from all parties, both at the central and regional government levels as well as the common people. In such conditions policymakers are required to make policies that can reduce potential conflicts due to crises (Ambar, W., & Mas'udi, W., 2020) A week after the first case was confirmed and the case increased, various parties began to raise votes for carrying out lockdown (regional quarantine) as exemplified by other countries such as China. However, the call for a lockdown did not budge the government. President Joko Widodo believes that the spread of Covid 19 can be done through physical distancing. Although IDI considers that regional quarantine is more effective in breaking the chain of the spread of covid-19 than the implementation of PSBB, Joko Widodo has not enforced regional

quarantine with economic, geographic, cultural, and sociological considerations different from other countries that implement regional quarantine. .

According to Joko Widodo, regional quarantine was not chosen after comparing these policies from other countries which were considered not to guarantee the success of implementing regional quarantine without causing problems. According to him, there is no one definite formula for overcoming the Covid-19 problem (Shihab, 2020). The new large-scale social policy was enacted by Joko Widodo at the end of March as a continuation of social distancing restrictions by using Government Regulation number 21 of 2020 as the basis for regulations. This policy was taken because the number of cases was increasing day by day. A government spokesman for the handling of Covid-19 Achmad Yurianto who is also the Director-General of Disease Prevention and Control at the Ministry of Health said that the PSBB was carried out because of physical distancing that was ignored by the community.

According to him, if social restrictions do not work, large-scale social restrictions will be imposed. This method is taken because it is believed to be able to break the chain of transmission. He added that maintaining distance must also be done because if this failed, the country would be threatened with collapse. (Tempo, 2020) Indonesia is relatively late in responding to the crisis. When viewed from the perspective of public communication, Indonesia had done something reckless with simplistic statements from public officials.

WHO then gave a warning to Indonesia to immediately declare a national emergency Covid-19 through a letter dated March 10, 2020, addressed to the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Berty, 2020). The impact was that the government issued “round tofu” legal products. In just one month, 9 legal products related to the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic were published. These policies are a response to the escalation of problems in terms of public health, social, administrative, financial, government bureaucratic authority,

and politics. To maintain state financial stability due to the pandemic crisis, the Indonesian government issued a Government Regulation instead of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2020 concerning State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability for Handling Covid-19 and to face threats that endanger the national economy and financial system stability, March 31, 2020.

This Perppu serves as a legal basis for budget adjustments in extraordinary conditions, as well as the justification for additional spending and funding for the 2020 State Budget to deal with Covid 19, with a total additional expenditure and financing for the 2020 State Budget of 405.1 trillion. In addition, a fund of 110 trillion has been allocated by the government for additional social safety nets related to Covid-19. The coverage of the family hope program was expanded from 9.2 million recipients to 10 million recipients and the value was increased by 25%. The allocation of basic food cards which was originally budgeted for 15.2 million recipients was enlarged to 20 million recipients with the value of benefits that increased from 150 thousand to 200,000. Then the pre-employment card budget is increased from 10 trillion to 20 trillion with details of the number of recipients. benefits added from two million people to 5.6 million recipients (Kompas, 2020). The Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy (PSBB) was implemented after the issuance of Government Regulation (PP) Number 21 of 2020, March 31, 2020, three weeks after the first case was announced in Indonesia. The PP regulates the implementation of PSBB and local governments can implement it with the approval of the Minister of Health. With the number of cases that have increased and spread across regions, this policy is very late. Because the PSBB was only implemented in April, and not all regions did it simultaneously. The PSBB in DKI Jakarta itself, for example, will only take effect in mid-April 2020.

Then followed by various other big cities (Carina, 2020). Even though the PSBB was enforced, the community was still allowed to leave the house by following predetermined health protocols. The

implementation of the PSBB which is enforced in various regions is not automatically obeyed by the community. Various violations still occurred and were discovered during the implementation of the PSBB. For example, crowds can still be found on the main roads of parts of the DKI Jakarta area for up to a week since the implementation of the PSBB. There are still many motorcyclists who do not wear masks and ride a ride. Likewise with the traders who offer their wares. It was recorded that during the first period of implementing the PSBB in Jakarta, Polda Metro Jaya noted that 32,300 vehicles were violating the rules (Kompas, 2020). If you trace the initial chronology of the government's response to the Covid 19 pandemic, four factors have caused the failure of the Indonesian government's PSBB policy.

1. weak initial response to Covid-19 handling. This can be seen from the 'relaxed' response shown by officials, confusing coordination between central and regional agencies.

2. Less than optimal law enforcement. Many people violate the rules for various reasons. Many of the sanctions that have been applied are social sanctions and have not been maximally applied

3. low citizen participation. Participation is a determining factor for the effectiveness of a policy. Participants' political culture enables individuals to behave in self-care with or without supervision from the authorities. High awareness and voluntary participation is the most important part of handling Covid-19 in addition to other strategies.

4. the massive development of hoax news related to Covid-19 in the community. The massive circulation of Covid-19 is a conspiracy created by a handful of parties for the benefit of certain groups.

The escalation of the Covid-19 case continues and violations of the principle of physical distancing have occurred everywhere. This is a sign that government policies have not been taken seriously by all components of society. Confusing information about Covid-19 and failure to break the chain of distribution have prevented changes in people's attitudes and behavior. To solve a problem that is a national threat, there must be a right and firm decision. Indonesia itself chose

to implement Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) to reduce the rate of Covid-19, instead of implementing a lockdown as urged by WHO. Joko Widodo as President emphasized that local governments must implement policies that do not conflict with central government protocols. In addition, the President formed a Task Force for the acceleration of handling Covid-19 to facilitate coordination between the center and the regions. The policy was initiated by the capital city of Jakarta and followed by other regions. If the lockdown requires residents not to leave the house at all, the PSBB still provides space for residents to carry out activities while not contradicting health protocols.

Table 1
Handling of Covid-19 Conducted by Indonesia

The first case confirmed	March 2, 2020
Number of cases	88,214 cases / (20/7/2020)
The ratio of test / test samples per day	44,543 specimens (highest record)
The fatality rate was	4,239 people
Method	Large-Scale Social Restriction (PSBB)
Duration	30 days (depending on local policies)
Medical treatment	PCR, rapid test
Health budget	2.99% of GDP

Source: compiled by authors from various sources

Conclusion

Indonesia took the PSBB step, which in its journey experienced duration adjustments for various regions. Many violations caused by low citizen awareness are still frequently found. Although it succeeded in temporarily suppressing the spread of Covid, the PSBB was deemed ineffective. Strong leadership in crises is needed to provide clear direction for crisis management and to foster public confidence in the system developed to survive a crisis. In a crisis, not all public

leaders can show adequate leadership, which results in undermining the legitimacy of leadership, and can even lead to a crisis of trust in the system. Indonesia's experience at the beginning of the Covid-19 outbreak shows that one of the heaviest burdens is the politicization of the pandemic among key government actors. The failure of synergy and coordination between elements in responding to the threat of a pandemic will be paid handsomely by a deep humanitarian crisis.

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KPAI HANDLING CASES OF CYBERBULLYING STUDENTS

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Abstract

Internet technology that is increasingly accessible at all ages does not precludes the rise of online crime. Online or cyberbullying is an act containing elements SARA and includes minor human rights violations. Cyberbullying is included in cybercrime with a type of psychological violence, this is because the impact does not attack physically but attacks psychologically which can hinder the development of children both individually and socially. Therefore, it is necessary to study the essential role of the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) in addressing online crime particularly in online abuse. Further research will analyze the phenomenon of cyberbullying in Indonesia and see the KPAI's role in protecting society through established policies. The study use intermestic approache and institutionalism theory. This approach and theory is used to see how the effects of globalization can affect occurrence of cyberbullying in Indonesia and how the international institutionalists such as UNICEF could cooperate with domestic institutional as KPAI in handling cases such as cyberbullying. This research also explains how the obstacles faced by KPAI can interfere with the effectiveness of

KPAI in eliminating acts of violence against children. Data is drawn through collections of journal writing or scientific articles and disseminating numbers to digital societies widely and are interpreted using qualitative descriptive analysis methods.

***Keywords:** cyberbullying, human rights, KPAI, effectiveness, policy*

Introduction

The rapid development of technology in a country is an indicator of globalization. Indonesia is one of the countries that has received the impact of globalization. Globalization has a good effect in a country, which is to provide and facilitate transformation within a country. Globalization also makes social interaction between the international community easier, therefore, a country will find it easier to work together to achieve its interests in the international world (Setiadi, n.d.).

With globalization, technology is developing rapidly and it is easier for people to fulfill their rights of expression. People use technology to find information, facilitate interaction with other people, etc. Social media is one result of technology, where social media is created to make it easier for people to socialize with other people easily and practically (Utami & Baiti, 2018). In Indonesia, for example, teenagers in Indonesia are very close to social media such as Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, and Tiktok. According to data from the marketing agency We Are Social and Platform, almost half of Indonesia's population uses social media in their daily lives. The statistical data provided is that there are 274.9 million Indonesians, 170 million people already use social media in 2021. This figure can show that Indonesian people already think that technology is a necessity that must be consumed every day (Riyanto, 2021).

Social media is an indicator of the advancement of information and communication technology. Social media can provide any form of information for public consumption and can be disseminated very

quickly. Social media indirectly tries to ask people to dialogue, exchange ideas, and also sharpen their logic and psychology (Pandie, 2016).

From the data that has been described above, this research shows that the people who dominate the use of social media are millennials or come from teenagers. From these data, it shows that 99.1% or around 168.5 million adolescents have used the internet (Riyanto, 2021). The use of the internet clearly has a good impact and a bad impact on society.

Good impact can clearly provide convenience to society in anything, for example, can help people improve their economy through online trading from existing sites. But on the other hand, the use of the internet has a bad impact that should be paid more attention. One of the bad effects of the internet is cyberbullying. Cyberbullying has recently occurred very often in Indonesia, because people are free to access the internet anytime and anywhere.

Cyberbullying is a part of bullying, in which bullying is an aggressive action that is deliberately carried out by a group of people or a person and is carried out continuously. This action is also usually aimed at people who do not have self-defense or can also be based on a systematic abuse of power (Pandie, 2016). Cyberbullying, which is part of bullying, was only added to the OED dictionary in 2010. The term cyberbullying is used to refer to the use of technology intended to bully by sending posts or texts that are intimidating, discriminating against, threatening victims. This term, according to OED, was first used in Canberra in 1988, but has existed previously through a New Yorks Time article in 1995. Cyberbullying can be defined as the act of hurting another person on purpose and carried out continuously (Pandie, 2016). According to Smith, cyberbullying is a mistake of applying technology in life. The act of cyberbullying used to hurt and harass others. Cyberbullying is carried out by a group that knows each other and also with unknown people and usually, people who do cyberbullying to famous people also cover up their identity (anonymous) (Utami & Baiti, 2018).

This phenomenon cyberbullying occurs very often in Indonesia, seeing several news portals that provide information about cyberbullying on social media. In the data described above, the social media that is very often used by Indonesians is Youtube, followed by Whatsapp, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and Tiktok. Of the several platforms that have been mentioned, the donation organization anti-bullying, Ditch The Label, gave an award to Instagram as the platform with the rate, cyberbullying highest which was 42% of 10,020 teenagers in the UK (Pratama, 2021).

Meanwhile, data victims cyberbullying in Indonesia is still difficult to determine due to the large number of cases cyberbullying that have occurred, but the minimum reporting is sent. According to Polda Metro Jaya, there are about 25 reports every day in 2019 (Putra, 2019). The reason for the lack of reports that have occurred to the police is due to the minimal use of offenses cyberbullying. Law enforcers assume that defamation with cyberbullying is the same thing, even though the two have different definitions. According to the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) from 2017 to 2019, there were reported cases of cyberbullying that reached 1,940. It explained the motive of the cyberbullying that occurred, namely 329 children who reported that they had received sexual crimes online, while 299 children were recorded as perpetrators of online sexual crimes. Then it was recorded that there were 426 child victims of pornography, then there were 316 child perpetrators from possession of pornography. This was followed by 281 child victims of bullying on social media and as many as 291 children who were perpetrators of bullying on social media (CNN Indonesia, 2020). KPAI, which is an independent institution that has the mandate to oversee the fulfillment of children's rights, has the task of resolving cases cyberbullying in Indonesia.

The rise of the phenomenon cyberbullying that occurs in children in Indonesia and also knowing the existence of a child protection commission in Indonesia is the reason for the authors in this study to analyze the role of the Indonesian Child Protection Commission

(KPAI) in responding to cyberbullying in Indonesia. Then this research also analyzes the role of international institutions that also interfere in overcoming cyberbullying in Indonesia. With the explanation above, the writer uses the title *The Effectiveness of KPAI Handling Cases of Cyberbullying* to clarify the research and achieve the expected expectations.

Literature review

In this research, there are several Literature reviews that will be used and in accordance with the research topic. This Literature review is used as a comparison material and as a reference material in existing research so that there is no similarity between this study and previous research.

The first literature succeeds in explaining that cyberbullying is a new form of bullying based on internet technology which is usually carried out individually or in groups which is carried out continuously on the victim privately and aims to harm the victim. Cyberbullying occurs due to the increase in communication technology and the development of the internet for teenagers. Even UNICEF categorizes this act as a form of violence perpetrated and victimizes children, UNICEF also pays attention to the issue of cyberbullying and makes it a priority to be addressed immediately in order to protect children's rights and keep away from acts of violence against children. As for some of the most common cyberbullying acts, namely online harassment, the spread of untrue news related to someone, and the dissemination of personal news to a wider audience (Rusyidi, 2020).

The second literature succeeds in explaining the definition of cyberbullying as an act that aims to hurt and embarrass others on the internet or social media. There are several forms of cyberbullying, including: (1) flaming, sending messages in the form of verbal violence personally or to certain groups, (2) harassment, sending messages periodically to hurt others, (3) cyberstalking, stalking, (4) denigration, making threats by posting untrue news, (5) impersonation, pretending

to be someone else and putting the victim in danger, (6) outing and trickery, disseminating information that is intended to be embarrassing and contains sensitive information, and (7) exclusion, exclusion in the group. Cyberbullying as an act of violence against children only has a negative impact that can hinder children's growth and development. Victims can feel depression, anxiety, lose self-confidence, and make victims tend to stay away from social society. Meanwhile, cyberbullying often has an impact on the perpetrator, such as being afflicted with a prolonged sense of guilt. Cyberbullying that often occurs among students also occurs due to massive internet use and lack of supervision from parents and adults, as well as the lack of socialization in using technology wisely and appropriately in accordance with ethics because cyberbullying is an act of ethical violations in communication (Elpemi, 2020)

The third literature succeeds in explaining that cyberbullying that occurs in Indonesia, such as in the cities of Magelang, Jogjakarta, and Semarang, is mostly carried out among teenagers. This researcher managed to get data that as many as 60% of adolescents in the city had heard the term cyberbullying, and as many as 49% of them had committed these acts on the basis of fun with their friends, 7% said that they took these actions for revenge, and 4% of them say that they only become followers of the cyberbullying. Cyberbullying perpetrators use social media as a platform to launch this action with a percentage of 32% and 51.3% of cyberbullying victims will usually tell their closest friends about their experiences. In fact, this journal also managed to explain that as many as 20% of the respondents felt the negative impact of cyberbullying, namely the tendency to commit suicide. This action occurs because cyberbullying is closely related to the activity of berating, spreading gossip, humiliating victims, and even committing sexual harassment (Ortega et al., 2008).

The fourth literature succeeds in explaining that Indonesia has a child protection institution which is familiarly known as the Indonesian Child Protection Commission or KPAI. This institution

emerged because UNICEF began to uphold human rights after the onset of World War II and the many cases of human rights violations. Just as UNICEF was established to guarantee children's rights, KPAI as an independent institution has the same goal. Its role is considered very important because the times have resulted in the development of all kinds of violence. Acts of violence against children also include physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence, and economic violence. Thus, KPAI has the authority to guard, supervise and handle cases of violence for the sake of ensuring child protection. KPAI also has an active role to play in formulating policies related to child protection, receiving complaints from the public about violations of children's rights, and has the right to report this to the competent authorities. KPAI must also truly protect children's rights without differentiating them based on class, race, ethnicity and sex (Lestari, 2018).

The fifth literature succeeds in explaining that the KPAI has 9 main areas where one of them regulates the Sector of Pornography and Cybercrime with the efforts made by KPAI, namely promoting digital literacy so that children who use the internet are free from pornography. Not only that, KPAI also collaborates with several IT-based communities to help enliven digital literacy which aims to understand technology and utilize it appropriately and wisely. KPAI also socializes with parents by teaching them how to build good communication with children so that they don't get out of control, KPAI also tries to remove media in pornographic applications, especially in the WhatsApp application because it is easier to access pornographic content. As an institution to realize the protection of children's rights, the duties of KPAI are also contained in Article 76 of the Child Protection Law which states to disseminate information on laws relating to child protection, collect data and information, supervise the implementation of child protection, and report, provide advice and considerations to the President regarding child protection. KPAI must also have a role to oversee the implementation of child

protection regulations, be free from intervention by any party, be active in bringing the interests of child protection to office stakeholders, as well as solve problems in policies regarding children that are not yet appropriate both at the central and regional levels (Arliman S, 2018).

The Literature review above that has been described has a contribution to this research, which can be used as a reference in discussing cyberbullying and researching the effectiveness of KPAI in solving cyberbullying problems, not only that the above Literature review is also useful to compare and seek updates from existing research.

Theoretical Framework: Institutionalism Theory

Intermestic is a study in International Relations that seeks to describe the relationship between global issues and phenomena to see the domestic conditions of a country in terms of issues, policies, or norms or ideas due to the influence, impact, or response of this global phenomenon. An intermestic approach is increasingly needed because the development of actors in the domestic and international realms is increasing so that it raises more issues in economic, political, social and cultural aspects. So that the policy-making process is influenced by actors from across countries who not only prioritize factors of interest in the policy-making process, but also promote the process of studying an idea or policy that can be applied across countries (Kusumaningrum & Kurniawati, 2016)

The theory of Institutionalism which originates from liberalism takes advantage of human nature that can be worked with and is not always oriented towards their own interests, so that individuals can be invited to work together at the domestic and international levels to find a solution to common problems. Meanwhile, Scott (2008) explains that the theory of institutionalism exists to study the presence of an institution that arises from the pressures of the institutional environment. The theory of institutionalism is what will be used to attract public confidence that an organization deserves to be supported so that it has legitimate legitimacy. This theory exists to

explain individual or organizational behavior caused by internal and external factors, social factors, and environmental factors. This theory also believes that organizations that prioritize legitimacy will tend to adjust and realize external expectations or expectations that are present in the environment in which the organization is located (Basuki, 2019).

The institutionalism theory used by researchers in this paper serves to see how the regulations have been made by KPAI and see how institutional collaboration between KPAI and institutions and stakeholders at the international level can help alleviate cyberbullying, this action can be in the form of comparing KPAI's methods with institutions from other countries and international organizations that have responsibility in overcoming cyberbullying problems. The theory of institutionalism is also used to explain how the role of the KPAI institution can protect citizens, especially protecting children's rights from violence as seen from the policies that have been made so that later the effectiveness of this KPAI can be measured based on existing explanations.

Methodology

Collecting data in this study is by collecting written documentation from journals / scientific articles and news. Literature review is obtained from analysis of literature sources related to cyberbullying in the scope of students and the role of the KPAI institution in dealing with these problems. Then the researcher described the results of the data that had been analyzed. The research data is secondary data. Data is collected through digital media by downloading scientific journals/ articles from the website official. This study uses descriptive qualitative analysis techniques and is in the form of a narrative.

Result And Discussions

a. The Position and Effectiveness of KPAI

Every country has an institution in it and every institution formed by the state belongs to the state even though it is independent. As

stated in the 1945 Constitution, the existence of state institutions is part of the essence of national and state life based on justice and democracy. According to Hans Kelsen, a state institution in a broad sense is someone who carries out a certain function or position in the state. These individuals can be said to be state institutions because they carry out functions that apply the law or are commonly referred to as public officials or public officials. For example, parliaments that make and enact laws and citizens have the right to elect candidates for representatives of the people through elections. In a narrow sense, Kelsen mentions if an individual has a certain legal position and has the following characteristics: 1. The state institution is elected or appointed to occupy a certain position or function; 2. Functions that are carried out as the main profession or even legally are exclusive; 3. Because of his function, he is entitled to receive a compensation in the form of a salary from the state (Arliman S, 2016). So in a broad sense, all individuals who carry out the function of creating law and the function of implementing law while in the narrow sense only carry out the function of creating law and applying law in the context of the state. Thus, the definition of state institutions does not only extend to the three parts of power, the legislative, the judiciary, and the executive, but more than that. State institutions can be in the form of bodies or organizations that carry out legal functions and create laws within the framework of government structures and systems. Based on that review, the position of KPAI as a state institution regulated in accordance with the state constitution whose authority and position are regulated in the regulations under it (Arliman S, 2018).

KPAI is a new institution that has only emerged after reform. This institution was deliberately established to monitor the implementation of human rights, especially for the protection of children. KPAI is an independent state agency organ. For this reason, all KPAI activities are based on the constitutional mandate of the 1945 Constitution. There are many fields within the KPAI body, one of which is the field of Pornography and Cybercrime. In this task, it is noted that cases

that are KPAI's priority in the "internet world" are only pornographic crimes, while cybercrime especially cyberbullying is not a priority (Setyawan, 2014). On the one hand, the reason why cases *cyberbullying* in Indonesia are increasing every year is because there are no effective policy products. Like the ITE Law, the Pornography Law, the Child Protection Law is not yet in sync with the KUHAP, making it difficult for law enforcers to prove this case. The difficulties faced technically make law enforcers confused in proving the perpetrator for his actions and mistakes.

This case of cyberbullying is a case that is very difficult to identify, therefore cyberbullying is classified to make it easier to determine cyberbullying. Cyberbullying is classified as the first, namely in the form of messages, the form of messages in question is a form of messages sent by other people that have elements of insult or discrimination, threats, content in sexual form, and messages that contain elements of SARA. The second is that there is a discussion that contains an insulting element to take the attention of others in order to get support for taking cyberbullying. The third is sending messages to someone's profile (flaming) with the intention of provoking someone's anger. The fourth is sending messages that do not have validity, which leads to hoaxes (Nurhadiyanto, 2020).

Based on the numbers, from numbers 1 to 10 there are 12% of parents who report that their children have experienced bullying. Of the 12% of parents who reported, 60% stated through social media such as Facebook (Newall, 2018). This is because many people use social media with various motives. For some people who are not happy with other people through social media, cyberbullying is a separate way to express it without realizing it if it hurts someone. The effects received from cyberbullying are stress, depression, and suicidal thoughts. Especially in adolescents who are not yet mature, they face hurtful nagging from some people on social (Mulya, 2013). This should be a big «homework» for KPAI in overcoming cyberbullying in the realm of students.

b. Institutional Collaboration to Handle Cyberbullying Cases

Cyberbullying is included in cybercrime and is included in the category of psychological violence against children because cyberbullying does not leave physical scars, this is the result of cyberbullying which more often attacks the victim's psyche with verbal abuse by berating the victim which can lower the victim's self-esteem, spreading false information about the victim so as to cause insecurity to the victim, stalking the victim to spy on the victim so that it makes the victim feel afraid and experience depression. The impact of cyberbullying is the answer to why it can be classified as violence against children, especially psychological violence (Lestari, 2018)

Viewed from the theory of institutionalism which believes that human nature loves peace and can be invited to work together in order to build an effective and capable institution to find solutions to common problems, accompanied by the development of actors at the domestic and international levels, it makes the reach even wider for alleviate the problems that become problems globally. Therefore, UNICEF as an international institution also collaborates with Indonesia, especially with the KPAI, which does have the right and authority to take care of everything related to children's rights. UNICEF also strives to assist Indonesia in tackling cases of child violence, UNICEF is also used as a forum for information to see and understand cases of child abuse to be able to reveal the background of the occurrence of these acts, both from individual, family and social environment backgrounds. UNICEF and KPAI are working together in seeking data and information about child abuse through administrative records or surveys in the form of reports of acts of violence against children, and uploaded on the official UNICEF website as an annual report through online media, printed media to electronic media so that everyone can report in case of violence against children. This is done as evidence of a data base covering the characteristics and context of the problem of violence against children (Fauziah, 2018).

Not only that, UNICEF also carried out a campaign with the hashtag #ENDViolence which made Indonesia take part in the campaign and collaborated with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) to provide awareness to the Indonesian public about acts of violence against children that could have a good impact on the individual and the surrounding environment. Not only that, the institutionalist cooperation between UNICEF and Indonesia is in the form of technical assistance support, capacity building, advocacy, policy formulation and promoting child issues in Indonesia to help millions of children in Indonesia.

This collaboration also encourages UNICEF to put pressure on the Indonesian government and produce reforms in the development of child protection so that laws are made capable and willing to protect children's rights such as the Presidential Decree on the Prevention of Sexual Harassment and the Child Justice Law. In fact, a Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2016 regarding the Second Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection and the Presidential Decree on Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Children in the Education Unit has also been published due to the increase in bullying, meanwhile the number of victims of bullying is decreasing (Fauziah, 2018).

Conclusion

From the above discussion, a state is responsible for the welfare of its people, one of which is to oversee the implementation of human rights, especially in children, through an authorized institution, namely the KPAI. The role and function of KPAI is engaged in the realm of Pornography and Cybercrime, however this cannot be a priority at the same time. The Field of Pornography and Cybercrime only focuses on cases of pornography in Indonesia and has a little focus on cybercrime which of the cybercrime acts is cyberbullying. The policies made by KPAI in dealing with cyberbullying have not been implemented properly. This is because Indonesia's policy products in

handling cyberbullying cases have not been effective. This is because several policies on cyberbullying have not been synchronized with the Criminal Procedure Code, so it is very difficult for law enforcers to prove the perpetrators actions. On the one hand, UNICEF's role has always been to support all countries in overcoming this problem, especially for Indonesia, which has experienced growing cases of cyberbullying by collaborating in the form of providing advocacy assistance, even to policy reforms. However, in its application in the field, Indonesia has not consistently dealt with it.

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THE RESOLUTION OF IRAQI KURDISH IN OBTAINING THE REGION AUTONOMY STATUS IN IRAQ

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Abstract

This article explore the efforts of Iraqi Kurdish negotiations to obtain the regional autonomy status in Iraq from Saddam Hussein's leadership until his resignation after United State invasion 2002. This article describes several articles or journals that related to Kurdish resolution's effort that are used to explain the Kurdish efforts in Iraq. By the Ripeness theory according I William Zartman, it argued that if the conflicting parties have felt a deadlock when each other feels that war that has been taken has resulted nothing, but only hurts each other, then the negotiation is one of the solutions to take. The author in this study used the library method by collecting secondary data which related to Iraqi Kurdish resolution efforts. As a result, the Iraqi government finally granted the autonomy to the Kurds for the Arbil, Dohuk, and Sulaemania regions even though Kirkuk one of Kurdish majority was not given the autonomy considering the large content of its oil resources, which concerns that separatism would occur if Kirkuk was under Kurds control. In the end, even though Kirkuk was not granted autonomy, the

Iraqi Kurds under Massoud Barzani were still trying to fight for Kirkuk until the US invasion of Iraq in 2002.

Keywords: *Iraqi Kurdish, resolution, autonomy, ripeness theory*

Introduction

Across the world today, ethnic minorities are moving along ethnic nationalist lines, demanding power and recognition as a group from the states in which they live. In some cases, they claim their own state, based on their group's status as their own nation. These challengers to the country they live in are often brutally suppressed, but mobilization has often continued in the face of this oppression as has been experienced by Kurdistan or the Kurdish Nation.

In essence, the Kurds are a large ethnic group, as long as they were under the rule of various kingdoms in the past, the Kurds lived peacefully without having their own kingdom or state. The desire to form a state of their own only emerged when World War I ended. However, its territory has been segregated by four newly independent countries, namely; Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.

Kurdistan is located in the vicinity of the Zagros mountains which are divided into the borders of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Its population is about 25% of the population of Turkey, 23% of Iraq, 15% of Syria and 10% of Iran.(McDOWALL, 2005)

The Kurds residing in Iraq are the only ones to gain autonomy in 2005 after decades of struggle for independence. Iraqi Kurds occupy the areas of Dohuk, Irbil, Sulemaniah and Kirkuk which are still a problem for Kurds and Baghdad considering the large reserves of petroleum in the region.(Gunter, 2011)

External support for the Kurds in Iraq seemed to be tug of war, initially the Kurds received support from Britain, the US and Iran. These three countries support the Kurdish struggle in Iraq. However, after the Algheir agreement between Iraq and Iran under the leadership of Shah Reza Pahlavi, Iran's support for the Kurds gradually disappeared, added

that Britain initiated cooperation with Iraq in eradicating all forms of rebellion in Iraq itself. This forced Mustafa Barzani into exile to Iran and the Kurdish military forces (Peshmerga) in Russia for 11 years.

During Mustafa Barzani's exile, he continued to play his part in northern Iraq where the Kurdish population is based via long-distance communication. When there was a major coup in Iraq which overthrew the monarchy in Iraq, it was led by Brigadier Abdul Karim Al-Qosim. He also initiated the unity of Iraq (Arabs) and Kurds, thus making Mustafa Barzani return to Iraq. However, it is undeniable that the sentimentality of Arab Iraq and Kurds in society cannot be stopped, this can be seen when Baghdad is reluctant to seek autonomy rights over Kurds in Iraq.

Kurds in Iraq voice their demands and aspirations through Mustafa Barzani's KDP (Kurdish Democratic Party) and Jalal Talabani's PUK (Party Union of Kurdistan). Jalal Talabani is a Kurdish tribe who lives in the area bordering Iran and with his PUK party tends to be lenient or moderate towards Iraqi government policies, while Mustafa Barzani is a Kurd who lives in the northern region of Iraq which borders the Turkish territory with his KDP party which tends to be conservative and prioritizes independence or the separation of the Kurds from Iraq.

To accommodate the KDP and PUK in northern Iraq, the KRG (Kurdish Regional Government) was formed as a forum for policy making in the Kurdish region. The KRG is equipped with a strong Kurdish military force called the Peshmerga who is tasked with securing and fighting for Kurdish interests in Iraq until the resignation of Saddam Hussein's government, in 2005 making Jalal Talabani the first non-Arab Iraqi president to officially take office and Masoud Barzani as the regional president of the region. Kurdish Iraq (KRG) with the status of an autonomous region.

From the above background, it is interesting for us to highlight that amidst the difficulties of the Kurds in Turkey, Syria and Iran to obtain their autonomy rights, the Kurds in Iraq have succeeded in gaining positions in Government and autonomy in three regions in Iraq. What

efforts have the Iraqi Kurds made in obtaining their regional autonomy status. This article will discuss the efforts of the Iraqi Kurds to gain regional autonomy status in Iraq during Saddam Hussein's leadership until his resignation following the invasion of the United States military operation in Iraq.

Literature review

First, Bahar and Mari Toivanen's (2017) research examines the relationship between GRP (Genocide Recognize Politic) or the political recognition of genocide, namely the elimination of ethnic Iraqi Kurds during Saddam Hussein's government in 1988 with efforts to secede, build national identity and warnings, and change social drivers, politics, and economics in the process. In addition, Bahar and Mari Toivanen also emphasized the internationalization of the recognition of Genocide through the diaspora lobby and bureau representatives of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq or KRG (Kurdistan Regional Government) in Europe. The results do not explicitly indicate a connection with secession efforts, but the claims of genocide recognition through the KRG bureau are used to legitimize local regulations by referring to collective trauma as victims. So that the traumatic tragedy of Anfal in the Saddam Hussein era became a major component in nation building, and did not rule out being used for secession efforts if the political situation in the region allowed. (Baser & Toivanen, 2017)

Second, research by Joanne Mcevoy and Eduardo Wassim Aboultaif (2020) explores the relationship between 'adoption ability' and functionality in the "power-sharing" process that occurs in Iraq, and the results show that adoption capacity is weak (when one of the more groups has doubts. big about settlement) has an impact on losses in several important sectors; First, the weak adoption by the Sunni community led to their isolation and mobilization against the state; Second, weak adoption capacity provides political space for Shiites to dominate in politics, undermining the basis for post-conflict power

sharing; Third, weak adoption capacity exacerbates constitutional contestation, leading to Kurdish independence efforts in 2017.(Mcevoy, Aboultaif, Mcevoy, & Aboultaif, 2020)

Third, research by Kamaran Palani, Jaafar Khidir, Mark Dechesne and Edwin Bakker (2019) on the strategy adopted by the Iraqi Kurdistan Region in gaining international recognition, and internal and external dynamics. This article analyzes 68 speeches, interviews and statements from former KRI (Kurdistan Regional Iraq) President Masoud Barzani, from the public announcement of the independence referendum on June 7, 2017 to the holding of the referendum on September 25, 2017. Based on the KRI case, this article attempts to provide insight into how de facto states build their arguments for statehood.(Palani, Khidir, Dechesne, Bakker, & Bakker, 2019)

Fourth, Eva Maria Belser's research (2020) denies the weakness of federalism as a medium for conflict resolution in Iraq. This paper argues that the constitutional regime introduced in 2005 is not federal but lacks subnational units, a clear division of powers and resources, proper participation of units at the center and neutral intermediaries. So it can be concluded that federalism has not failed in Iraq, but has not yet been tried.(Belser, 2020)

Fifth, Friederke Luise Kelle's (2020) research provides an understanding of the relationship between identity, contested territory, and strategy, as well as the role that symbolic territorial attachments play to strategic choice in demands for self-determination. This article argues that "groups are likely to increase their demands if they can take advantage of the mobilization of symbolic areas, and create an identity-based territorial focal point for mobilization. This article presents new data on strategic choices in demands for self-determination around the world between 2005 and 2015. Using multinomial logit estimates, it is found that regional symbols contribute to a limited degree of escalation, and prevent armed conflict.(Kelle & Kelle, 2021)

Theoretical Framework

In a book entitled *Escalation and Negotiation in International Conflicts*, I. William Zartman reveals that there is one way to reduce the level of conflict that is widespread or increasing, namely by using ripeness theory (maturity). The Ripeness theory (Maturity) explains the relationship between conflict escalation and negotiation by paying attention to certain situations, a period where the conflicting parties have felt a deadlock where each other only hurts each other so that it is the right time to take the road of negotiation.

The ripeness theory was introduced and developed by I. William Zartman with the aim of providing an overview of the most favorable moments to initiate negotiations. In this theory, a ripe moment is described as a “deadlock that hurts one another,” which is marked by a deadlock situation between the parties who are fighting because of the impending disaster. In this situation, the disputants recognize, through cost-benefit calculations, a sharp increase in costs which limits the use of the unilateral strategy and increases the prospect of a negotiated settlement as the only way out of the escalated situation. It is important to emphasize that a period of impasse consists of perceptual events, which are formed on the basis of an intolerable and escalating situation. Unilateral escalation is no longer seen as an option because of the increasing costs and suffering of conflict. Therefore, a negotiated settlement is more likely. (I. William Zartman and Guy Olivier, 1967)

Methodology

The author in this study used the library method by collecting secondary data from some journals and books that related to the Iraqi Kurdish resolution efforts then strengthen it by some news from internet.

Result And Discussions

1. *The Kurdish Resolution Effort during Saddam Hussein's leadership*

The first negotiation attempt was on 24 April 1991 between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish delegation consisting of Jalal Talabani as the delegation leader, Nechirvan Barzani (Massoud Barzani's nephew), Abdul Rahman and Rasoul Mamand, which discussed the issue of autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan and international guarantees of the final decision between Kurds with the Iraqi government on Kurdish autonomy. The Iraqi government and the Kurdish delegation reached an agreement to implement the March 11, 1970 autonomy pact which designated three provinces in northern Iraq as Kurdish autonomous regions, namely Dahuk, Arbil and Sulaymaniah.

According to Jalal Talabani, the first stage of negotiations discussed the issue of enforcing democracy in Iraq which included a new constitution, free elections and the possibility of a coalition government, but it was not certain whether to include other opposition groups in Iraq such as the Shiites. Regarding the issue of Kurdish autonomy which is at the core of the talks, the two sides have yet to reach an agreement. The Kurds demand that the Kirkuk region be included in the autonomous Kurdistan region. In the negotiations, Jalal Talabani proposed that the central government could control Kirkuk's oil production, while the Kurds who controlled the government in Kirkuk and its surroundings and the Kurds did not ask for a direct percentage of Iraqi oil revenues, but wanted a share of the Iraqi state budget for the autonomous Kurdistan region, which is large. proportional to the percentage of the Kurdish population in Iraq. But the Kurdish leader's demands were rejected by the Iraqi government because Kirkuk is not a Kurdish city. The reason for the refusal of the Iraqi government is seen by the Kurdish delegation as unrealistic to accept is because the majority of Kurds in Kirkuk have been removed through the Ba'ath party's Arabization policy since the 1960s.

Although there is no agreement yet on the issue of Kurdish autonomy, the two sides still have the will to renegotiate to finalize a solution to the Kurdish question. Another issue that is no less important concerns Kurdish refugees who live in tents at the border of Turkey,

Iran and who live in the mountains. As many as 9,000 Kurdish refugees have left camps in the mountains near the Turkish border to return to their homes or live in refugee camps protected by US and allied forces in northern Iraq.

The second phase of negotiations began on 6 May 1991 between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish representative of Massoud Barzani's KDP party on the details of the promised autonomy. In the negotiations, the Kurdish delegation and the Iraqi government formed a Joint Committee whose task was to discuss national unity, democracy in Iraq, normalization of the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan and the repatriation of refugees. The content of the negotiations was that the Kurdish delegation asked for international guarantees for any autonomy agreement between the Kurds and the Iraqi government and that Kirkuk was included in the Kurdistan autonomous region.

The second phase of negotiations continued until 18 May 1991, when the Kurdish delegation had reached an agreement in principle with the Iraqi government on plans to revive full democracy in Iraq, but there are still differences over views on regional autonomy, namely whether the oil city of Kirkuk should be included in the territory. Kurdish autonomy and the need for international guarantees of any agreement with Baghdad, so the signing of a peace agreement between the two parties was postponed. The absence of an agreement on the issue of Kurdish autonomy led Massoud Barzani and his delegation to leave Baghdad to return to northern Iraq on May 26, 1991 with the aim of consulting with other Kurds. In the end, however, the Iraqi government was reluctant to include Kirkuk in the autonomous region of Kurdistan, a traditional Kurdish city that is now mixed in population and the need for international guarantees of the Iraqi-Kurdish autonomy agreement because the government considers that every agreement is Iraq's internal affairs so that no international guarantee is needed.

The Iraqi government talks with the Kurdish delegation continued on June 17, 1991, Massoud Barzani gave an idea that it was likely that the Kirkuk area would be divided into two provinces, one within

the autonomous region and the other under the joint Iraqi Kurdish government. A deal will most likely be signed putting Kirkuk under a joint government, but the two parties have yet to come to an agreement.

The Iraqi government negotiations with the Kurdish delegation were resumed on 24 June 1991. In these negotiations the Iraqi government made three demands against the Kurds as a condition of the Kirkuk deal. First, the Kurds had to give support to the 1968 Revolution that brought the Baath Party to power. Second, Kurds have to ask for permission from the Baath Party if they want to connect with foreign governments or organizations, including Western countries that are active in monitoring the Kurdish region. Third, Kurds must cooperate with the Baath Party against the enemy (the Shia Party which is pro-Iran and groups which are pro-Syria) and against Iran which was the enemy of Iraq in the Persian War. In the event of an uprising, demonstrations and chaos against the Baath Party, Kurds are required to cooperate with Iraq to take up arms to suppress any uprisings, demonstrations and chaos.

On June 30, 1991, the Kurdistan Front declared its rejection of the Iraqi government's terms of Kurdish autonomy negotiations. The Iraqi government put forward conditions that the Kurdistan Front could not accept because the Iraqi government called on the Kurds to lay down their arms, fight against domestic and external enemies and end relations with the West. The terms put forward by the Iraqi government and the Kurdistan Front's rejection of the terms put forward by the Iraqi government complicate the agreement of an Iraqi peace agreement with the Kurds.

Although the Iraqi peace agreement with the Kurds is deadlocked, especially regarding the status of the Kirkuk region, but according to the agreement between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish delegation dated April 24, 1991 to implement the March 11, 1974 autonomy pact which established three provinces in northern Iraq as Kurdish autonomous regions which include Dahuk, Arbil and Sulaymaniah. The three regions in northern Iraq have been designated by the Iraqi

government as an autonomous Kurdistan region since 1974, but the Iraqi government has not fully implemented it, which has resulted in Kurdish dissatisfaction because in practice all bureaucratic and political decisions in the Kurdistan autonomous region still require Saddam's blessing. , there was no population census of the Kurdish region at that time and the Kirkuk area was not included in the autonomous region.

The Kurdistan autonomous region which includes Dahuk, Arbil and Sulaymaniah since 1991 has been under the protection of the United Nations and coalition forces to protect the Kurds against Saddam Hussein's military actions. Iraqi forces and the Iraqi civilian government were withdrawn from the autonomous region of Kurdistan and replaced by coalition forces guarding the security zone of the Kurdish autonomous region, while the civilian government of Iraq was replaced by a government occupied by Kurds.

2. *The Kurdish Resolution Effort towards the Invasion of US military operations into Iraq*

After the tragedy of the al-Qaeda attacks on the WTC building on September 11, 2001, in New York and Washington. The US government under President George W. Bush thought that Iraq was a fair target of retaliation because of its links to al-Qaeda which led the United States to launch its invasion of its military operations in Iraq in 2003.

In the US invasion of Iraq, Washington allocated about \$ 90 million to mobilize Iraqi opposition groups in the Diaspora and Iraqi Kurdistan regions against Saddam Hussein's government. The Kurds were initially unenthusiastic about the news of the US-led war, fearing the United States might replace Saddam Hussein with a more friendly leader of the Ba'ath party, who would haunt them again. Before making firm commitments to the US and Iraqi opposition, the Kurds are trying to see if Saddam Hussein is willing to offer better terms than in the past for autonomy. The Kurds argue that since Saddam Hussein has been under UN economic sanctions and US threats of war, he may be more responsive to their demands than any other Arab nationalist who might replace him.

The Kurds began contacting Saddam Hussein not only to test his intentions against them but also to improve their bargaining position against the United States and Iraq's opposition diaspora groups. The Kurds explained to the opposition that they would join them as long as they agreed to build a democratic federal system of government, recognize the authority of the KRG, solve the problem of the Kurdish Arab region, distribute oil revenues fairly, equalize Kurdish identities with Arabs, share key positions in government with Kurdish, and redesigned the Iraqi national flag to reflect its multiethnic character. During a meeting in Salahaddin, Arbil Province, the Iraqi opposition group "agreed to the Kurds' right to determine their future without separation and within the framework of Iraq's only homeland.

The 2003 war provided Iraqi Kurds with further opportunities to increase their political, economic and security gains. From 2003 to 2012, the KRG government proved that the Kurds are capable of self-governance and developing their own territory regardless of region is another Iraq, which is entrenched in a bitter civil war between Sunnis and Shiite Arabs. Despite their own internal strife, the Kurds are showing the world that they are nation-builders, peacemakers and businessmen, and not a gang of thieves, highway robbers and illiterate people, as their neighbors had previously described.

While building the pillars of the state, Kurdish officials are deeply involved in promoting peace and stability throughout Iraq by mediating between the rival Sunni and Shiite communities. Neighboring countries that oppose Kurdish national ambitions are helpless in the face of Kurdish political fortunes, especially given the complexity of the political and military situation in Iraq. Kurds' constructive demeanor, courtesy and diplomatic skills turn many of their enemies into friends. They campaign vigorously to attract foreign investors, businessmen, diplomatic missions and traders to their territory, which they turn into vibrant societies with a thriving economy, while the rest of Iraq is still in disarray.

In their pursuit of Iraqi unity, Kurdish politicians are trying to sell the concept of federalism to Arab opposition groups in an effort to ensure the continuity of their regional government. In the absence of a better alternative, the Kurdish leadership files agreement to work with the United States and Arab opposition groups to first overthrow Saddam Hussein and then begin negotiating the terms of their autonomy with Arab opposition groups.

Kurds are making concerted efforts to sensitize Arab opposition groups through bilateral conferences and discussions on the usefulness of the federal government system for the Iraqi people. During a meeting in New York on November 29, 1999, the concept of a federal democratic system of government was discussed by citing concrete examples. The same concept was debated again at a US-sponsored conference in London during 14-17 December 2002, as well as in Salahadin (Arbil) in March 2003 which was attended by US ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad. The Salahadin Conference recommended the concept of federalism be included in the new Iraqi constitution.

US officials have informed Kurds that the final status of the KRG and other Kurdish demands should be resolved through negotiations with the legally elected government in Baghdad. Until finally after the resignation of Saddam Hussein from his leadership position in Iraq, in 2005 Jalal Talabani was appointed as the 6th President of Iraq which was a Kurdish representative from the PUK Party, with Nouri Al-Maliki as Prime Minister representing Shia Arab Iraq, coincided with the inauguration of the Kurdish Autonomous Government of the KRG (Kurdistan Regional Government) led by Masoud Barzani as President of the Kurdish autonomous government of Iraq with a percentage of the oil share in the northern Iraq region..

Conclusion

The prolonged conflict between the Kurds of Iraq and the Iraqi government which represents the Iraqi Arab tribe has met a deadlock period where according to I William Zartman if the warring parties

begin to feel a deadlock and feel that the path of war taken has cost a lot of victims and costs, then the negotiation route starting will be taken as an alternative next. After the Kurds tried to negotiate with the Iraqi government during Saddam Hussein's leadership until his resignation, finally the Iraqi government finally granted the autonomy to the Kurds for the Arbil, Dohuk, and Sulaemania regions even though Kirkuk one of Kurdish majority was not given the autonomy considering the large content of its oil resources, which concerns that separatism would occur if Kirkuk was under Kurds control. In the end, even though Kirkuk was not granted autonomy, the Iraqi Kurds were still trying to fight for Kirkuk until the US invasion of Iraq.

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ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECT OF E-COMMERCE ON THE CONSUMPTIVE BEHAVIOR OF STUDENTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MUHAMMADIYAH MALANG.

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Abstract

Technological developments and the ease of accessing online information in the era of globalization have become a lifestyle that affects all community activities, especially social media users, currently not only using social media as a source of information, but also as a forum for online business. The rapid development of technology, especially the role of social media, has made e-commerce online shopping media the most popular media among the public. With the development of modern technology, there are various kinds of shopping applications that make it easier for buyers to choose their daily needs and wants, namely online shopping in e-commerce without intermediaries, fast, various kinds, lots of discounts and prices that can cover all needs. Students are one of the groups of people who have the potential to take consumptive actions in shopping. The

purpose of this study is to determine the effect of e-commerce convenience on consumptive behavior. To know that e-commerce can be a medium for business and online shopping as well as learning for the millennial generation. To get empirical evidence related to the influence of online shopping media E-commerce in the view of business students. The data collection technique used is descriptive qualitative method that uses analysis with a sample of 50 students majoring in International Relations Muhammadiyah Malang by dividing the questionnaire, thus we find the findings that the influence of student consumptive behavior on E-commerce which is caused by several discount factors and massive promos given by E-commerce on every purchase.

Keywords: *consumerism, e-commerce, globalization.*

Introduction

In the era of technological development, it is now increasingly global so that people are increasingly familiar with modern technology and have started to play an active role in the sophistication of online-based information. The current globalization phenomenon, especially entering the era of 5.0, interprets various processes of social change, namely where it can change one's behavior, because the role of online technology is currently the main commodity in optimizing online-based digital information, especially E-Commerce. From information service providers, communication media, until now it has developed into the realm of the economy and business industry, namely the Online Shop. E-Commerce is a business media and online shopping that provides a variety of daily needs to shopping needs, apart from being easy to access and an attractive website appearance with various massive discount offers, making it a special attraction for teenage students. E-Commerce also offers a wide range of products at affordable prices and quality, E-Commerce products that are currently in great demand among students are gadgets, fashion, beauty products, health,

home decor, wall accessories to electronics which offer a wide variety of products, quality, to various price levels and the ease of direct transactions without intermediaries.

Based on the report on the results of a survey by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) related to internet users in Indonesia in 2019-2020 amounting to 73.7 percent and an increase of 64.8 percent from 2018. According to the Secretary General of APJII, based on projection data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), namely Indonesia's population in 2019 amounting to 266,911,900 million, so that Indonesian internet users are estimated to be 196.7 million users and the number continues to increase by around 8.9 percent or around 25.5 million users each year. Based on data on internet and social media trends in 2020, according to Hootsuite We Are Social, the total population of Indonesia is 272.1 million people with a total internet user of 175.4 million and active social media users, namely 160 million.

So that with the digital E-Commerce platform, it is able to provide various information to all gadget users virtually related to various daily needs, especially the needs of today's teenagers who are popular with the hedonistic lifestyle. The increase in E-Commerce today cannot be separated from the role of E-Commerce players, namely teenagers and students, the impact of advertisements and various digital platforms that affect their consumptive behavior, so that it becomes a lifestyle pattern and habit of accessing the internet easily. Consumptive behavior has become a lifestyle among teenage students, online shopping through E-Commerce which indirectly consumptive behavior occurs because of the influence and recommendations of online shop from close friends and peers, they are the main influence of consumptive behavior and the second factor is through advertising. as well as various other digital platforms, namely Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, email and face to face.

Consumptive behavior is a person's behavior in buying or consuming goods or services excessively without seeing the use or function. Consumptive behavior carried out by consumers is only

to achieve one's own satisfaction to increase prestige for the sake of showing social status. For example, in shopping where consumers are not differentiated by gender, where they buy an item that should only be needed and needed, but in this era, consumers tend to buy the things they want but they don't need. So that current consumptive behavior is no longer just an economic activity but a necessity of life or a lifestyle as well as the influence of one's social status. The lifestyle of the community, especially students, cannot be separated from the pattern of interaction with the environment as well as consumptive behavior. In the perspective of Cultural Studies, lifestyle shopping is an economic activity in the process of fulfilling needs, along with the development of time and modern humans, so that the lifestyle has become a characteristic of modern humans today, people are able to express themselves with actions, namely consumerist behavior.

With the current benefits of shopping online, consumptive behavior has emerged. The name of the phenomenon of consumptive behavior is currently an important issue related to the impact of technological developments in Indonesia today, whether it brings good or bad impacts. so that from the phenomenon that occurs above we the authors want to examine how influential E-Commerce is on the consumer behavior of students majoring in International Relations, University of Muhammadiyah Malang.

Literature review

Research conducted by Aulia Lailatul Rahmawati in the title, "Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on Student Consumptive Behavior (Case Study on Students at the Management Study Program of Tidar University)" which is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to Aulia, due to technological developments and the ease of information today, for example, the use of social media is not only used as a means of information but also a means for self-presentation and many have also made this social media

platform a means of doing business called an online shop. So Aulia produces an argument that the influence of the current development of E-Commerce has an impact on consumptive behavior, especially for management students at Tidar University, where almost of the 50 samples taken have a consumptive nature due to promo or discount factors provided by E-Commerce sites.

The second research, according to Desty Rahmayanti, in the title of his thesis, namely “Online Shop and Consumptive Behavior of Students of the Social Studies Education Department, Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta” is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to Desty, consumptive behavior, especially among students majoring in social studies, the Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, is due to the many advantages and conveniences that are obtained. Students feel that the online shop is more efficient in time and there are also many discounts that are given so that it can attract consumers themselves, and there is also a “review” feature that influences a person’s decision making about an item in order to get maximum results in buying an item.

The third research, according to Lam Alif Saputro, FY Khomas, and M. Basri in their journals entitled “The Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of Economic Education Students of the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Tanjungpura University, Pontianak” was related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to them, from the data they took, most said that the existence of e-commerce was very beneficial for students because it was more profitable and easier to find goods. They argue that the consumptive nature is not a big thing because currently the ease of shopping can be done with many benefits. Students can also consider the benefits apart from the brand as well as the advantages of obtaining

very affordable prices, especially for products labeled “Buy 1 Get 1 Free”.

The fourth research is according to Indra Setia Bakti, Nirzalin, and Alwi in their journal entitled “Consumerism in the Perspective of Jean Baudrillard” which is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to them, the current nature of consumerism is proof that the world has contributed greatly to the development of the sociology of consumption studies. Through the perspective of Jean Baudrillard in his three works, this consumptive attitude shows commodity objects from all aspects of human life. So from the three works it can be concluded that the nature of this consumerism is first to see the existence of human beings judged by what they buy so that according to Baudrillard, humans need to consume in order to feel alive. The slogan given is “I consume so I exist”. Second, consumerism is a phenomenon of contemporary society, namely the competition for status groups in the mode of consumption so that it is believed that consumption has become a basic factor in the ecology of the human species.

The fifth research is according to Hani ‘Atul Mufaridha in his journal entitled “E-Commerce Consumer Behavior Among Urban Adolescents” which is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to Hani, due to the development of information technology, the internet is able to change consumer behavior to shop from virtual markets. so that this cultural transformation also affects society, especially teenagers. The use of e-commerce as a shopping medium is also driven by the appearance of advertisements on social media and also urban youth groups where shopping in e-commerce is the lifestyle of urban youth to have the existence and identity of urban youth. Because urban adolescents are synonymous with attractive and sophisticated appearance, teenagers are increasingly consumerists.

The sixth research is according to Zuhria Nurul 'Ainy in his journal entitled "The Effect of E-Commerce on Community Consumptive Behavior in Kelurahan Karang Panjang, Ambon City" which is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to Zuhria, this consumptive behavior exists because of technological developments in the ease of information which creates e-commerce that affects aspects of life. because of the many means in social media to show themselves, many also use social media as a means of doing business which is currently called an online shop. The Conclusion of the argument is that the existence of e-commerce brings many advantages and conveniences in the aspects of human life so that it becomes a lifestyle that cannot be separated by all groups.

The seventh research is according to Ainun Faizah in his journal entitled "The Effect of E-Commerce E-Commerce Shopee on Student Consumptive Behavior (In George Ritzer's McDonalidization Theory Review)" which is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on the Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to Ainun, this consumptive behavior has individual actions as consumers to shop, consume or use goods or services excessively, cause waste and are irrational. Consumptive behavior has also taken root in the life of society and students, due to adequate financial strength in behavior and also factors. supporters of this consumptive behavior, this is the root and condition of the various consumptive behaviors that follow the technological era in its development. The Conclusion of the argument is that since the existence of e-commerce, people have begun to choose to be in front of gadgets for hours just to access so they can shop on e-commerce without thinking about whether something they buy is a need or just a wish.

The eighth research is according to Ana Arbaatun Syar'iyah in her journal entitled "The Relationship between Curiosity and the Intensity of Online Window Shopping in Millennial Generation Women" which

is related to the Analysis of the Effect of E-Commerce on Consumptive Behavior of International Relations Students of FISIP UMM. According to Ana, the development of technology in this globalization era must be able to control her curiosity so that she is wiser in doing online window shopping. When the female millennial generation is unable to control their curiosity, in this case the products or goods advertised and served in the online shop, of course, they will increasingly seek, explore, explore which ones will take a long time and these activities are repeated continuously, the activity or other jobs that should be a priority or more important become neglected, such as college assignments, office work and so on. So it was concluded by me that it would be good if the millennial generation was able to use and control themselves in terms of E-Commerce today.

The ninth research is according to Dores yadiwani, Reni Wijaya in his journal entitled “The influence of e-Commerce on entrepreneurial interest” which is related to the analysis of the influence of e-Commerce on the consumptive behavior of students of International Relations of FISIP UMM. According to them, based on the research that has been conducted on the effect of e-commerce on the entrepreneurial interest of AMIK Jayanusa Padang students, it can be concluded that simultaneously there is an influence between e-commerce on entrepreneurial interest so that AMIK Jayanusa students feel challenged to be able to complete all related tasks. with e-commerce and mastering entrepreneurship courses and later being able to apply the knowledge that has been gained during lectures and help consumptive behavior.

The tenth research is according to Denni Ardyanto and Heru Susilo Riyadi in their journal entitled “The Effect of Ease and Trust Using E-Commerce on Online purchasing decisions (Survey on Consumers www.petersaysdenim.com)” which is related to the analysis of the influence of e-Commerce on student consumer behavior. International Relations of FISIP UMM. According to them convenience has a significant effect on online purchasing decisions, trust has a significant effect on online purchase decisions, ease and trust in using e-commerce

has a significant effect on online purchasing decisions simultaneously. The convenience facilities provided by the petersaysdenim.com website include the ease of obtaining information, ease of use, and has a clear interface display. The existence of a significant influence indicates the higher level of consumer confidence in the petersaysdenim.com website. The Conclusion of the argument is that a decision in online purchasing is very important with the ease and trust that is provided and provided by the company, so people will always look for and use these online services.

The purpose of writing

from the above explanation, this analysis was carried out with the following objectives:

1. To determine the effect of e-commerce convenience on consumptive behavior.
2. To find out that e-commerce can be a medium for business and online shopping as well as learning for the millennial generation.
3. To get empirical evidence related to the influence of online shopping media E-commerce in the view of business students.

Theoretical framework

an analytical study uses the following framework:

A. Consumptive

Consumptive behavior is behavior where someone buys goods or services excessively even though the goods purchased are not really needed. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, behavior is an individual activity on something related to that individual in the form of a movement or speech (Peter Salim and Yenny Salim, KBBI Contemporary, 1995). According to Desty Rahmayanti regarding the explanation of consumptive behavior, the theory put forward by McDougall, a pioneer of social psychology, published his book, namely social psychology for the first time and put forward the theory of instincts. According to McDougall, every behavior is instinctual.

Instinct itself is an innate behavior and instinct will change due to experience. Meanwhile, the drive theory explains that the view that a person has a certain drive or drive. This impulse can also be created because of someone's need to encourage behavior. so that if someone behaves and can meet their needs, there will be a reduction in the urge. While consumptive itself is defined as the dependability of other products according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (Peter Salim and Yenny Salim).

According to Jean Baudrillard in his journal Atik Catur Budiati, consumer society is created because in society there is a shift in the logic of consumption, namely the logic of need to the logic of desire. In traditional times, the majority of people engaged in consumptive activities because they were related to their original function or use value obtained directly from nature or traditional markets. Meanwhile, it was different in the era of capitalism where people consumed not based on their function or use value, but based on their exchange rate (Atik Catur Budiati). The exchange rate here means how expensive or antique the item is so that it attracts consumers to own it regardless of the function of the item.

In his journal Hani 'Atul Mufarida, According to Peter N. Stearns in his book *Consumerism in World History: the global Transformation of Desire*, a consumptive society is a characteristic of modern society's behavior. the transformation of a society that changes towards a consumptive society which can be seen from the phenomenon of the development of a society that continues to consume. However, consumption is no longer just an activity that comes from production and is no longer just an activity to fulfill basic and functional needs. current consumption has become a culture that is consumption culture. According to Ancok in his journal Annisa Qodaryl Thohiroh, consumptive behavior is the behavior of buying things that are not really needed, but buying these items solely to buy and try products. so that buyers or consumers who behave consumptive are those who buy goods without seeing the function and use value of the goods.

Meanwhile, according to Lubis and Sumartono (2002), consumptive behavior is where the buyer's buying behavior is no longer based on rational considerations, but because of desire alone.

Therefore consumptive behavior is an attitude in consuming something excessively because it does not have a top priority in life but only wants to fulfill the desire to buy so that the purchase is less useful.

B. Lifestyle

Lifestyle in the times has a lot of meaning, according to Alfred Adler, lifestyle is an effort that produces a lot of behavior in each person and can be viewed differently from everyone who feels it. According to him, the lifestyle that emerges from a person comes from oneself and the environment, but it is still self that is the most important factor in determining these actions.

Meanwhile, according to Hawkins (2007) a person's lifestyle affects the needs and desires of their behavior, whether buyers or sellers. Hawkins also said that lifestyle is often used as a guide in acting to buy something. Furthermore, according to Chaney in Pawanti (2013), lifestyle as patterns of action that differentiate one person from another, he also said that lifestyle is part of everyday social life in the world in the modern era. Chaney took the example of a lifestyle in the modern era with a hedonistic lifestyle, according to him, this hedonistic lifestyle is a lifestyle whose activities are to find fun, play more, like the city crowd, like to buy expensive things that they like, and always want to be the center of attention.

The Conclusion from the above explanation is that lifestyle determines how the quality of a person who has a certain shopping attitude is in accordance with the lifestyle he adopts and how someone spends time, or uses time and uses money in his own pleasure. In this lifestyle explanation there is also a lifestyle measurement method known as psychographics which includes measuring the AIO lifestyle or activities, interests, and opinions (views).

Meanwhile, according to Kasali (1999), he revealed that AIO, namely the first explanation of activities, is what consumers do, starting from what products are purchased or used and what activities are carried out to fill their spare time, the second is interest, namely what is their favorite, favorite and priorities in the life of consumers, the three opinions are the views and feelings of consumers in response to issues, moral, local, economic and social. AIO theory is also closely related to the science of grouping and measuring consumer lifestyles.

Based on previous theories and perspectives that have been explained, the hypothesis in this study is: in international relations: lifestyle affects every consumptive behavior that it does in the modern era, whether it is from a hedonic or true lifestyle that requires a lifestyle that is embedded in each person. (Case study of FISIP / UMM 2019 students).

C. Social Media

Social media is a tool or online media to communicate with a virtual or online to interact, share, establish networking easily without any limitation of time and space as well as having the role, impact and benefits for individual and group human life. (Antow, 2016) In the current era of globalization, the role of online media, especially social media, is very popular and has been used worldwide. Social media users can also participate directly in sharing information or virtual activities such as online businesses, blogs, forums or social networks. others easily without any time constraints. With increasingly modern technology with various smartphones or gadgets and increasingly advanced information, the role of social media also grows rapidly, because this is the impact of human activities of social media users in the era of globalization like now. The role of social media is also quite helpful in processing information from various neighboring countries, with the speed of the role of social media being able to create networking so quickly and easily in accessing anything, especially in online shopping media such as Instagram, E-commerce, Facebook. Social Media can be automatically designed to expand the network from

various perspectives, so as to create other human social interactions using internet access or web technology. (Nur Fitri, 2017).

According to Howard and MR Park (2012) social media is media that is divided into three parts, namely the existence of infrastructure, information and tools used as a medium for distributing social media in personal information, news, or products in digital form, which can then be obtained. accessing it, namely the role of the social media user in individual groups, industry and business forums. According to Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein defining social media as a group of online activities based on web 2.0 technology, to create a user-generated content exchange, which becomes the basic platform for social media such as social networks, blogs, wikis, podcasts, pictures, videos, social bookmarking, then the creation of social media collaboration projects, namely, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, games and other social virtual, which aims to share information or user generated content in the networking process. So that in this process it is able to have an important influence on social media users in networking in various online forums.

According to Varinder Taprial and Priya Kanwar in their book Understanding social media (2012: 28-29) the role of social media has several characteristics, namely: Accessibility can be accessed easily by having an internet device, because the role of social media is very easy to access so there is no need there is special expertise, so that it can be used to access communication with other people from various spheres of the world. Interactivity is communication that can be done in more than one direction, because the role of social media itself is unlimited so that it is able to create interactions with other social media users, so that these interactions lead to questions, discussions or various other social interactions related to online shopping media.

Longevity are messages that can be sent and then can be accessed at any time without any restrictions related to other social media users. Reach and Speed, which defines unlimited social media, can be reached and used anywhere and anytime and can be accessed by

various networks and groups without many obstacles to interacting with other users with instant and fast responses so as to create real time interactions. So that it can be concluded that the role of social media is quite influential in the culture of consumerism, as well as its ease of accessing anywhere and anytime without any constraints and limitations, so that the role of social media has now become a human lifestyle in the current era of globalization that is able to influence mindsets. how to interact and social life.

Methodology

Methods in this research use qualitative descriptive research methods, according to Sugiyono:

Qualitative methods are often stated as naturalistic research methods because the research is carried out in natural conditions, also known as ethnographic methods, because at first this method was more widely used in field research. cultural anthropology is referred to as it is because the data collected and its analysis are more qualitative in nature.

namely a method that describes how the actual situation occurs from the phenomenon under study. This method is descriptive and tends to use analysis. the purpose of using this method is to be able to describe, and minimize various conditions, phenomena, situations, which are real and capable of being objective research so that it is more focused on the research under study. As for this research, it has a theoretical basis that is used as a guide to focus more on research that occurs in the field. The theoretical basis is also useful to provide an overview of the research background and as a research discussion. The theoretical basis in this method is descriptive qualitative as opposed to quantitative because the theory in this qualitative method is based on data and makes more use of existing theories for explanatory material in research. This research was conducted and researched to obtain information related to the behavior of students majoring in

international relations, physics and umm, who became consumptive because of the influence of e-commerce.

Based on the method used in observing student consumptive behavior, the listening questionnaire technique collects student data by filling in the required data. the subject is students majoring in international relations, physics umm.

Discussion

In the current era, the world is increasingly developing modern with a variety of technological sophistication that supports, as well as the rapid development of information that can make it easier for people to access anything without any restrictions related to their needs, especially in the economic and lifestyle fields. Internet users in Indonesia are growing rapidly along with the trend of E-Commerce in 2020 reaching 15% of 138 million users in 2020 or currently reaching 159 million users of E-commerce in 2021, with the many roles of various websites, web and shopping methods. online E-Commerce which is currently being discussed in the world of social media. During a pandemic like now E-Commerce is increasing with the existence of regulations during the “stay at home” pandemic, which is one of the reasons people are more interested in using online shopping media besides being easily accessible, many kinds of products, massive discounts and without intermediaries that make E-Commerce is currently increasing, so this is used by E-commerce users as access to more effectively do online shopping. E-commerce users are currently increasing among teenagers to students who are active users of social media, so that their interest is quite large and active in online shopping, especially the influence of friendship circles and various social media advertising platforms which can greatly influence the lifestyle of teenagers or college students. With the increase in enthusiasts and online sellers in various E-Commerce, online shopping media has various prices for various groups of people, especially students who really prioritize discounts which are an impetus to look for pocket-friendly online shopping media.

So it can be concluded that the role of E-Commerce or online shopping media greatly affects the lifestyle of teenagers, especially students, who make it a consumptive behavior or lifestyle that is affected by the influence of social media advertising platforms and social class or friendship circles. Based on the sample assessment of students majoring in International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UMM on the role of E-Commerce, it shows the level of student response in assessing the role of online shopping E-Commerce babla% with the influence of E-Commerce, the level of student consumption is getting higher so that it can be interpreted that E-Commerce is an online shopping medium quite effective and efficient in accessing various kinds of primary and secondary spending needs among students.

Questions 1. What products do students often buy?

Beauty	Electronic	Fashion	Furniture
25	7	15	3

Question 2. The biggest amount when shopping?

<200,000	200,000-250,000	> 250,000
22	10	18

Question 3. What factors made you choose to shop online?

Needs	Discounts	Friendship Circle	Lifestyle
28	17	1	4

Question 4. Is shopping online profitable or not?

Yes	No
32	18

Conclusion

This study aims to determine the effect of an online shop or e-commerce on the consumer behavior of students majoring in

International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Malang. From the table above, it can be seen that almost all samples have shopped online at a consumptive level which can be said to be quite high among students, which shows that 25 respondents chose to use e-commerce to buy beauty products and the second largest product selection order was fashion. With a nominal amount of expenditure that varies from less than IDR 200,000 to more than IDR 250,000. Dominated by a nominal value of less than Rp.200,000 as many as 22 and more than Rp. 250,000 where 18 respondents bought goods because of their needs. It can be concluded that the existence of e-commerce has provided benefits to meet daily needs. So that the number of online businesses can affect the consumptive lifestyle of students to only meet their needs that are not well proportioned.

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POVERTY ANALYSIS IN PAPUA PROVINCE

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Abstract

This research aims to see how Papua Province government is in poverty. Poverty is one of the problems that often occurs especially when the population is quite high. The quality of life such as food needs, not only that education needs are also very important, because primary and secondary needs reduce income, this problems to build economic development. From the research, we want to see how the influence of Gross Regional Domestic Product (PDRB) on poverty in Papua Province, because the period from 2011-2015 had early 29 city or regency province in Papua experiencing poverty. Because the government expenditures that have been given to the province of Papua are always insignificant and do not solve the problem of poverty. This research uses qualitative descriptive analysis techniques, and data obtained by literature studies and online searches. The data obtained by the researcher then analyse several theorist such as poverty, job creation, the role of government in poverty, the influence of the poverty in covid 19 pandemic. The scientific theory of poverty is used by the author to conceptualize the ideas in the theory of influence for poverty in this pandemic and the

role of the government in poverty is used to analyse economy in Province Of Papua.

Keywords: *Poverty, Economic, Government, Pandemic, Covid-19*

Introduction

Poverty is one of the problems that is fairly often case in the whole countries, because of limitations in natural resources if the number of its inhabitants is high, poverty can also lower for influence of the countries economy for addressing the problem of poverty becoming a major goal in establishing the economy of the country in order to more. Ability for economic growth also reduces the poverty that often measured with an elasticity of growth on poverty (growth elasticity of poverty). In indicators show a reduction in the percentage of poverty reaches 1 %. Therefore, to increase growth elasticity of poverty the government to carry out an economic development that is aligned to resident of the poor (pro-poor growth). One of his efforts to build pro-poor growth in the country of Indonesia implementing a special autonomy that have been listed in law (Law No : 21 of 2001 on special autonomy for Papua Province) of programs that will reduce poverty in Papua. However, from the evaluation of the program is not give any impact on poverty in Papua, due to the delays of its builder infrastructure and also not the implementation of the development of education for people of Papua.

At beginning of the implementation of the special autonomy it number poverty in Province of Papua has reached 900,8 thousand inhabitants or of 41,8 percent of the total population every province. During the period 2001-2011, percentage of population poverty Province of Papua tend to be appreciably decreased ago. In 2011, the percentage of poverty population in the Province of Papua about 31,11 percent of the total population in that province less than 10,69 percent compared to 2001. Nevertheless, the number of Papua has not change significantly which in 2011 was reach 966,59 thousand souls. And it is quite alarming because the percentage of the poverty population in

Province of Papua during the period 2001-2011 always be on the highest rank in Indonesia. Poverty Data from Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that poverty Papua has variations that very much. Percentage of poverty in rural Papua is 8 times the percentage of poverty people in urban areas [BPS, 2008]. In 2010, the percentage of poverty in the countries side reach 46,09 percent while the percentage of poverty in urban areas only at 5.55 percent. Therefore, the policy of poverty alleviation needs to be done very carefully. Poverty in Papua should also be highly prioritized the pockets of high poverty. Cause of this of this poverty between regions (rural and urban) most likely also different, so the need for government intervention to overcome the problem of poverty. One of the causes of poverty which is not very often discussed is a disaster or diseases outbreak. The outbreak of corona virus or more known by pandemic covid-19 rocked the world since the end of the year 2019. This pandemic has also spread globally covering the geographic area which is very another visit.

In beginning of March 2020, covid-19 began to go Indonesia with the number of people infected countries to increase and also a distribution area that is also increasingly widespread, so it is declared as a national disaster. The enactment of various policies in order to cope with the spread of effort in breaking the chain of the spread of covid-19 resulted in a lot of economic activity also contracted even stop production. This resulted in, the decline in the level of productivity of the individual and the company, rising unemployment and encourage many of the emergence of poverty who new in the increasing number of poverty. In the period from September 2019 to March 2020 to happen towards the very opposite with the amount of poverty in urban, rural, and national figures show an increase. The increase on number of poverty in each of the 1,300 thousand, 333 thousand, and of 1,630 thousand inhabitants on increase in the prevalence of 0.82 percent points, 0.22 percent points, and 0.56 percent points. The number of poverty on March 2020 reach to 26.42 million on increased by 1.63 million souls (9,78%). Based on region, the increase in poverty in the

urban areas is very high compared with the increase in the countryside. Poverty between regions urban and rural areas is still quite high.

Literature review

In theory Michael Sherraden stated that the theory of poverty is divided into three part, namely the structural theory, the theory of the culture of poor (culture of poverty), and also the theory of human behaviour. In the structural theory this is a theory that state of poverty that caused by the order of life, which is not very beneficial for society because they are more maintain of poverty and they also don't get an access to in making decision. Then from the theory of the culture of poor (culture of poverty) which is described by Oscar Lewis argues that this theory explains that the behaviour of poverty where they see where people lazy to work ,truancy , and not visionary, poverty can also occur through generations. Then the theory of human behaviour or theory of the individual according to Michael Sherraden theory is about human behaviour to set an option, attitude, motivation, and human capital theory is based on the theories of classical economics which says that poverty is indeed a choice each individual because of poverty it is happening because of a choice that individual itself addressing the social changes that occurred in society.

Theoretical Framework

1. Historical Of Covid-19

Coronavirus is the one of species of viruses that can be infect classes of birds and mammals, including humans. According to WHO this virus causes diseases ranging from mild flu to respiratory infections that are more severe such as MERS-COV and SARS-COV. Coronavirus are zoo nis, which means it is an example of a disease zoo nis there. Similarly, the MERS is transmitted from camels to humans. During 70 years are ended, scientists have discovered that the corona virus can be infect to mice, cats, turkeys , horses, pigs, livestock. Coronavirus responsible for several outbreaks around the world, including the pandemic of Severe

Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and the outbreak of Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) in South Korea in 2015. But in 2019, coronavirus spread in different countries, so WHO declare that it as a pandemic global.

Cases of covid-19 started from December 2019, Wuhan China happened extraordinary event, the case of inflammation of the lungs (pneumonia). But the coronavirus has never known before, so it called as corona new type or it called Novel Coronavirus (Novel, Palin's new), Sutaryo, et al (2020). The outbreak of covid-19 is climbing into Indonesia through foreigners Japan that make first contact with people Indonesia who is the first patient, one of the teachers. These patients do physical contact with foreigners in Japan. Japanese settlements in Malaysia since February 14 2020 and then come to Indonesia. the lapse of two days, February 16 2020 the patient had cough and in check and it turns out positive, then the patient is transferred to the Infectious Diseases Hospital (RSPI) Sulianto Saroso, North Jakarta. The outbreak is moving quickly and to the region of Papua Province since mid-March 2020 patients are treated is only 7 patients, but after until may 4 2020 has already reached 240 had positive and exposed to covid-19 and all patients covid is treated in 47 hospitals in the Province of Papua.

2. The Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic In Economic Activity Of Society and Social

Some of posts that have been trying to decipher the case on this pandemic in some major of countries in the world, such as in a book entitled "Practical Disease Virus Corona 19" written by Sutaryo, et al (2020) or (Diseases Practically Virus Corona 19) said that : one of countries that quite successfully alert the war against Covid-19 are : Singapore, which is the city trade canter and world events that can survive with good and structured, because people are used to living clean and obey the rules. This was stated by Minister of Health RI (Germas,2020) that the possible causal factors of transmission of covid-19 with the potential of the region is : First, the behaviour of people who live not disciplined and don't obey the rules issued by

government and Second, Non behaviour : The Environment, the problem of environment that are less healthy and Trind, Assess the Potential of human resources and financial resources and it's means of support. In addition to the countries in Singapore, South Korea also a country which is moving quickly in dealing with the pandemic covid-19 as well. From the examples that exist, there are some countries such as UK Which closed their School, match ball of world-class stop. The country of Japan which is also closing their schools and tolls roads as well as perform a quarantine of the people who come from country of China. With that condition of this is happening around the world and have an impact on the regional economy every each country.

From research conducted by Dito (2020) title : Impact of the Pandemic of Covid-19 On Economy of Indonesia, by using method of quantitative descriptive approach using secondary data analysis, it was found that : there are 93 countries that have been exposed to covid-19 has spread and carries the risk of very bad for the economy in the world, including Indonesia and the sector that gets the impact is severe enough among other things : from tourism sector, tread as well as investment. Where the pandemic Covid-19 causes of low investor sentiment on the market that eventually bring the market is inclined toward negative, which leads to the slow pace of the global economy, especially the activities of Indonesia's exports to China have a significant impact on Indonesia economy. From studies conducted that impact of Covid-19 on economy of Indonesia is currently experiencing various effects such as the occurrence of difficulties in finding employment, difficulty to meet the needs for everyday. And not have a steady income to meet for everyday needs.

And this research also found that there as several obstacles in addition to the inhibition of the global economy, for example in education, such as the experienced by students, teacher, and parents in teaching and learning activities carried out online with the lack of mastery of technology. In addition of the cost of internet access, the presence of extra work for parents in helped their kids learning,

communication and socialization among student, teachers and parents who get working and teaching are have not a limited for teacher because the have to communicate and coordinate with parents, other teachers, and also headmaster. The impact of covid-19 is sweeping across the aspects of life of the people of the world, including Indonesia and Papua that have become the necessities of life which relies heavily on imported goods from outside Papua

Methodology

This study uses two type of data based on it source, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data is intended for analysis the subjective form in perception of economists in Province of Papua in economic condition of the region. And for secondary data devoted to the analysis of the objective from of the performance of the regional economy of Papua Province covers economic growth, inflation rate, unemployment rate, fiscal condition of the region, as secondary data related for the national banking system and regional.

Data analysis was performed with the approach of descriptive method. Present and explain the facts to objective data from secondary and fact of subjective to primary data, in the from of the perception of economics to the application of the polices for handling and the recovery of the economy during pandemic. This analysis of this description will also supported by content analysis of the policy that has been and will be applied by the government and government of Province of south Sulawesi. Explained mapping simple through cluster analysis area to the conditions of the case of the pandemic and economic performance of regions, as well as the conditions of economic and formulation of the applied policy of the Province of Papua.

Result And Discussions

A. Social and Economy Indicators for Province of Papua

In Government Financial budget (APBN) Realization in sphere of province of Papua in 2020 decreased both in it on the post of revenue

and of expenditure compared to the same period in 2019. State Budget, revenue in the scope of the Papua Province decreased by 0,66 percent and expenditures of the State Budget of the scope of Papua Province who Contracted 16,08 percent. Source of revenue derived from tax in that country while the realization of the largest shop that comes from spending on goods and capital expenditure. In addition, the realization of budget sphere of the province of Papua in 2020 to experience an increase in revenue side, while the side of the shopping experience a decrease compared in year 2019. The post economic recovery due to the pandemic covid-19. While the expenditure has decreased by 3,33 percent.

In the development of the regional inflation, inflationary pressure in Papua in 2020 by 1,93 increase if compared with previous 1,03 percent, but if compared with the year 2019 according to the by 2.69 percent seen from the group of commodities, contributor of the highest inflation is a group of commodities consists of the purposes of the community such as food, beverage, and tobacco; personal care; and other service ;and transportation with a contribution each by : 1,04 ; 0,41 ; and 0,20 percent. Special in Merauke regency has decreased inflation while the province of Papua has increased compared to previous years.

Based on Financial Stability Of Region, the Financial Stability of the Region in Papua supported by financial performance with corporate sector and households in 2020, general still maintained at level that is still safe, but increased risk. Banking performance on the corporate sector in Papua in 2020 is a relative improvement reflected an increase of lending and accompanied by a decrease in the NPL. Then, there is a decrease fund in the corporation which is in line with the increasing restructuring credit in this pandemic covid-19. Furthermore, in the households sector in 2020 is not yet recovered, reflected from the assurance of the community to the economic condition decline.

Impact from the pandemic covid-19 on economy for the region, it's starting on the restriction of the activity from community outside

the home or limitation of Social Distancing or called (PSBB) start from March to July 2020, as government efforts to suppress the song added case patients with covid-19. Social Distancing policy based on Government Regulation No. 21 year 2020 about Social Distancing (PSBB). Therefore, cause in order to expedite the handling of covid-19 that directly hit the economy in two side, supply and demand. Production activities of household consumption also decreased sharply.

The provincial government of Papua said that the covid-19 pandemic has really affected the world's economy as well as the impact on the province of Papua. Papua in 2020 is quite overwhelmed because many are affected by the Covid-19 virus, even in the city of Jayapura, which is the second most infected city after Jakarta, which reached 108 cases per 100,000 population in Jayapura. From limited facilities, health personnel and personal protective equipment are also limited. From the economic point of view of Papua, much depends on the distribution from other regions. The Papuan government itself has made a policy to prevent Covid-19, but awareness from the public is still very low because the average person who is infected is around the age of 15-58 years, the form of government support itself also prepares some medical equipment such as personal protective equipment (PPE).) and several health facilities. In dealing with the impact of covid-19, the provincial government of Papua has used three strategies, namely handling the socio-economic impact, strengthening the health system, and also social protection. In the government's hope that all people will be disciplined in preventing Covid-19 by maintaining a safe distance, maintaining health, always washing their hands, the government will also always control these cases of Covid-19 so that they do not increase quickly and cause many victims.

Policies in reducing poverty are in 3 areas:

- **In the field of social welfare:**
 1. By determining a line of wisdom which is indispensable for guiding, improving social welfare affairs, and also maintaining.

2. Increase an awareness and responsibility in social welfare.
3. Carry out some supervision to carry out social welfare efforts.

The government's effort in realizing all of the above is to provide some social assistance to people both as groups and individuals who experience social and natural disasters, providing maintenance of a level of social welfare through a social organization as a guarantee, providing guidance, rehabilitation. social, and also coaching which is included in community distribution.

- **In the economic sector**

In 1997, at that time there was a monetary crisis which had a major impact on the economy in Indonesia, from people who have small businesses that are increasingly difficult to handle their businesses, there are several government policies to reduce market distortions.

1. By prohibiting levies on export goods.
2. Repeal a ban on commodity trade between islands, regencies and provinces.
3. Stop the obligation to plant sugar cane for farmers.
4. Abolishing the quota system that limits the trade in beef cattle.

- **In the field of religion**

In Islam, people who have more assets are obliged to give part of their assets to the poor or underprivileged. Because the existence of zakat has great potential in helping the problem of poverty in an effort to achieve social welfare.

The government itself has shown its seriousness in overcoming the problem of poverty that occurs in society by creating a poverty alleviation committee, its functions are:

1. Formulating several poverty reduction policies and programs.
2. Monitor all the implementation of poverty reduction in several regions by providing several policy guidelines for reducing poverty.

3. Report the implementation of this poverty reduction implementation policy to the president.
4. And fostering the implementation of regional poverty reduction.

The spatial concentration of poverty in Papua Province indicates that policies made to reduce poverty should be prioritized for areas with high poverty pockets. The existence of these pockets of poverty is high which raises a question regarding several characteristics related to location. To answer this question, poverty is regressed by the factors that cause it.

B. Covid-19 Impact for Employment

In the employment and welfare, in the period of August 2020 the number of residents who work in Papua amounted to 1,69 million people, which has decreased compared with the period on August 2019, which amounted to 1,79 million people, while the unemployment rate (TPT) in Province of Papua has increased. TPT in Papua on period August 2020 amounted to 4,28 percent higher compared with the period of August 2019 which amounted 3,51 percent. About 229.615 people or 9,28 percent from all total working-age population in the province of Papua feel the impact the pandemic covid-19 from all components.

Picture 1 :

Unemployment number in Province Of Papua since 2018-2020



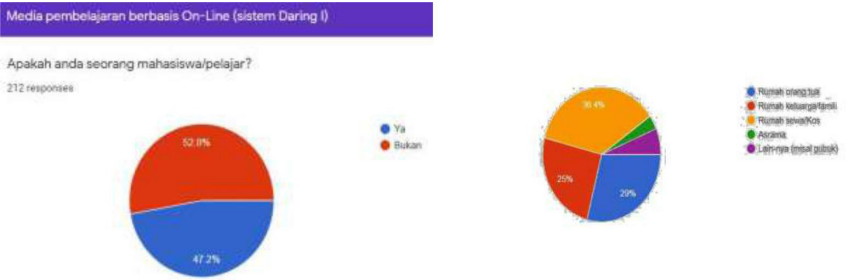
Source : Data Province of Papua 2020

From the condition economic growth continues to contract can have an impact on the world of work in Papua Province where the unemployment rate (TPT) in February 2020 amounted to 66,296 people or increased to 7,13 percent in the appeal of the moth of February 2019, only 61,885 people (increased to 4,411 people). From the data of employment in formal sector has not been recorded and it works offline, and since may 18 2020 it works from 06.00 until 14.00 local time (of the enactment of the border social).

C. Impact for the Covid-19 Pandemic for Studying Process in the Province of Papua

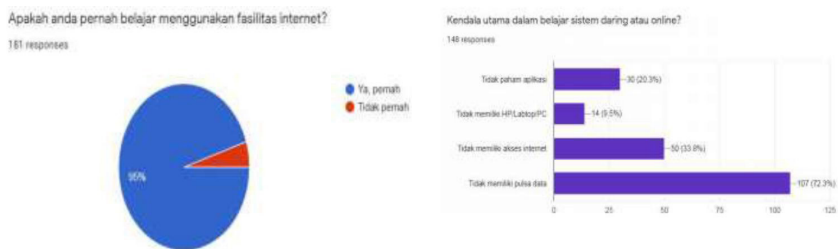
The pandemic of covid 19 in addition to for impact on the economic activity of the people, the activity of the other is also affected learning activities from kindergarten until college. From the result of a survey of 219 respondents in the city of Jayapura showed that around to 52,8 percent of respondents were not student. While from 47,2 as student and student who living with their parents as much as 29 percent, and 25 percent reside in families and 36,4 percent put the boarding house and the respondents who reside in the dormitory and other home resident.

Picture 2 : People’s Perceptions Of Learning Through Online Media



Those who live in the boarding house and ride with the family will inevitably face obstacles on the pulse even used handphone.

Picture 3 : Respondent who learn with online system



Source : Survey of the covid 19 task force team May 2020

As much 181 respondents or 95 percent stated that they use the internet for learning or teaching in era of the pandemic covid 19. The remaining 5 percent stated 'never'. Obstacles faced student are not permissible pulse data and no internet access. Learning often used in the learning process 61,3 percent using WhatsApp and off 55,4 percent use the App zoom or Google meet the rest is other uses. Respondents who answered questionnaires from teachers or lectures only the 23,6 percent.

D. Mapping Out of Path For Strengthening of Economic

With the force of his phase of the new normal in Indonesia, the a planning in various socio-economic aspects of the community that is already available. From different government institutions such as Bappenas also set up a protocol for community in the conduct of various activities of social economy in pandemic area, which refers to the criteria of the WHO. However, the protocols is not enough. Because of its presence that mean to the extent of applying the preventive measures the spread of covid-19, which ultimately aims to save lives and the livelihood of people, by regulating the activity patterns of social economic. Of the various protocols, this is a policy issued by government which should be coordinated in cross institutions as well as between the central government, in province and region itself. This is to prevent the occurrence of cone overlap policy for the horizontal

and vertical, which is then instead cause confusion for public and ineffectiveness in application itself.

So far, the coordination of the policies and rules of the institution horizontal and vertical should also be carried out not just limited to the rules associated with the new normal. What is important is actually the policy and rules associated with articles and use of budget for the stimulus for the recovery and strengthening of the economic community of government in a Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (perppu) No. 1 of year 2020 already organize for changing the various rules related to the unemployment covid-19, the relaxation in adjustment of the magnitude of mandatory spending and shift budgets between organizational units (fiscal switching).

Conclusion

In Summary, Poverty is one of the big problems that can make the economy decline, especially if the number of people is high and their natural resources are limited, which makes residents who have several businesses choked up due to limited natural resources. It could also make the poverty rate increase every year and the unemployment rate much higher which is also a big influence on the country's economy. Early March 2020, COVID-19 began to enter Indonesia with the number of infected countries increasing and also the distribution area that is also expanding, so that it is declared a national disaster. The implementation of various policies in order to overcome the widespread efforts to break the chain of the spread of Covid-19 resulted in contracting many economic activities and even stopping production. It has decreased due to the covid-19 virus pandemic, making the country's economy decrease, unemployment has also increased because many companies have also experienced a decline and have resulted in a reduction in employees.

The unemployment rate (TPT) since February 2020 amounted to 66.296 people or increased by 7.12 percent compared to February 2019 only 61.885 people (an Increase of 4.411 people) the impact of

Covid-19 on termination relations in Papua as much as 2.602 people are laid off, and this is spread across several major cities as the City of Jayapura Regency as many as 465 people, as many as 79 people and Merauke Regency as 66 people.

And the last part, the result of a survey of 219 respondents in Papua show that about to 52.8 percent of respondents are not student and much for the rest as 47.20 percent (103 people) are student, teachers and lecturers. From the respondents is students surveyed 95 percent (97 people) of the respondents said that the using internet facility to learn/tech in the era of the pandemic Covid 19. It's remaining 5 percent stated 'Naver'. Obstacles faced by students/college is not permissible pulse data and not there is internet access. Frequently used apps on learning process 61,3 percent using WhatsApp and of 55.4 percent using the zoom app, the rest is other uses. From the survey found.

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INDONESIA'S EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE COMPETITIVENESS OF INDONESIAN PRODUCTS IN REGIONAL AND GLOBAL FREE COMPETITION DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract

At the beginning of 2019 the emergence of a new virus which is now known as the covid-19 term which was first discovered in Wuhan China, with the emergence of this virus had a very serious impact on the global order. This virus attacks all countries regardless, both developed and poor countries. The economies of countries from all over the world have been devastated by Covid-19, and Indonesia is no exception. But now actors affected by the Covid-19 pandemic have started to rise from adversity. This article will discuss how the efforts or strategies made by Indonesia in increasing the economy and competitiveness of Indonesian products, both regionally and globally.

Keywords: *Global, Economic, Indonesia, Covid-19*

Introduction

Before the Covid-19 pandemic that attacked the entire world as witnessed now, global economic conditions still showed good growth, although previously there were several issues that were threatening so

that the potential for turmoil, such as geopolitics between America and Iran, trade war between America and The European Union was triggered by the EU Green Deal, and also the trade war between China and America, but overall global economic conditions are still good and prospects for improvement. Including the fact that the Indonesian economy is still quite good, this can be seen by the JCI figure which touched the 6300 figure in early January, this figure is a good achievement for Indonesia, besides that Indonesia's economic prospects are still stable, where economic growth is at the 5 to 5 level, 5%.

After the Covid-19 pandemic, whose spread cannot be stopped, the whole world is affected by the virus. After the virus was discovered in Indonesia itself, it had caused the JCI to fall to below 4000. Of course this decline was inseparable from investor sentiment who saw the Indonesian government that at the beginning of the pandemic it was not serious in dealing with Covid-19, so when the health crisis occurred and these sentiments make investors prefer to withdraw their funds from the capital market so that of course this causes stock prices to decline (Fakhrunnas, 2020).

Before the Covid-19 pandemic, household economic conditions tended to be stable and headed in a positive direction, this can be seen from the heads of low and middle income families who are still normal in meeting their family needs. However, since the Covid-19 epidemic, family heads have had difficulty meeting their family's daily needs. This is based on a survey conducted by Saifil Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), 71% of 1978 respondents stated that the household economy was getting worse because of the corona. As many as 19% of respondents felt that the economic conditions were the same, either before or after the Covid-19 pandemic, while 9% felt that the household economy was better and the rest did not answer. Not a few people are pessimistic about the abundance situation, and think that the economy will find it difficult to revive even though the pandemic has ended (Novelino, 2020).

Research Methodology

This study uses a qualitative methodology to obtain data on the Indonesian government's efforts in Indonesia in regional and global free competition during the pandemic. The data is sourced from results, the internet, journals, papers, and books, which in turn will produce information that will help. to complete research.

Discussion

The Covid-19 outbreak that has hit the entire world has had a significant impact on world economic growth, including Indonesia. For example, as an example of a decline in the stock market, or a decrease in the JCI and Rupiah (PWCIndonesia). Regardless, the government has followed the precautions implemented by other affected countries by maintaining social distancing or social distancing and a strong urge to work from home. This has caused many businesses to turn to online platforms in order to survive. In addition, various challenges are also faced by Indonesia in the global trade industry in the midst of a pandemic, which is not yet known when it will end. The first is a change in consumer behavior and global trade patterns. Given that this pandemic has made consumer attitudes more selective about food safety and hygiene a priority, the Covid-19 pandemic has also made the trading system must transform into a digital ecosystem.

Second, protectionism, namely the increase in barriers to trade. Among them are the imposition of tariffs by trading partner countries, import license obligations from trading partner countries, and sustainable issues where export products must be environmentally friendly, so that business actors in the MSME sector are continuously encouraged to innovate to produce new and export-leaning products. Furthermore, MSMEs are also asked to diversify their products in order to be able to survive in this uncertain business situation. Responding to the practice of protectionist policies that are increasingly prevalent in international trade, Center for Indonesian Policy Studies (CIPS) researcher Pingkan Audrine asked the government to avoid similar

behavior, especially with regard to imports of foodstuffs, industrial raw materials, and medical devices. On the other hand, the government should focus on improving the domestic trade system to encourage higher quality exports (Liputan6.com, 2020).

The current Indonesian economic situation is not healthy. Economic growth based on the calculation of Year on Year in the first quarter of 2020 shows a weakening by only reaching 2.97%. Data in the second quarter was also less than friendly, showing a deep decline of -5.32%, the worst since 1999. Most sectors experienced negative growth, such as the transportation industry which experienced the lowest growth with a value of -30.84%. However, several sectors are still experiencing positive growth, such as the information and communication sector, financial services, agriculture, real estate, education services, health services, and water supply. In terms of expenditure, the national economy complements the data on the decline in Indonesia's economic growth. In the second quarter of 2020, the data states that household consumption has grown by -5.51%, government spending has grown by -6.90%, exports have grown by -11.66%, and imports have grown by -16.96% . These data confirm the contraction experienced by most of the industrial sectors operating in Indonesia.

In the first situation where a vaccine has not been found and the national objective is focused on sustaining the economy, there are several policies that can be implemented. The policies implemented in this situation are short-term policies, in line with the objective of sustaining the economy. Therefore, the policies implemented are temporary and will change over time. One of the policies provided can be in the form of guidance for MSMEs. As a form of business that has a proportion of 99.99% of all business actors in Indonesia, it is proper for the government to give its main attention to MSMEs. The problem experienced by MSMEs is the reduced income due to the PSBB policy which makes physical shops empty of visitors, resulting in reduced buying and selling transactions. Therefore, coaching in the form of

training and providing financial assistance can be the answer to the problems faced by MSMEs.

The training and provision of financial assistance need to be carried out effectively and efficiently. At the beginning of the pandemic period in Indonesia, the government had actually implemented a policy of guidance to victims of layoffs by providing free training through pre-employment cards. Unfortunately, the material from the training was deemed not on target and the use of the 20 trillion rupiah budget was not efficient. Therefore, the training provided can be done with material that suits your needs or is on-demand. Considering that every UMKM has its own problems that need to be resolved, direct consultation and mentoring programs can be carried out by MSME actors with management and financial experts. The implementation of this training can also make MSME players become financially literate so that they can properly utilize government grants. Not only benefits MSMEs, this policy can also create jobs for management and financial experts (Rafdi Setiawan, 2020).

In the current era of globalization, increasing global competitiveness can be felt for countries in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, because basically the global market has the aim of being able to advance a country, in other words so that society is more prosperous and an economy is a The country is increasing, this can be seen with the number of foreign products that have entered the Indonesian market, so this will certainly raise concerns for the local market in Indonesia itself, for this there needs to be an effort that must be made by Indonesia in competing products. in the country to be able to maintain and introduce it to the outside world, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic, so that this can improve product quality and improve the economy through competitiveness carried out by Indonesia. One of the challenges faced is the competitiveness of regional and global products in Indonesia, namely the arrival of the AEC, where the MEA itself is a challenge for the Indonesian people and the transformation in the ASEAN region, with the arrival of the AEC, makes the ASEAN region more competitive

in product competition. regionally and globally, however for Indonesia itself, the AEC will be an opportunity because trade barriers will tend to decrease or even become non-existent. This will have an impact on increasing exports which in turn will increase Indonesia's GDP. On the investment side, with the support of the bureaucracy in the institutional aspects and human resources, it is hoped that it can create a conducive investment climate to support the entry of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). (Eddy Cahyono, 2014).

Seeing the opportunities that can be achieved for Indonesia through the existence of the AEC, such as making it easier to introduce Indonesian products in the international world, creating jobs that aim to prosper the community, in other words, in this case not only the government will move to increase power. competitiveness of Indonesian products, but the role of the community is also one of the factors in increasing regional and global products, while the freedom of trade in goods in ASEAN will ensure the smooth flow of goods for the supply of raw materials and finished materials in the ASEAN region due to tariff and non-tariff barriers which are already significant. no longer exists, this is also one of the opportunities for Indonesia in an effort to improve products in the global arena. With market conditions that are already free in the region, it will automatically encourage producers and other business actors to produce and distribute quality goods efficiently so that they are able to compete with products from other countries, where if a product is produced has a quality that is not inferior to the international community, then this will make it easier for Indonesia to be able to market its products at the global stage, because the products produced can already be recognized by the global scope. On the other hand, consumers also have a variety of alternative choices that can be selected according to their needs and abilities as well as desires, from the cheapest to the most expensive. Indonesia as one of the big countries which also has a high level of integration in the electronics sector and a comparative advantage in the natural resource-based

sector, has a great opportunity to develop industries in these sectors at home. (Pazly, 2015).

However, seeing the opportunities that can be achieved through the existence of the AEC, there are also many obstacles that will be felt for the Indonesian product market, where for the middle to lower class, this will certainly become an obstacle with sufficient competition for foreign countries to be able to do so. the spread of their country's products to other countries, so that in other words, it will be a challenge for the middle and lower class commodities because they are considered unable to compete with the middle and upper class commodities, as is the case with the development of the foreign trade system which becomes freer with the existence of the AEC, then this will certainly hinder the growth of the industrial sector and the financial sector to become unstable (Sarsiti, 2015). Because if seen in Indonesia itself, the policies implemented by the government can still be said to be less strict in making export-import policies for foreign products, because basically the export and import trade is trade using documents, meaning that almost all of its activities are carried out using documents. The administrative ability in handling import-export documents at each company needs to be considered, because the slightest error in export documents sometimes causes problems (Triyono, 2008). Where, if seen today, there are a lot of foreign products that can freely enter Indonesia, especially from Chinese products, where this will certainly make the problem of local products owned by Indonesia that can experience a decrease in production because they are unable to compete with these foreign products.

For this reason, it is necessary to make efforts to be made by Indonesia in increasing the competitiveness of Indonesian products in regional and global free competition after seeing what the opportunities and obstacles are from the existence of the AEC, namely making a national committee for the preparation of the implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), where The establishment of this committee aims to be able to coordinate the improvement and

acceleration of national competitiveness in the context of implementing the ASEAN economic community, as well as being able to take steps in resolving an obstacle or problem in facing the ASEAN economic community, as well as further efforts, namely by increasing economic competitiveness. Where the strengthening of economic competitiveness carried out by Indonesia is implemented in the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development (MP3EI) 2011-2025 policy which was set in 2011 and has become one of the priorities of the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono government in economic development in Indonesia (Sapriansyah, 2016). Then it is also necessary to increase the competitiveness of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), namely by developing Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and increasing the use of domestic products. where this effort will certainly be one of the various efforts that Indonesia must make in increasing the competitiveness of Indonesian products in regional and global free competition, because if this effort is implemented, these MSMEs will be able to show themselves to be able to compete in the free market scope. thanks to the role of the government in helping to increase these MSMEs, in increasing MSMEs, the role of the government is indeed very important for these producers, in other words, the government will strengthen MSME products by fostering through packaging, halal certification, trademark registration, and increasing competitiveness. local product. Then, they also facilitate UMKM players in international scale exhibitions. Through this facility, the Ministry of Trade hopes that the products and brands built by MSME players in Indonesia can be recognized globally (G.T. Suroso, 2015).

Then for the international scope there needs to be a government policy in cooperating with other countries so that we can easily introduce what products we have, such as by conducting public diplomacy against other countries so that other countries know what are the advantages and advantages of the products produced. in Indonesia, one of which is Batik, for that the efforts mentioned above are very influential in

increasing the competitiveness of Indonesian products in regional and global free competition, by implementing these efforts Indonesia can become one of the major market partners and can be recognized in regional and global scope.

Therefore, the opening of economic activity in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic is able to encourage economic growth. In view of this, the government took quick steps by preparing five steps to bring back the positive outlook for the national economy. As for some of the efforts made by the government, such as first, doing massive spending to reduce economic contraction due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This step was chosen because, during the crisis due to the Covid-19 pandemic, government spending was recognized as an instrument to leverage economic recovery. In addition, the private sector and MSMEs must be restored with a stimulus. “Through massive spending, domestic demand increased and the business world was moved to invest, as conveyed by the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto.

Second, the government formed the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and the National Economic Recovery Committee. The committee will ensure that health and economic management work in synergy, and maintain economic growth in the third quarter of 2020. Third, the government provides low-interest credit assistance, and prepares various programs so that MSMEs can work again. . One of them is the restructuring policy and credit interest subsidy. Fourth, the government places funds in banks in order to turn the wheels of the economy. The placements that have been made are Rp. 30 trillion in the Association of State-Owned Banks, and Rp. 11.5 trillion in Regional Development Banks.

Thanks to these steps, bank lending has begun to improve. As evidenced by Wednesday (22/7/2020), credit disbursement from the placement of funds in the Association of State-Owned Banks (Himbara) has been made to 518,797 debtors, with a value of Rp 43.5 trillion. . Fifth, the government guarantees working capital loans for

corporations. “Banks have signed a guarantee agreement, especially for the labor-intensive sector (Kompas.com, 7).

Conclusion

Seeing the very difficult situation, especially in terms of the economy, because of the pandemic that has hit all corners of the world, including Indonesia, so that the makers of national leaders think harder than usual in improving the economy of a country. One of the things that is done so that the economy can continue to move towards a positive direction, it is necessary to have strong competitiveness in marketing domestic products, both at regional and global levels. Therefore, the Indonesian government has done several things to be able to improve the quality of domestic products during the Covid-19 pandemic situation, both at regional and global levels, including the opening of economic activities in the midst of a pandemic, namely spending on a large scale to reduce economic contraction due to the pandemic. Covid-19. Then the government formed the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and the National Economic Recovery Committee, which will ensure that health and economic management work in synergy, and maintain economic growth in the third quarter of 2020. What follows is that the government provides low-interest credit assistance, and prepares various programs so that MSMEs can work again.

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REGULATION DISHARMONY OF CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN HANDLING OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract

Various polemics had occurred even before the Covid-19 Virus was declared for the first time entering Indonesia on Monday, March 2, 2020. People think that the actions of the Central Government in response to Covid-19 tend to be slow. In contrast to the Regional Government (Pemda), which has been more responsive to Covid-19, even since January. For example, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government has monitored the development of Covid-19 by holding meetings with the Immigration and the State Intelligence Agency. The meeting aims to prepare for all the worst things that might happen if there are people in the DKI Jakarta area who are classified as ODP (People in Monitoring), the first action taken by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government was to monitor Indonesian citizens and foreigners who have just arrived from abroad. The same action was taken by the Muara Enim Regional Government in South Sumatra, which formed a special team to anticipate the spread of Covid-19 since learning about the news of the emergence of this virus in Wuhan, China. This special team has the same duties as the team in

DKI Jakarta. The swift action of the two local governments above in the preventive action of Covid-19 shows that there is a faster movement compared to the Central Government which simply encourages the public to maintain health, cleanliness and pray, even since the official announcement that Covid-19 has been discovered in Indonesia. The Central Government did not implement a clear policy at the beginning of the emergence of the Covid-19 case in Indonesia. This has resulted in disharmony of regulations between the Central and Regional Governments which resulted slow handling of Covid-19 Pandemic.

Keywords: Regulation, Covid-19, Central Government, Regional Government, Disharmony.

Introduction

It's been a year since Covid-19 entered Indonesia. Within a year, various aspects covering life such as economy, education and even family have been paralyzed even though the Government has implemented many ways to survive during the pandemic. So far, the role of the Government in making policies is considered unsatisfactory. Many policies launched by the Central Government disappointed the public. The Central Government from the start has underestimated the Covid-19 virus and has not even made any preparations. Not forming a National Special Team from a long time ago to prevent Covid-19 and also not doing socialization quickly to the public regarding Covid-19. Instead, they only encourage people to depend on the strength of their respective religious prayers rather than preparing the country to overcome Covid-19. As a result, when the Covid-19 case was first discovered in Indonesia, of course the Government was in panic. Don't know how to act first. The slow pace of Government action has resulted in huge losses felt by the community. It does not stop there, even in taking action to re-stabilize the condition of the country, the Central Government and Local Governments cannot synergize well.

Theoretical Framework

In this paper the writer uses the concept of coordination. Normatively, the notion of coordination is the authority to mobilize, harmonize, and balance specific or different activities so that all are directed at certain goals. Meanwhile, the notion of functional coordination is that coordination is carried out to reduce the negative impact of specialization and to streamline the division of labor. According to Handayani (1989: 119-121) the functions of coordination are:

- A. Role as a management function, planning function, employee arrangement, work development, motivation and supervision. It can be concluded that coordination is a natural function of leadership.
- B. Ensuring the smooth working procedures of various components in the organization. This must be guaranteed in order to achieve organizational goals by avoiding a minimum of conflicts that arise between fellow parts of the organization and trying as much as possible in cooperation between these divisions.
- C. Acting as an effort to direct and unite activities which means that there is harmony carried out in harmony and equality of all actions taken by the organization so that it can move as a complete unit in carrying out all the tasks needed to achieve its goals. This is in line with the principles of coordination, integration and synchronization.
- D. Acting as the biggest factor in the life of an organization at a certain level and is determined by the quality of the business being run. Improving the quality of coordination is an effort that must be consistently carried out.
- E. Acting as a forum for the birth of a work relationship network or communication. This is in the form of a work relationship channel that requires various decision-making centers in the organization. It is important to maintain a working relationship so that the

organization avoids various obstacles that will lead to undesirable situations

- F. Acting as an effort to harmonize actions, steps and attitudes taken by decision makers and implementers. In large and complex organizations, growth is found that will add to the workload. So that coordination is carried out to overcome this.
- G. Acting as a specialization arrangement in a variety of different tasks. Therefore, the emergence of increasingly sharp specialization is a result of the development of science and technology.

Methodology

This paper focuses on Literature review, in which the author reads various works related to the theme of writing such as news, article and related videos that supporting data in this paper. The data obtained then processed by the author using the critical reading approach, this method does not aim to explain what a text means, but to elaborate it into a new text, besides that the author has also presented this paper in formal forum.

Result And Discussion

Disharmony of Central and Regional Regulations

The Indonesian government really underestimates the existence of the Covid-19 virus just because the virus has not been found in Indonesia, even though other countries are panicking in dealing with the Covid-19 virus. Before the first Covid-19 case found in Indonesia, the Central Government represented by the Minister of Health, Mr. Terawan Agus Putranto, urged the public to remain calm and grateful because the Covid-19 virus has not been detected in Indonesia, but of course the Indonesian people are panicking ignoring the appeal from the Minister of Health, citizens already think that the Covid-19 virus has entered Indonesia but its existence has not been detected by the Government. As a result, those kind of phenomena occurred

in Indonesia such as panic buying, soaring prices for hand sanitizers and masks, also the lack of food shortages. However, the Central Government only made appeals without any concrete action that could reduce the panic among its citizens. The Central Government itself just issued Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2020 concerning the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 on March 13th 2020 and then a week after that released Presidential Decree Number 9 of 2020 concerning Amendments to Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2020 on March 20th 2020. Presidential Decree number 9 of 2020 explains the structure of the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 and the allocation of funds related to the handling of covid-19. The delay of the Central Government in handling Covid-19 is inversely proportional to the Regional Government which is more responsive in implementing policies related to Covid -19. For example, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government has taken precautionary steps long before the emergence of the Covid-19 case in Indonesia even since there was a news of the discovery of the virus in Wuhan. In January 2020, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government has distributed a Health Office 18/SE/2020 which contains the handling of Covid-19 patients.

After that the next policy that was carried out was the collaboration between the DKI Jakarta Health Office and the Ministry of Health in checking at the entrance to the country and also distributing a circular of alertness against the Covid-19 virus. After that, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government continued to carry out socialization in stages and thoroughly to increase the awareness of the citizens of the capital. On March 2nd 2020, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government formed a Covid-19 Response Team. On the same day, the first case of Covid-19 in Indonesia was found in Depok, West Java. The handling of Covid-19 in West Java is quite satisfying, even the West Java Regional Government has received praise from the UNDP (United Nation Development Program). There are five policies implemented by the West Java Regional Government. In the first point, a proactive government can be marked with West Java as the first province to conduct tests based on the PCR

(Polymerase Chain Reaction) method when at that time all tests were centered in Jakarta. The West Java Regional Government purchased a test kit from South Korea and then two weeks after that the Central Government implemented the PCR decentralization. In the second point, namely data transparency, the West Java Regional Government released the PIKOBAR application (West Java Covid-19 Information and Coordination Center) as a source of public information regarding ODP (person under surveillance), patients, to the person's address and village which is updated regularly every day. In the third point, the West Java Provincial Government takes a scientific approach based on data and science, where decisions are made after considering input from experts related to Covid-19.

Then at the fourth point, the regional government of West Java did an innovative move in terms of handling Covid-19, where each industry has changed its focus to fight the pandemic. For example, Biofarma Inc. which produced PCR reagents, Dirgantara Inc. which previously produced aviation equipment, switched to producing ventilators needed by patients, and Pindad Inc. which previously produced defense equipment, then did the same thing as Dirgantara Inc. Lastly, in the fifth point is collaborating with various parties related to the handling of Covid-19, it can be seen from the various collaborations carried out by the West Java Regional Government with the Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, Youth Organization, and also Family Welfare Program. In fighting Covid-19, the West Java Regional Government is more or less inspired by South Korea. The Social Distancing enforces and also carries out the same tracking, tracing and testing patterns as those carried out in South Korea. The West Java Regional Government even had time to become a benchmark in terms of handling Covid-19 in Indonesia. Furthermore, we turn to the initial handling of Covid-19 on the island of Sumatra, to be precise in South Sumatra. The Muara Enim Regency Government took responsive action related to Covid-19 by forming a Special Team for Corona Virus Prevention. The Special Team consists of a number of DPOs (person under surveillance) and Health

Agencies such as the Health Office, the Manpower Office, Immigration and others. The task of the Special Team is to prevent and supervise all threats and the possibility of the Covid-19 virus entering the Muara Enim area. In its initial steps, the Special Team conducted outreach to the public to wear masks when doing activities outside the home.

Over time, the Central Government issued Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21 of 2020 concerning PSBB on March 31, 2020. Then the local government followed these recommendations. DKI Jakarta is the first area to implement the PSBB considering the cases there are the highest in Indonesia. PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions) is a policy that is carried out gradually and continuously in every region in Indonesia depending on the high and low level of Covid-19 cases in that area. In line with the existence of the PSBB and calls for tightening health protocols and the increasing number of Covid-19 cases, then several regions in Indonesia carried out a Local Lockdown in which the borders of the area were closed and did not accept any incoming and outgoing flows from inside and outside the region. Regions that implement Local Lockdown in 2020 (with different time frames) in Indonesia include Tegal, Tasikmalaya, Solo, Bali and Papua. Even though in its implementation, the Local Lockdown carried out by various regions is not in line with the provisions of the Central Government because President Joko Widodo emphasized that the lockdown policy at both the national and regional levels is the authority of the Central Government, not the Regional Government. From the point of view of the Central Government, the lockdown policy (national and regional scale) is considered to be able to cause polemics in the community starting from social and economic problems. Pandemic conditions that have made it difficult for people to survive and carry out activities as usual plus if a lockdown is imposed it will have the potential to paralyze the national economy. However, the Local Lockdown policy implemented by several regions is unavoidable considering that each regional autonomy certainly better understands the needs of their respective regions. In addition, the absence of clarity

from the Central Government in handling Covid-19 prompted the Regional Government to take immediate action.

In terms of the initial handling of Covid-19, it is clear that the Central Government is lagging behind the Regional Government. The Central Government is one step behind in preparations for when Covid-19 will enter Indonesia. Even the Covid-19 Handling Acceleration Task Force was inaugurated after the Covid-19 case was found in Indonesia. The DKI Jakarta Government and the Muara Enim Regency Government even immediately formed a Special Team since the news of the emergence of Covid-19 in Wuhan. In addition, Minister of Health Terawan Agus Putranto's statement regarding Covid-19 underestimating the existence of the Covid -19 virus illustrates that Indonesia does not have sufficient preparation and can even be said to have not made any preparations at all. The Central Government, which is supposed to be the benchmark, instead uses the Regional Government as a reference in action. We can take a case example from the policy of the West Java Regional Government which is more initiative to carry out direct PCR tests in West Java rather than waiting for PCR tests which are centered in Jakarta. When concentrating tests throughout Indonesia in one region, the test results obtained will take a long time and this is an inefficient method. Then after a breakthrough from the West Java Regional Government, the Central Government realized this and decided to conduct a decentralized PCR test. The Central Government is also inferior to the Regional Government in terms of innovation, it can be seen from the official application of the Central Government regarding Covid-19 data, namely "Bersatu Lawan Covid-19" released on April 18, 2020, while the West Java Regional Government has previously released the "PIKOBAR" application on March 16, 2020. It doesn't stop there, the absence of clear coordination between the Central Government and Regional Governments has become very fatal in the case of handling Covid-19 in this country. As a result, the spread of Covid-19 has become very fast and cases of Covid-19 are increasing.

The Urgency of Collaboration

During the Pandemic era, collaboration between the central and local governments is urgently needed. Collaboration between the two parties is very important because the local government certainly has a better understanding of the conditions of its people, be it social, cultural, geographic and other aspects related to their respective regions, with that local governments can formulate appropriate policies to deal with pandemics in their regions. This also preventing the nation from having chaos. If the Central and Local Government cannot collaborate sooner then the policy that those two parties take will cause intersection in dealing with Covid-19. Indonesia predicted on struggles for more years than other country if the two act whose controlling did not cooperate nicely. Imagine the condition that the nation have if those two parties work as a good team. The stability of Indonesian economy and politic will came true. William Nicholson, Professor of Law at North Carolina Central University, stated that there are three forms of collaboration between central and local governments. The first is the Relative Model, in this case the Central Government gives freedom to Local Governments while still coordinating with the Central Government. The second is the Agency Model, where the Regional Government is only the technical implementing agency for policies made by the Central Government, and the third, namely the Interaction Model, is the most flexible form among other models.

The interaction model, the Central Government provides very broad freedom to the regions in making policies, as long as these policies can benefit both parties. Of the three models above, the Relative Model is a model agreed upon by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as an implementation process called Regional Autonomy. Even in the condition of Regional Autonomy, the Central Government can become dominant so that it has “immunity” to take various actions outside the normal limits in emergency law practice. Therefore, Nicholson stated that immunity must run in accordance with the precautionary principle that prioritizes the public interest. Indonesia should be able

to emulate various countries that have successfully collaborated with every part of their government. Take Taiwan as the study case in here, Taiwan is the best country that responded to the Covid-19 Pandemic. While other countries are still debating whether to take action related to Covid-19, Taiwan itself has already prepared with various protocols. The Taiwanese government learned from the SARS experience in 2003 and immediately set up a public health response mechanism to enable swift action to address the impending crisis.

Conclusion

The absence of preventive action related to Covid-19 in Indonesia was an initial problem that caused the unclear handling of Covid-19 in the early days of the pandemic in Indonesia. The government underestimates the Covid-19 virus so there is no preparation if Covid-19 has entered Indonesia. To add more oil into the fire, some of the official statements showing that they look at the pandemic issues with half of their eyes. Therefore, when the first case of Covid-19 was found in Indonesia, the Central Government, which acted as a reference in determining policy, panicked. This in turn resulted in the Regional Government implementing policies that were at odds with the Central Government. In terms of the initial handling of Covid-19, it is clear that the Central Government is lagging behind the Regional Government. The Central Government is one step behind in preparations for when Covid-19 will enter Indonesia. Even the Covid-19 Handling Acceleration Task Force was inaugurated after the Covid-19 case was found in Indonesia. The DKI Jakarta Government and the Muara Enim Regency Government even immediately formed a Special Team since the news of the emergence of Covid-19 in Wuhan. Collaboration between the two parties is very important because the local government certainly has a better understanding of the conditions of its people, be it social, cultural, geographic and other aspects related to their respective regions, with that local governments can formulate appropriate policies to deal with pandemics in their regions. This also

preventing the nation from having chaos. To overcome these problems, a tactical solution is needed to prevent the domination of the center over the regions, especially in state emergencies, in addition to military emergencies. It is hoped that in the future, the Central Government and Regional Governments can collaborate so as to produce synergy between the two parties so that they can overcome the global health emergency situation that has become a national problem.

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INDONESIA'S STRATEGIC ROLE IN SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE RESOLUTION

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Abstract

The issue of territorial status and unclear national borders is often the point of arising problems from conflicts or disputes between countries adjacent to or bordering the territory. Territorial disputes or disputes over national borders can occur due to differences in the use of the principles of each country, and differences in policies used by the disputing countries. The South China Sea is a sea that has extraordinary natural potential in the Southeast Asia region. In the South China Sea there are many natural and mineral riches that are beneficial to the surrounding countries. In addition, the SCS is one of the waters used for international trade, which of course affects the economies of several countries. This has prompted countries near the region to fight over claims against the SCS. This research will discuss the strategic role of Indonesia, and the policies undertaken by Indonesia as a response to dealing with SCS disputes. Indonesia itself is not one of the countries that wants to claim ownership of the SCS area, but is also affected by the

dynamics of the SCS dispute. Indonesia has national interests such as political, security and economic interests which are very important and can become a threat to the state if the conflict in the SCS continues and escalates into an armed conflict. In addition to encouraging national interests in supporting the country's political, defense and economic system, Indonesia's efforts to resolve disputes are also driven by moral motivation as ASEAN natural leader.

Keywords: South China Sea, Indonesia, ASEAN

Introduction

In the study of international relations there are problems called disputes, disputes are things that cause different opinions, disputes and objections. Disputes often occurs because there are differences in perceptions about an area or environment which is carried out consciously and the environment is a physical or social environment. The issue of territorial status and unclear national borders is often the point of arising problems from conflicts or disputes between countries adjacent to or bordering the territory. Disputes over territories or national boundaries that arise due to the use of principles from each country that are different from the countries in dispute. Either in determining the boundaries of the territory or the boundaries of the contingent between the disputing States. (Suharna, 2012)

The South China Sea is a sea that has extraordinary natural potential in the Southeast Asia region. In the South China Sea there are many natural and mineral riches that are beneficial to the surrounding countries. This triggered countries near the region to fight over claims against the SCS. Now the South China Sea is a dispute between ASEAN countries. The Chinese state claims to be the owner of the sovereignty of the sea area based on its historical aspects. The South China Sea is a waters that have abundant natural resources and is also used as an international trade route, this has greatly affected the economic continuity of several countries, for example the United

States. The problems in the South China Sea arise because China claims unilaterally the SCS territory. This raises various problems, such as ASEAN member countries which submitted a declaration (Declaration on the South China Sea) which discussed the behavior of the Chinese state which did not follow the code of conduct in the South China Sea. This also has an impact on economic development in Indonesia, therefore Indonesia also has an important role in resolving this South China Sea dispute. (Viktor, 2012)

Indonesia itself is not one of the countries that wants to claim ownership of the SCS area, but is also affected by the dynamics of the dispute. This is because Indonesia has geographic proximity to the disputed area. The South China Sea (SCS) or what is commonly called the South China Sea itself is directly adjacent to Indonesian waters in Natuna Regency. In addition, the dynamics of the dispute also disrupt ASEAN's performance. With the various effects of the dynamics of the dispute that have occurred, Indonesia has begun to take the initiative to help in efforts to resolve the SCS dispute. Apart from encouraging national interests in supporting the national defense system, Indonesia's efforts in dispute resolution are also driven by moral motivation as a 'natural leader' of ASEAN. Indonesia's effort is the only multilateral effort that has been undertaken when the disputing countries, especially China, only want to use a bilateral approach. However, Indonesia cannot take steps that support one party, especially not taking the side of China because Indonesia itself still has economic dependence on China.

Literature review

In the South China Sea conflict, Indonesia has always been at the forefront of resolving this dispute, Indonesia can be relied upon in the midst of ASEAN member countries. Indonesia's current strategic role is as a mediator in the settlement of SCS disputes, besides that Indonesia has always been the initiator of negotiations for the settlement of this South China Sea dispute. (L.Toruan, 2014) Indonesia must remain

optimistic that this dispute can be resolved within the corridor of peaceful negotiations. Now, there is only one target that needs to be achieved by Indonesia, namely realizing the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea. If the rules of the game are agreed upon, Indonesia will get two benefits at once. First, the threat of disputes against national defense is lost. Second, Indonesia's role will be specifically recognized at the ASEAN regional level and in general at the international level, so that it will increase Indonesia's bargaining position as a capital to fight for further national interests.

However, if you look at the method of resolving the North Natuna Sea dispute between the State of Indonesia and China, namely by means of mediation, it is still deemed ineffective in its resolution. Because each country, both Indonesia and China, certainly has a different view or perspective between the two. This means that each of these countries has a basis or evidence for the ownership of the North Natuna Sea. (Ruyat, 2017)

The defense and security approach in Indonesia's foreign policy regarding the South China Sea conflict, the Natuna Block, is not the main option, but as a world maritime axis country, it must be able to show its military strength in maintaining territorial sovereignty. Jokowi gradually increased the Indonesian military budget with the main objective of updating the existing defense equipment and adding to the lack of defense equipment. Military bases are also needed at national borders and in areas prone to conflict, crime and disturbances to security and order that threaten Indonesian territory and citizens. (Arifianto, 2014)

In the Strategic Partnership, China and Indonesia agreed to enhance cooperation in the economic, political and socio-cultural fields. Empowering Natuna both physically and non-physically. Physically, namely the presence of a map of the Natuna area development plan, presenting defense equipment and conducting patrols. Non-physical development is by increasing the program to increase the character of

the nation, increasing the budget and making policies that are mutually integrated through the Integrated Criminal Justice System (ICSJ).

On the other hand, the reason why Indonesia remains a third party (neutral) country in resolving SCS disputes is. First, Indonesia still has economic dependence, China has cooperation in the economic sector with Indonesia. China is one of Indonesia's largest investors and trading partners. If Indonesia tries to take aggressive actions to resolve the problems in the SCS, Indonesia will experience major internal problems in the economic sector which could result in a severe deterioration in Indonesia's economic development.

Indonesia's role in problems in the South China Sea is neutral, meaning that Indonesia becomes a negotiator in solving problems. Indonesia's involvement in this issue has been regulated in Indonesian legislation, namely in the paragraph 4 of the NRI Constitution, in which Indonesia is actively involved in resolving world peace efforts. By maintaining free and active politics, Indonesia can continue to play a role in dispute resolution in order to maintain regional stability and security. Indonesia's current strategic role is as a country that maintains security in the Southeast Asian region from the threat of open war, another thing is that Indonesia must always be the initiator of negotiations for the settlement of this dispute so that it can run peacefully. (Rizal Dwi Novianto, 2020) Another reason why Indonesia remains neutral in resolving this dispute is because Indonesia has a large state debt, because China is a country that provides debts to Indonesia. Also because there is a Code of Conduct, Indonesia has been actively involved in efforts to resolve SCS disputes. The Code of Conduct itself contains what can be done and what cannot be done so that Indonesia already has a legal grip on creating peace in the South China Sea region. If an open conflict occurs, it will affect the surrounding countries, including Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesia plays a proactive role in managing SCS issues. Indonesia has also implemented a defense strategy in the Natuna region. Indonesia must reduce its state budget

spending due to the Covid-19 pandemic, therefore Indonesia does not aggressively handle this dispute because the military budget is reduced.

Theoretical framework

In this study we use an intermestic approach to respond of the actors, namely seeing how Indonesia's strategic policies are a response to dealing with the South China Sea dispute. The theories we will use are national interest theory and regional security stability theory.

1. National interest

In the concept of national interest, the state has a very important role as an actor who makes decisions and has influence on the international community and the domestic community. In international relations, interactions between countries or many countries or groups will emerge with 2 characteristics, namely cooperation or conflict. When interests go according to plan, cooperation is created, but on the other hand, when interests are not achieved, conflicts arise. These two things are motivated by the national interest of a country which is the main goal that must be achieved by decision makers.

Thomas Hobbes said that the state is seen as something essential for its citizens, because without the role of the state in guaranteeing security tools or conditions in welfare, people's lives are very limited. (Jackson)

In addition, Jack C. Piano and Roy Olton consider national interests as something vital and must be achieved by a country for its survival. The intended interests consist of, Self Preservation is a way for the state to defend itself from the hegemony of power that leads to division. It also deals with cooperating both bilaterally and international organizations. Interdependence is the sovereignty of a country to regulate its own domestic and external affairs, namely the military and the economy without foreign interference. Military Security aims to maintain territorial security from military forces of other countries, separatist groups, etc. Territory Integrity is securing resources within the territory of a country with the aim of getting the

needs of an area that is considered strategic and profitable. Economic Well Being is a condition of creating national economic welfare and improving the quality of life of the people, for example through oil and gas for the welfare of the domestic economy. (Pratiwi)

K J. Holsti divides interests into three types, namely; 1). Short-term interests which are vital interests that are the main goals of a country and must be achieved in a short period of time. This is because the condition of a country is under threat. Examples are security or security, war, the interests of independence. 2). Medium-term interests are interests that are not too long but also not too short. Examples are economic interests and international trade and 3). Long-term interests take a long time because they bring about the universal vision and plan of the state such as the spread of ideology. (Hara)

Of the three definitions of national interest conveyed by Thomas Hobbes, Jack C. Piano, and K J. Holsti, the author chooses to use the meaning of K J. Holsti because the notion of national interest according to him is more rational when linked to the author's analysis, namely the strategic role that can be taken by Indonesia is in a SCS dispute where Indonesia is targeting to become a mediator in the settlement of SCS disputes. Indonesia's involvement in this issue has been regulated in Indonesian legislation, namely in the paragraph 4 of the NRI Constitution, in which Indonesia is actively involved in resolving world peace efforts. By maintaining free and active politics, Indonesia can continue to play a role in dispute resolution in order to maintain regional stability and security.

2. Regional Security Stability

There are two perspectives that can examine the concept of regional security, namely, realist and liberal perspectives. From a realist perspective, the international system is anarchist, which focuses more on issues of power and security. The interaction of countries in the world focuses more on their national security. This is reflected in foreign policy in an effort to achieve and protect national interests. An

anarchist international system, namely a system consisting of sovereign states that have the aim of defending themselves and their national interests (the main goal). In this perspective, the state and its behavior do not recognize the boundaries of any international institutions, this results in each country being faced with uncertainty regarding the security of their country. The realist paradigm views national capacity as the ability that functions to provide physical protection from external threats, so that steps like this will create ambivalence, this is because these kinds of steps will be seen as a threat by other countries and will become a security dilemma. (security dilemma) in relations between countries. In a liberal perspective, seeing that every country is now living in a situation of dependence, the interests of a State must not be separated from the interests of other States. In liberal relations between countries it is assumed on the basis of common interests to advance economic interests, prevent war, advance democratic values and also develop norms of international cooperation.

Methodology

Author uses an explanative research type where the author explains Indonesia's strategic role in the South China Sea Dispute Resolution. Referring to the data used to analyze the formulation of the problem, this research is a qualitative research, which emphasizes the disclosure of meanings and explanations of various factors. The type of data used by researchers is also in the form of secondary data, where the data obtained comes from literature and internet media through valid sites related to the research discussed. The data collection technique used in this writing is library research, which is based on books and internet media through valid websites, as well as the results of scientific research and the results of thoughts in scientific journals. The technique used to analyze the data in this study is a qualitative method, which is a research that is in-depth discussion of the content of written or printed information in books and mass media related to the topics discussed.

Result And Discussion

1. Chronology of the Dispute

The origin of the Dispute dates back to 1946 when China claimed that the Spratly Islands in the SCS were part of Guangdong Province. In fact, the islands in the South China Sea at that time had already been claimed and controlled by Japan during World War II. In 1951, the San Francisco Treaty canceled all Japanese claims to island rights in the SCS area, but no resolution has been reached on its ownership status. In 1974, China made another claim by capturing the Paracel Islands from South Vietnamese troops. Tensions between these countries then heated up in 1988 when the Chinese and Vietnamese navies fought over the Johnson reef which killed 70 Vietnamese soldiers.

In 1991, to formalize its claim to the Spratly and Paracel islands, China passed the Law on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone of the Republic of China. Then 4 years later, the Philippine military installation at Mischief Reef, Spratly Islands was captured by China. In May 2000, the Philippines attacked China by shooting dead 1 fisherman and capturing 7 Chinese fishermen who had passed through Philippine waters near Palawan Island. In 2011, the dispute became more heated and complicated when the United States Senate passed a resolution that this dispute must be resolved internationally. (Gottlieb, 2021)

In July 2012, China established the Sansha administrative region which includes the Paracel and Spratly Islands. China has also issued a new passport edition which includes a map showing that the disputed areas in the SCS are part of Chinese territory. This unilateral action from China aroused protests from Vietnam and the Philippines. Even in Vietnam, there were mass anti-Chinese demonstrations in 2012 that were staged on the streets of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh. (BBC, 2021)

In 2013, the Philippines finally took legal action in a dispute by submitting China to a UN court under UNCLOS regarding China's unilateral claim to the South China Sea. However, the tension over the SCS dispute still continues. Even in May 2014, there was a collision

between a Chinese vessel and Vietnam as a result of the placement of Chinese drilling equipment near the Paracel Islands. This triggered protests by the Vietnamese community by expelling Chinese nationals from Vietnam.

Based on the chronology above, it can be analyzed that the South China Sea dispute is actually in a polarizing stage, where negative perceptions and emotions begin to emerge and the relationship of the conflicting parties is getting worse, so it is necessary to carry out consultations. Even for the relationship between China and Vietnam, it can be said that it has entered the segregation stage, where the conflicting parties do not trust and respect each other, direct communication is very limited, and threats are made between the two countries. In such a case, the step that should be taken is the mediation of forces or to control hostilities.

2. Indonesia's position in the South China Sea Dispute

Formally, Indonesia has declared that it is not a claimant country in the South China Sea dispute. However, many analysts think that Indonesia should also be considered a claimant for the SCS. This is based on the fact that parts of the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone in Natuna Waters are also included in the areas claimed by China. Thus, there is an overlap between China and Indonesia. However, if we look back at it from the perspective of international law, the opinion that Indonesia should be a claimant country cannot be justified. This is because China's claim with 9 dashed lines is not based on legal international law, but is only a historical claim. Whereas in international law such as UNCLOS, the territorial sea and the EEZ are calculated from the land base line. If the closest landmasses are islands in the Spratly, then neither the territorial sea nor the claimant country's EEZ will intersect with the territorial sea and Indonesia's EEZ. (Oegroseno, 2019.)

With a position like this, Indonesia opens the opportunity to be able to play a role as a third party or as a mediator in the South China

Sea dispute resolution process. This opportunity will not be obtained by Indonesia if Indonesia declares itself as a claimant for the disputed area, which means that it is also a direct actor in the dispute.

3. Indonesia's Strategic Position in Dispute Resolution

Indonesia plays a very important role in the South China Sea dispute. The strategic role of the Indonesian state began several years ago. As in 2019, Indonesia initiated and continues to play an active role in encouraging disputing countries to agree to a code of conduct for the South China Sea. The Indonesian government is optimistic that negotiations between ASEAN member countries and China can be resolved quickly. The role of Indonesia here itself is neutral (not taking sides) to one of the countries, but it becomes a mediator in solving this problem because Indonesia adheres to a free and active politics. On this basis, the Indonesian state has always been used as a mediator (third party) in resolving state disputes in the Asian region. (Junef, 2021)

If the problem of the South China Sea dispute is seen from the aspect of regional security stability, there are two theories that can examine the concept of regional security, namely, realist and liberal. In realism, the international system is anarchist in nature, meaning that in solving problems it uses an approach that focuses on power and security. The interactions that occur between countries in the world are more inclined towards national security, because the anarchist international system consists of sovereign states whose main objective is to defend themselves and their national interests. Realists do not know the boundaries of any international institution, as a result the disputing countries are always faced with security uncertainty which creates a security dilemma in relations between countries.

In the case of solving the South China Sea dispute problem, Indonesia is more inclined towards liberalism. In the liberal view itself, it is based on common interests to advance common interests (economy). This is based on the unwillingness of a conflict that can lead to problems that can lead to war and develop norms for international

cooperation. Indonesia's role in problems in the South China Sea is neutral, meaning that Indonesia becomes a negotiator in solving problems. (Setiawan) Indonesia's involvement in this issue has been regulated in Indonesian legislation, namely in the paragraph 4 of the NRI Constitution, in which Indonesia is actively involved in resolving world peace efforts. By maintaining free and active politics, Indonesia can continue to play a role in dispute resolution in order to maintain regional stability and security. Indonesia's current strategic role is as a country that maintains security in the Southeast Asian region from the threat of open war, another thing is that Indonesia must always be the initiator of negotiations for the settlement of this dispute so that it can run peacefully. The reasons why Indonesia remains a (neutral) third party country in resolving SCS disputes are: (Raharjo)

1. Still having economic dependence, China has cooperation in the economic sector with Indonesia. China is one of Indonesia's largest investors and trading partners. If Indonesia tries to take aggressive actions to resolve the problems in the SCS, Indonesia will experience major internal problems in the economic sector which could result in a severe deterioration in Indonesia's economic development.
2. Indonesia has a large state debt, because China is a country that provides debts to Indonesia.
3. There is already a Code of Conduct, Indonesia has been actively involved in efforts to resolve LCS disputes. The Code of Conduct itself contains what can be done and what cannot be done so that Indonesia already has a legal grip on creating peace in the South China Sea region. If an open conflict occurs, it will affect the surrounding countries, including Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesia plays a proactive role in managing SCS issues.
4. Indonesia has implemented a defense strategy in the Natuna region. Indonesia must reduce its state budget spending due to the Covid-19 pandemic, therefore Indonesia does not aggressively handle this dispute because the military budget is reduced.

Conclusion

The South China Sea dispute is one of the major threats that has the potential to have a negative impact on countries in the Southeast Asian region. Up to this point, the dispute has generally been in the segregation stage, even though Vietnam's relationship with China is currently at a polarizing stage. In efforts to resolve the SCS dispute, Indonesia emerged as the initiator of peaceful negotiation efforts by inviting disputing countries to negotiate in a multilateral forum. However, the efforts made by Indonesia still face challenges, these challenges can come from within Indonesia itself, which can be in the form of a relatively weak bargaining position against China and other claiming countries, as well as from outside in the form of different approaches and involvement of parties. foreigners or countries outside the region that have interests in the SCS area that have contributed to worsening the dispute.

However, Indonesia remains optimistic that this dispute can be resolved by peaceful negotiations. In terms of military strength, Indonesia and the four ASEAN member countries involved in the SCS dispute cannot compete with China. However, economically the five countries are trading partners for China, especially within the framework of the ACFTA, they have trade relations characterized by a sense of mutual need. Moreover, the risk of loss to be experienced in the event of a military battle in the South China Sea region will be very large, considering that this route is the route used for energy traffic and trade for countries around the region. These two factors are expected to become a medium for trust building for disputing countries that can be used by the Indonesian state in continuing the dispute resolution process. Now, the main target that must be achieved by Indonesia is to realize the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea. If the Code of Conduct is agreed upon, Indonesia will get 2 benefits at once. First, the threat of disputes that threaten national defense is lost. Second, Indonesia's role will be recognized at the ASEAN regional level (in particular) and at the international level (in general), so that

it will increase Indonesia's bargaining position as a capital to fight for its national interests.

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INDONESIA'S STRATEGY IN FACING THE ASEAN-CHINA FREE TRADE AREA (ACFTA) IN THE JOKOWI ERA

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Abstract

In the current free trade era, the theme of Indonesia's strategy in facing the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) is an important study because the impact of free trade is very important on a country's economy. Whether the existence of free trade benefits or even harms the interests of the nation. Therefore, the government, especially in the Jokowi era must have a strategy for free trade to benefit Indonesia. The purpose of this article is to uncover the strategies used by the Jokowi era government in dealing with the free trade, especially the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA). In writing this article, the author uses the method of collecting data and information using secondary data techniques, namely data collection through literature study. The author collects data through articles, online newspapers and official internet sites. Using the Harold D. Lasswell communication model, it can be explained that the Jokowi government used a socialization, incentive, jingle, portal and to give Cinta Karya Bangsa award strategy to give

a message to the Indonesian people to use local products rather than foreign products. Although in its implementation these strategies have not been effective in making Indonesian people aware of using domestic products.

Keywords: Strategy, ASEAN-China Free Trade Area, Local Products

Introduction

In this era of globalization, free trade is well known. Such as the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA), which is free trade between China and ASEAN member countries. ACFTA was formally launched for the first time since the signing of the Trade in Goods Agreement and the Dispute Settlement Mechanism Agreement on November 29, 2004 in Vientiane, Laos (Ditjenppi.kemendag.go.id, 2018). As a result of the ACFTA, until 2010 Indonesia eliminated 93.39% tariff posts for products from China and had eliminated 100% tariff posts in 2012 (Ditjenppi.kemendag.go.id, 2018).

The impact of the ACFTA is that there are no tariff barriers (0-5% import duty) or non-tariff barriers for China. This has resulted in the swift flow of Chinese goods, services and investment into the Indonesian domestic market. And specifically for goods, because there are no more tariff or non-tariff barriers, these foreign products from China can enter Indonesia at relatively cheap prices. If the Indonesian people do not have awareness of local products, it will endanger local entrepreneurs. There will be many local entrepreneurs who will go bankrupt because they cannot compete with products from China.

In order to stem the invasion of these foreign products, it is impossible for the Indonesian government to prohibit these products from entering Indonesia or collect taxes so that the prices of products from China will be expensive. The only way is to raise awareness from the Indonesian people to buy local products. So, to raise public awareness, the Indonesian government must have strategies so that

Indonesians continue to buy local products in the midst of the invasion of foreign products, especially products from China.

Departing from the above background, this paper will focus on the presentation of Indonesia's strategy in facing the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) in the Jokowi era. In order to facilitate the discussion, the author will divide this paper into five parts. The first part will discuss the Literature review, the second part will discuss Harold D. Lasswell's communication model. The third section discusses research methods. The next part of this paper is a discussion. And the last part of this paper is the Conclusion.

Literature review

There is some literature on free trade between ASEAN and China and its impact on Indonesia. One of them is an article written by Magdariza and Delfiyanti entitled *Pelaksanaan Perjanjian Kerjasama Perdagangan Bebas ASEAN-China (ACFTA) Tahun 2010 dan Implikasinya Bagi Indonesia* (Delfiyanti & Magdariza, 2011). In the article, it was reviewed that the existence of a free trade agreement between ASEAN and China had more negatives for Indonesia than positives. This is because, the result of the implementation of free trade has implications for the reduction of production of Indonesian products, mass layoffs (layoffs), as well as the bankruptcy of local industries and entrepreneurs resulting from being unable to compete with products made in China. Still according to the article, because there are still negative things from the existence of ASEAN-China free trade, the government must prepare itself seriously to make domestic policies and supporting regulations to be able to carry out the implementation of this ACFTA properly and to minimize negative impact where one of the main factors is the lack of quality of Indonesian Human Resources.

Another article that discusses ASEAN-China free trade is an article entitled *Eksistensi Perjanjian ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) Dan Dampaknya Bagi Perlindungan Usaha Mikro Kecil Menengah (UMKM)* written by Ari Ratna Kurniastuti (Kurniastuti, 2013). This

article discusses more on the legal side which highlights that existing legal protection has not been able to provide maximum protection for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises. This is proven that the impact of the ACFTA agreement is still detrimental to MSMEs because there is no legal certainty which can be seen in the existence of national legislation that collides with the ACFTA agreement.

The article written by Adrian Darmawan Lubis and Sri Nuryanti entitled *Analisis Dampak ACFTA Dan Kebijakan Perdagangan Kakao Di Pasar Domestik Dan China* highlighted the competitiveness of Indonesian cocoa products in the Chinese market (Lubis & Nuryanti, 2011). In this article, it is stated that the ACFTA trade liberalization has not improved the trade performance and competitiveness of Indonesian cocoa products in the Chinese market. According to this article, because the demand for imported cocoa beans in the Chinese market is decreasing, Indonesia must develop processed cocoa products or products with added value, such as exports of fermented cocoa products, cocoa butter and paste so that competitiveness in the Chinese market increases.

From the articles above, it can be concluded that the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area is not very profitable for Indonesia. So it is necessary to have a strategy from the Indonesian government to face the ACFTA so that the benefits of free trade are on the side of Indonesia or at least not detrimental to Indonesia. However, the Indonesian government actually already has a strategy that is being implemented. And this is where the article I wrote differs from the articles above that do not discuss the Indonesian government's strategy in facing the ASEAN-China free trade. In addition, the article that the author wrote also describes whether the government's strategy is effective or not.

Theoretical Framework

To analyze the Indonesian government's strategy in facing the ASEAN-China free market, the author uses Harold D. Lasswell's communication model. This is because, in the government's strategy

there is a process of communication from the Indonesian government to its people, namely the process of delivering messages from the Indonesian government to the Indonesian people. Then, with Harold D. Lasswell's communication model, it can be seen whether the message was accepted or ignored by the Indonesian people as the recipient of the message.

Meanwhile, communication is a very complex process. To describe the complexity of the communication process, experts have attempted to describe the communication process into various forms of communication models. In this article the writer uses Harold D. Lasswell's communication model which describes the complexity of the communication process more simply. According to Harold D. Lasswell, the best way to explain the complexity of the communication process is to answer several questions, namely Who Says What In Which Channel To Whom With What Effect? (Ambar, 2017)



Based on the chart above, in Harold D. Lasswell's communication model, there are five elements of communication (Ambar, 2017). 1) Who, refers to the communicator or source who sent the message. 2) Says What, refers to the content of the message. 3) In Which Channel, refers to the media or channel used to send the message, including the way the message is conveyed 4) To Whom, refers to the recipient of the message. 5) With What Effects, refers to the results / reactions caused.

Methodology

In writing this article, the author uses the method of collecting data and information using secondary data techniques. Namely data collection through literature study. The author collects data through articles, online newspapers and official internet sites, all of which of course relating to the articles that the author wrote.

Result And Discussion

The Indonesian government in the Jokowi era already had strategies in facing the free market, especially ACFTA. The strategies are campaigning for the use of domestic products either through socialization or through portals or the internet. These strategies are carried out by the Indonesian government through its ministries that have programs to increase the use of domestic products.

In each ministry, these programs have their own names. As in the Ministry of Industry, there is a program to Increase the Use of Domestic Products or abbreviated as P3DN (Peningkatan Penggunaan Produk Dalam Negeri). The P3DN program is a government effort to encourage people to use domestic products rather than imported products (Kemenperin.go.id, 2011). One of the implementations of this program is that government agencies are obliged to maximize the use of domestic products in the procurement of goods/services financed by the State budget.

The P3DN strategy in inviting people to use domestic products is the provision of incentives for Domestic Component Level certification (TKDN, Tingkat Komponen Dalam Negeri) and incentives for private parties who consistently use domestic products. The incentive is a tax allowance or withholding tax for business entities with high Domestic Component Level (TKDN) (Amelia, 2018). As for the provision of this incentive, the objective is that business entities prioritize using domestic products rather than imported products.

Another P3DN strategy is to campaign for love and pride in using domestic products. As did the Minister of Industry at that time, Airlangga Hartarto after releasing the participants on a healthy walk with the theme 100% Love Indonesian Products in Jakarta on January 5, 2017 (Kemenperin.go.id, 2017). The Minister of Industry at that time invited the public to love, use and promote domestic industrial production because this step can encourage increased productivity and competitiveness of business actors in Indonesia so that they are

sustainable and they are able to dominate the domestic and international markets.

Furthermore, other strategy to Increase the Use of Domestic Products (P3DN) program is to encourage products or goods in the Domestic Production Goods / Services Inventory List to enter the e-Catalog for government procurement and awarding the Cinta Karya Bangsa award (Kemenperin.go.id, 2016). Through the Cinta Karya Bangsa award, the Ministry of Industry hopes to grow the commitment of all parties to always increase the use of domestic products so as to encourage national industry players to continue to spur the Domestic Component Level (TKDN) and strengthen the base of national products so that they are able to compete in the domestic market and become priority for government and business spending (Tribunnews.com, 2016). In addition, it is also to provide an example for the community to use and build the love of the Indonesian people for domestic products.

Other form of campaign from the Ministry of Industry to campaign for the use of domestic products is to fully support the national discussion activity entitled “Made in Indonesia: Love Indonesian Local Products” which was initiated by students of the University of Indonesia (UI) Communication Vocational Program (Vokom) (Ekonomi.inilah.com, 2018). The purpose of this national discussion is to increase the awareness and love of Indonesian youth and girls for the use and promotion of domestic products. This national discussion activity was attended by more than 300 participants who came from various backgrounds, both students and employees.

In addition to the P3DN program owned by the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Trade also has a program, namely the Aku Cinta Indonesia program or the I Love Indonesian Products program. The campaign for the Aku Cinta Indonesia program was carried out through socialization. As carried out by the Directorate of Domestic Use and Marketing, Directorate General of the Ministry of Domestic Trade of the Republic Indonesia on October 3, 2017 (Wartantb.com,

2017). In conducting socialization, this Directorate collaborated with the Office of Cooperatives, Industry and Trade in Bima City, West Nusa Tenggara Province. This socialization is an effort to instill awareness of the use of domestic products in students and the younger generation as well as a form of campaign to increase the use of domestic products to increase insight, knowledge as well as build a love for the use of domestic products for the younger generation through the education sector. This socialization also aims to inspire and motivate to buy and use Indonesian products / brands, with the hope that Indonesia's young generation will be eager to dominate the world market with domestic products that are the pride of Indonesia. The socialization program for the I Love Indonesia movement was attended by around 500 participants consisting of junior high school students, high school students and youth organizations in the city of Bima (Wartantb.com, 2017).

Another activity of the Ministry of Trade as a message provider in campaigning for the I Love Indonesian Products program is to hold a leisurely stroll session on Sunday 16 December 2018 with the Sarinah route - HI Roundabout and back to Sarinah (Kencana, 2018). This activity was carried out together with the Indonesian Entrepreneurs Association (IWAPI). The I Love Indonesian Products Campaign at this leisurely strolling session aims to encourage Indonesian products to succeed in their own domestic market. The Minister of Trade at that time, Enggartiasto Lukita, said in a leisurely walk that if not us, who else would love, consume and be proud of Indonesian products made by Indonesian people.

Moreover, in addition to campaigns through socialization and leisurely walks, the Ministry of Trade also launched a jingle entitled I Love Indonesian Products. Jingle is an illustration of an advertisement that is realized in the form of music (Wiryawan, 2015). Jingle must have meaning or messages related to what you want to advertise or promote. The launch of the jingle by the Ministry of Trade is so that the jargon I Love Indonesian Products can last a long time and touch

the minds of all Indonesians and foster a spirit of patriotism for the younger generation so that they do not hesitate to use Indonesian products (Soemanagara, 2018). Strengthening patriotism is important to anticipate the invasion of imports of consumer goods as a result of the implementation of free trade that cannot be avoided in the current era of globalization.

Also, the Ministry of Trade also presents a portal to present products made by the local people. The portal can be accessed through www.portal-indonesia.id (Soemanagara, 2018). This portal is expected to be a source of information for every business actor to enter the global value chain (GVC). With the availability of product-related information sources, every business actor has the option of utilizing raw / auxiliary materials to make a product that has added value. In addition, this portal is also expected to reduce promotional costs for newly launched products by business actors. With this portal, promotion coverage is not limited only in Indonesia, but can also reach globally as long as an internet network is available.

Results Evaluation

In particular, the Program to Increase the Use of Domestic Products (P3DN) and I Love Indonesia or I Love Indonesian Products aims to make Indonesians love their own domestic products rather than products originating from countries involved in free trade with Indonesia. Especially products originating from China which are currently flooding into Indonesia due to the ACFTA. The general objective of the Program to Increase the Use of Domestic Products (P3DN) and I Love Indonesia or I Love Indonesian Products is so that Indonesians do not buy imported products too often, not only products from countries that are involved in free trade with Indonesia, but all products from foreign countries. So the government hopes that the Indonesian people will continue to love local products made in Indonesia. Because the impact of many Indonesians buying foreign products will be enormous. For example, many businessmen,

factories and others will go out of business because they are unable to compete with foreign products. As a result of the number of factories or businessmen that have gone out of business, there will be many massive layoffs. Layoffs on a large scale will certainly cause a lot of unemployment.

Judging from the results of the government program, it turns out that it is still experiencing failure because in fact the Indonesian people still like to buy products made in foreign countries. As stated by the Chairman of the Indonesia Fashion Chamber (IFC), Ali Charisma who stated that 60% of Indonesian consumers prefer to buy various foreign products than those made in Indonesia (Yulistara, 2018). As a result, many factories have gone out of business due to the invasion of products from China. For example, there were nine textile factories that went out of business because they were unable to compete with imported goods from China in the 2018-2019 period (Finance.detik.com, 2019). As a result, 2000 employees were terminated or laid off.

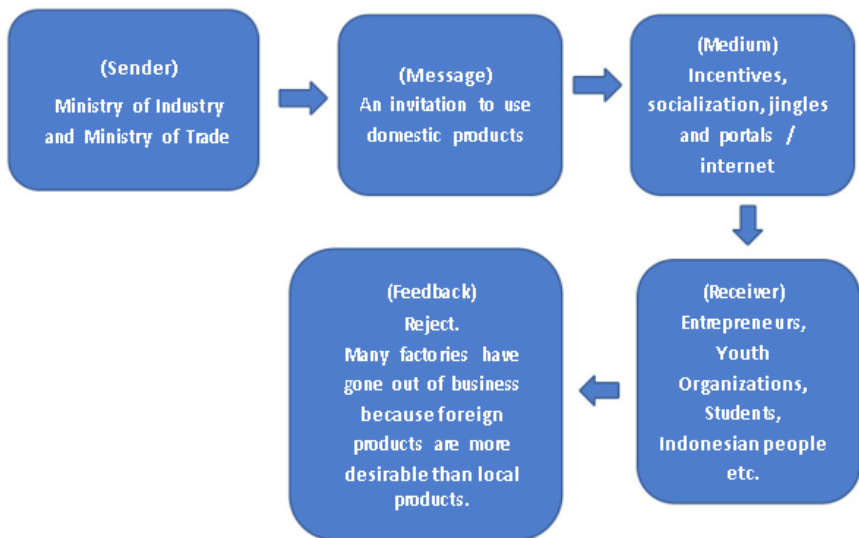
Even in West Java, an even greater number of textile companies have closed their doors. In West Java, 188 textile companies went bankrupt in the last two years, from January 2018 to September 2019, which resulted in the termination of employment or the layoffs of 68,000 employees of these textile companies (Inews.id, 2019). The majority of these companies went bankrupt because of the invasion of textile products from China.

In addition, the evidence that Indonesians prefer foreign-made products, especially Chinese-made products, is that local smartphones are unable to compete with foreign-made smartphones. Based on data from the International Data Corporation (IDC) research institute, smartphone shipments in Indonesia in the third quarter of 2018 reached 8.6 million. Samsung is still the market leader in the domestic smartphone industry with a market share of 28 percent, while in second place is Xiaomi with a market share of 24 percent. The third and fourth places are also occupied by Chinese brands through Oppo (19 percent) and Vivo (11 percent), while locally made Advan smartphones are in

fifth position with a market share of only 5 percent (Herman, 2019). This local smartphone market share has decreased when compared to the same period in 2017 which amounted to 8.3 percent and is included in the third largest market share in Indonesia (Herman, 2019). Meanwhile, according to the IDC research institute, in 2019 smartphones made in China, Realme has shifted Advan's market share position from fifth position (Wardani, 2019).

To easily understand the strategic process in the form of an invitation to love local products from the Indonesian government to its citizens as well as feedback from the Indonesian people, the authors made a scheme based on the following Harold D. Laswell model:

The Indonesian Government's Strategic Process Scheme for Facing ACFTA



Obstacle factor

There are several factors inhibiting the programs carried out by the government, so that the messages from these government programs are not well received by the Indonesian people. These inhibiting factors are:

1. The Government Is Not Consistent With Its Programs

The government, which launched the I Love Indonesia / I Love Indonesian Products program, did not implement the program properly, thus becoming a bad example for the community. This can be seen from the number of imports made by the government. The government imports a lot of products from outside which these products can be produced domestically.

For example, imports carried out by the government are imports of hoes from China. The import of hoes from China is carried out by the government through the Indonesian Trading Company (PPI). Secretary of PT Perusahaan Perdagangan Indonesia (PPI), Syailendra said that his party had received permission from the Ministry of Trade by appointing the company as an official hoe importer (Merdeka.com, 2019).

Importing hoes from China certainly hurts the I Love Indonesian Products program which is owned by the Ministry of Trade. This is because hoes can of course be produced domestically. And the Ministry of Trade should prioritize the use of domestic hoe products by not importing hoes from China.

Meanwhile, the government imported hoes in large quantities because nearly 60 percent of RI's hoe needs were imported from abroad (Jannah, 2019). Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that the import value of Indonesian hoes up to September this year reached US \$ 93,155 or Rp1.3 billion (assuming an exchange rate of Rp.13,969 / US dollar). This is very irony because the domestic industry is capable of producing 500 thousand units of hoes (Jannah, 2019).

2. Foreign Products are Cheaper Than Local Products

In the case of many textile factories that went out of business, this phenomenon was caused by the large number of Chinese textile products whose prices were much cheaper than local textiles. So that local textiles are not absorbed in the market because Indonesian people prefer textiles that are much cheaper. A representative of textile industry

entrepreneurs, Prawira on September 4, 2019 explained this problem (Pikiran-rakyat.com, 2019). Prawira gave an example that local textile raw materials are purchased at Rp. 9,000 per unit and when they are made into clothes and ready to wear the price becomes Rp. 22,000. Meanwhile, imported goods from China with a price of only Rp. 9,000 have become finished and ready-to-use. This causes a very striking difference between locally produced goods and imported products.

Another example is Indonesian steel production, which is more expensive when compared to imported steel from China. According to Jusuf Kalla, PT Krakatu Steel Tbk is unable to compete with Chinese products because Indonesia makes steel at a price of 600 dollars per ton, but China can produce steel for only 400 dollars (Cnbcindonesia.com, 2019). This is what causes PT Krakatau Steel to suffer from chronic losses due to being unable to compete with steel from China.

3. Some Indonesian People Still Consider That Foreign Products Are Better Than Local Products.

This was revealed by the Director of the Electronics and Telematics Industry of the Ministry of Industry (Kemenperin), Ahmad Rodjih, who said that with the same specifications, the quality of local products is not much different from imported products (Afriyadi, 2018). However, he said that what made the difference was the view of the brand itself. He gave an example of locally made laptops such as Axioo and Zyrex which could not compete with other laptop brands such as Lenovo, Acer and so on. According to him, the Axioo and Zyrex factories actually also have laboratories to test quality before they are marketed. However, if it is a mindset problem, even though it has the same quality as foreign products, Indonesian people still choose foreign products because they are considered more elegant, cool and so on.

Supporting factors

According to the author's opinion, the Program for Increasing the Use of Domestic Products (P3DN) and the I Love Indonesia / I Love Indonesian Products program will succeed if the program owner,

namely the government, also provides good role models. For example, the government does not import goods that can still be produced domestically. In addition, the *Aku Cinta Indonesia / I Love Indonesian Products* program is not only campaigned through leisurely walks, socializations, but is also included in the curriculum from elementary to doctoral studies so that it is truly embedded in the minds of the Indonesian people, especially the younger generation, to love domestic products. So that if it is embedded in the soul and love for domestic products, even though they are expensive, people will still choose Indonesian products, because by consuming Indonesian products, profits will also return to the Indonesian people.

Conclusion

The existence of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) causes a large number of Chinese products to enter Indonesia. These Chinese products even have relatively cheap prices because there are no tariff and non-tariff barriers. It takes the awareness of the Indonesian people to love Indonesian products so that Indonesian products become kings in their own country. To raise awareness of the Indonesian public, the Indonesian government has some strategies. The strategies such as implementing the Increased Use of Domestic Products (P3DN) program and *I Love Indonesia / I Love Indonesian Products* which are campaigned through providing incentives to private parties who consistently use domestic products. Also, pushing products or goods that are in the Inventory List of Domestic Goods / Services are included in the e-Catalog for government procurement. Another strategies is giving the award of *Cinta Karya Bangsa*, socialization, jingles, leisurely walks and a portal. This portal is very important to find out Indonesian products that can be accessed around the world.

The process of the government's strategy in campaigning these programs, if described using the Harold D. Laswell model, is as follows: the Indonesian government, in this case the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Trade, as the messenger (sender), delivers a message in

the form of an invitation to use the local products through (medium) providing incentives, awarding Cinta Karya Bangsa, socialization, jingles and the internet to (receivers) Indonesian society both among entrepreneurs, youth organizations, students and so on. The feedback from the message conveyed by the government has failed because (1) the government is not consistent with their program (2) foreign products are cheaper and (3) some Indonesians still underestimate local products.

These programs will run well if the government provides a good role model for the community. In addition, not only through socialization, the government must also make school curriculum from elementary school to doctoral containing an invitation to love Indonesian products. This is intended so that the love of Indonesian products is embedded in the minds of the Indonesian people so that they will choose local products for whatever reason.

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THE LEVEL OF AWARENESS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN MUKOMUKO SUBDISTRICT CITY TO IMPLEMENT HEALTH PROTOCOLS IN AN EFFORT TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF COVID-19 IN MUKOMUKO

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Abstract

Covid-19 has become a global pandemic because of its very serious spread around the world. WHO as a global health organization direction and information to governments and the public regarding the spread of this virus. In response to this, the Indonesian government has taken action to deal with the spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia, including issuing health protocol regulations in the community. Responding to Health Protocols issued by the Indonesian government, This research will examine how the compliance of Muslim communities in the Subdistrict city of Mukomuko in implementing Health protocols starting from social interaction and when worshiping at places of worship, considering that the Subdistrict city of Mukomuko has been designated as a red zone for the spread of Covid-19. This research uses descriptive research method with a quantitative

approach through direct questionnaires to the public and library data.. The results showed that the compliance of the Muslim community in the District of Kota Mukomuko in carrying out the health protocol was not too high and there were still many who did not comply with the health protocol. even though in Islam there were many suggestions to be aware of the spread of infectious diseases as conveyed by Rasullullah Muhammad SAW. This also shows the need for more socialization and education to the Muslim community in Mukomuko so that they can implement Health protocols for mutual convenience.

Keyword: Muslim Mukomuko, Health Protocol, Covid-19

Introductions

Covid-19 is a disease caused by a new type of Corona virus severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) which attacks humans. This virus was first discovered in Wuhan China at the end of December 2019 (Alodokter, 2021). The spread of Covid-19 has occurred throughout the world and is classified as uncontrolled because at the beginning there was little known about SARS-CoV-2 or Covid-19. seeing the spread of the virus which tends to be fast and in a short time forces WHO as a Global Health Agency to establish Covid-19 as a global pandemic and needs serious attention (Putri, 2020).

The determination of Covid-19 as a global pandemic by the WHO (Global Health Institute) shows that Covid-19 is a disease that needs to be taken seriously by all elements, be it the state government to the level of the general public. The spread of Covid-19 itself on a global scale continues to increase. According to the latest data obtained by the author on May 17, 2021, there have been 163,694,333 cases of Covid-19 in the world, of which 3,392,634 cases have died and 142,144,554 cases have recovered (Rizal, 2021).

The same thing happened in Indonesia, which was also affected by the spread of Covid-19. According to data released on May 17, 2021,

Covid-19 cases in Indonesia have reached 1,744,045 cases, this data has increased by 4,295 cases in the last 24 hours. The number of cases of death by Covid-19 in Indonesia is counted at 48.305 people with the number of patients recovered as many as 1,606,611 people. This indicates that the spread of Covid-19 has had quite impact in Indonesia since its inception in March 2020(Aditya, 2021).

Responding to the case of the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, Indonesia as an affected country at that time took an action in handling the spread of the pandemic by issuing Large-scale social restrictions or LSSR(Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar/PSBB) policy in areas considered vulnerable to the spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia. The initial PSBB policy adopted by the Indonesian government caused many polemics in the midst of Indonesian society such as economic, social, and disruption in the implementation of religious activities. The implementation of the policy was followed by the closure of many office and public facilities (Putra, 2020).

As time goes by, with the development of information regarding to the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic by Health Agencies, preventive measures have been issued in the spread of Covid-19 such as the use of masks in carrying out daily activities, maintaining cleanliness, especially hand hygiene, maintaining social interaction distance in handling the spread of Covid-19. Acting on the growing information, the Indonesian government then issued a new policy in the midst of the Indonesian people to overcome the problem of the spread of Covid-19 while overcoming social impacts, economic and religious problems caused by the previous LSSR/PSBB policy.

The new policy recommended by the Indonesian government in an effort to deal with the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic while overcoming the previous policy polemic is the recommended Health protocol policy that must be implemented in the community. With the enactment of this policy, many office and public facilities have been opened with the obligation to carry out the Health protocol in every interaction.

In its implementation, the Health protocol policy issued by the Indonesian government applies 5 main points that must be implemented in everyday social life. First, recommendations for washing hands according to health protocols, wearing masks, maintaining distance, avoiding crowds, and reducing mobility. This recommendation is known as the 5M health protocol (Makarim, 2021). It is hoped that the recommendation for the implementation of the Health protocol in the midst of the Indonesian people can be carried out in every region of Indonesia, both those in the red and green zones in order to prevent the possibility of the spread of Covid-19.

In an effort to implement Health protocols in the midst of society to deal with the Covid-19 Pandemic, the Indonesian government, Local governments and other influential people need to introduce more about the Health protocol to the general public in Indonesia so that the recommendations for implementing the Health protocol can be carried out efficiently, either by conducting direct socialization or other campaign actions.

As an example of activities in an effort to socialize the application of the Health protocol, one of which is the campaign activity carried out by Senen District officers on September 9, 2020, they carried out a campaign by carrying props for implementing health protocols at the Simpang Lima Senen traffic light (Aidilla, 2020). Another form of socialization regarding the Health protocol was also carried out in Sidoarjo, East Java on February 5, 2021, the activity was carried out by Sidoarjo Police officers at the Porong market wearing Punakawan clothes carrying posters inviting to comply with the Health protocol in the middle of market activities (KOMPAS, 2021).

In addition to direct action into the field, the government also conducts health protocol campaigns by creating public service advertisements in several forums such as televisisi channels and social media. A similar campaign was conducted by interfaith leaders in Klaten, Central Java, interfaith leaders in Klaten united to invite klaten people to impose themselves to comply with health protocols to control

the increasing number of cases of Covid 19 in Klaten Regency. The appeal was made in short video content then uploaded on social media and widely accessed by the public via whatsapp group (Priyono, 2021).

Looking at the previous explanation regarding the spread of Covid-19 and the recommended Health protocol issued by the Indonesian government, in this study the object of research to be discussed is the compliance of the community in implementing the Health protocol as recommended by the Indonesian government and to minimize the scope of the research so that the research is not too broad and obtains valid data, the subject of this study will discuss the compliance of the community, especially those who are Muslims in the subdistrict of Mukomuko City in implementing the Health Protocol.

There are several reasons for choosing the location and subject in this Research. First, in selecting a location in Mukomuko City Subdistrict, it was chosen to make it easier for the author to collect data because Mukomuko City Subdistrict is the author's domicile area. Another reason for choosing Muslims as research subjects is because the Muslim community is the majority of the population in Mukomuko Regency with a total of 177,033 people from a total of 181,220 residents (Sudarmo, 2017). the second reason is that several cases of religious clusters are the main cluster of the spread of Covid-19 in several countries and regions, such as what happened in South Korea where the first and largest cases of the spread of Covid-19 in this country originated from church activities during the implementation of Christmas Mass in the Daegu area of South Korea (Sekarwati, 2020).

Mukomuko City Subdistrict is the capital of Mukomuko Regency in Bengkulu Province, Mukomuko district itself is one of the districts affected by Covid-19 in Bengkulu Province and designated as the Covid-19 red zone by the Covid-19 task force of Bengkulu province (usman, 2020). Overall positive cases of Covid-19 in Mukomuko Regency as of May 17, 2021, there were 705 people, 652 people recovered, 8 people died, and 509 people were suspected, Mukomuko Regency had the 3 most positive cases of Covid-19 in Bengkulu

province (Covid19 Provinsi Bengkulu, 2021). According to other data, all 15 sub-districts in Mukomuko Regency are a red zone for the spread of Covid-19 including the sub-district of Mukomuko city (Aryanto & Jauhary, 2021).

The Mukomuko Regency Government itself has taken action in an effort to implement the Health protocol in handling the spread of Covid-19 in the Mukomuko Regency, including the Mukomuko district government through the Mukomuko District Health Office to disseminate the implementation of the Health protocol among the community, this is based on the recommendation of the Mukomuko Regent Regulation Number 30 of 2020 concerning the Application of Discipline and Law Enforcement of the Health Protocol as an effort to encourage the public to comply with health protocols during the COVID-19 pandemic (Aryanto, 2020).

In addition to the local government in Mukomuko district, health protocol socialization activities are also carried out by religious places such as mosques in the District of Mukomuko City, appeals for the use of masks and maintaining distance when performing prayers continue to be made by mosque officials. In addition, the mosque also posted announcements and posters on the mosque grounds for the implementation of the Health Protocol.

The calls and appeals made by mosques and places of worship to help socialize the use of masks and maintain a safe distance when performing worship at this mosque certainly have a basis, apart from following instructions from the government in efforts to deal with the spread of Covid-19 from places of worship also in accordance with the advice of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and the scholars in the face of a pandemic of infectious diseases as has been explained in the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Dirgantara, 2020).

There are several hadith references that can be a justification for the actions of the mosque in the socialization of health protocols during the pandemic to protect themselves and the surrounding people from infectious diseases, Narrated hadith Shahih Bukhari and Muslim, from

Amir bin Saad bin Abi Waqqash, from his father that he had heard the father ask Usamah bin Zaid, ‘What hadith have you heard from the Messenger of Allah related to the plague Tha’un.?’(Hafil, 2020).

Rasulullah once said: The plague of tha’un is the dirt sent by Allah to some of the Israelites and also to those before you. If you hear about the tha’un plague in a country, don’t enter that country. However, if the Tha’un plague is spreading in your country, don’t leave your country to escape from that disease”.

From this hadith, it can be seen that the Messenger of Allah forbid his people to go out and do activities in areas with disease outbreaks. Because deliberately going in and out of the epidemic area is tantamount to harming oneself, causing disease in oneself, also means self -destruction and when we are exposed, we can transmit it to others and we will be among the oppressors. The hadith explained by Rasulullah Muhammad SAW above is intended so that Muslims can keep away and protect themselves and the people around them from the danger of the spread of infectious diseases at that time..

The explanation of the hadith above that discusses the epidemic of Tha’un’s disease during the time of the Prophet if we draw the essence of the hadith in the example of facing Covid-19 in the current era with the Health protocol, we will see the similarity that the Health protocol issued by the government today will be directly proportional or unidirectional. and does not violate the rules and recommendations of Islam as explained by the Prophet, because the purpose of this Health protocol is to protect ourselves and those around us..

Literature review

There are several previous studies that have discussed the problems related to the distribution of covid-19 both in Indonesia and abroad, in this review of the literature will detail some of these studies:

1. The first research that the author used as a reference for this Literature review was the research of Muhammad Gagah Dirgantara with the title Efforts to Handling the Covid-19

Pandemic in Islamic Countries: A Case Study of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Upaya Penanganan Pandemi Covid -19 Di Negara Islam : Studi Kasus Kerajaan Arab Saudi), The research carried out is a qualitative research in which in this study the authors conducted a case analysis with secondary data collected to answer the existing problem formulations. The results of this study are that if seen by ordinary people, some of the policies imposed by Saudi Arabia in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic are quite courageous, however the policies imposed by Saudi Arabia such as closing access to worship, local and international lockdowns are in accordance with Islamic recommendations. which is shown by several Shahih hadiths.

2. Furthermore, the reference for this Literature review is research with the title Level of Community Awareness in Covid-19 Prevention Efforts in Pandanharum Village (Tingkat Kesadaran Masyarakat Dalam Upaya Pencegahan Coronavirus 2019 Di Desa Pandanharum). This research was conducted by Dewi Putri Larasati, Anis Saidah, Retno Puspita Sari, Fitri Ana Puji Wahayu. This study uses a descriptive qualitative research method through a Google Form questionnaire. The results of this study indicate that the level of public awareness, especially in Pandanharum Village about COVID-19, is indeed high, but there is still a need for socialization and education about the dangers of Covid-19 and how to implement the new normal in the community.
3. The third research which is the Literature review in this research is a research entitled Knowledge and Attitudes of the Community in Prevention of COVID-19 (Pengetahuan dan Sikap Masyarakat dalam Pencegahan COVID-19) written by Emdat Suprayitno, Sylvina Rahmawati, Adivtian Ragayasa, Muchti Yuda Pratama, This type of research is descriptive with a cross sectional non-analytic design. This research was analyzed descriptively with a questionnaire research instrument. The sample of this research is some of the people in the hamlet of East Solo and North Solo,

Murtajih Village, Pademawu District, as many as 62 people with total sampling technique. This study aims to determine the level of knowledge and attitudes to prevent Covid-19 transmission in the people of Murtajih Village. The results showed that the level of public knowledge in preventing Covid-19 in Murtajih Village, Pademawu sub-district was good. Most of the murtajih villagers who became the sample were quite good at knowing Covid-19, the attitude of the community in preventing Covid-19 was leading to a positive direction.

Literature review from previous research is used as a reference and also as a comparison for the research that the author is going to do. This is intended to obtain novelty in the research or to differentiate it from the author's research. There are several differences in the research that the author did with previous research, including from the research method the author will use a descriptive method with a quantitative approach. This study also examines the compliance of the community in the Mukomuko City sub-district in implementing health protocols.

Metode Penelitian

In the implementation of this study used descriptive research methods with quantitative approach, and to obtain research data researchers using questionnaires that are distributed directly among the people of Mukomuko Subdistrict. When the research started on May 7, 2021 to May 17, 2021, the research time was within 10 days considering the distribution time of questionnaires is not too long, In distributing questionnaires to represent the residents of Mukomuko subdistrict, the samples used are mukomuko subdistrict residents who are willing to voluntarily fill out questionnaire sheets..

According to Sudjana and Ibrahim, descriptive research is “research that seeks to describe a symptom, event, event that occurs at this time”(Sudjana dan Ibrahim dalam Jayusman & Shavab, 2020). while the quantitative approach according to research journals written by **Sermada Kelen Donatus**, The quantitative approach refers to the word

“quantity” itself. Quantity means the amount or quantity of something. Quantitative approach means an approach that is “add up or collect”. In social research, the statistical method is the clearest representation of the quantitative method, because in this method there is a process of “quantification”, that is, the process of giving a number to the “quality” of something (Donatus, 2016).

Based on the above understanding, it can be concluded that descriptive research is research carried out by looking for information related to existing symptoms, clearly explained the goals to be achieved, planning how to approach it, and collect various kinds of data as material for making reports. And in this research the authors wanted to know about the compliance activities of the Muslim community in the District of Mukomuko City in implementing Health protocols in social interactions and when worshipping in places of worship.

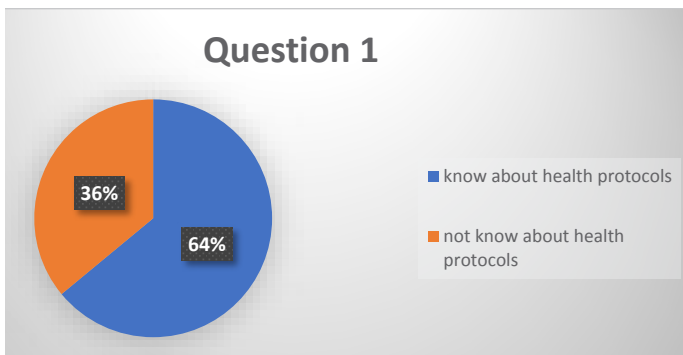
The approach in this research using Quantitative approach because it uses numbers ranging from data collection, interpretation of the data, as well as the appearance of the results. In this research will link the research variables that focus the current phenomenon with the problems that occur today in the form of research results with figures that have a meaning in it..The subjects and objects of this study are residents of Mukomuko City Subdistrict, Mukomuko District of Bengkulu Province who are Muslim and mature, data collection in this research was conducted directly in the community. the data collection process is carried out without interference from other parties

The data collection technique in this research is direct information obtained by asking questions about how obedient the Muslims in the Mukomuko City Sub-district are in implementing Health Protocols as recommended by the government in social life and in carrying out worship in places of worship. In this study followed by 50 respondents, the author will conclude the percentage level of awareness of Muslims in the Sub district of Mukomuko City in carrying out the Covid-19 health protocol based on the answers of these 50 respondents.

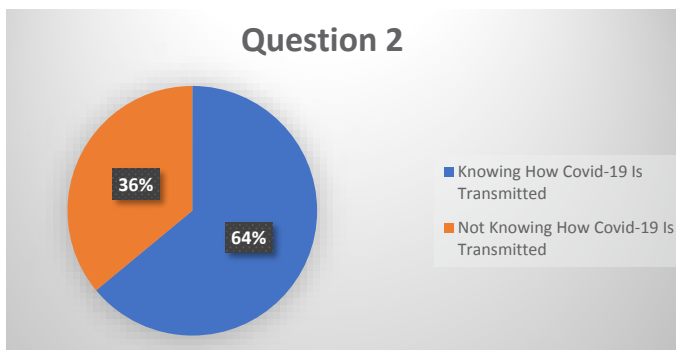
Discussions

Based on the survey conducted, it was obtained data on the level of compliance of Muslims in the Subdistrict of Mukomuko City in implementing the Health Protocol, obtained the following data:

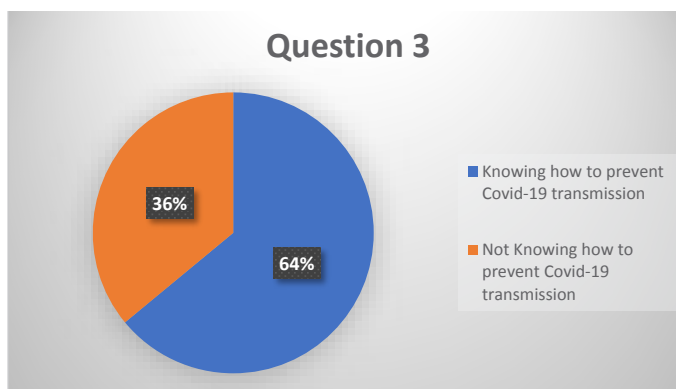
- a. Obtained 50 respondents from the Muslim community in Mukomuko City Sub-district
- b. The questions posed in this research are as follows:
 1. I am aware of the Health protocol
 2. Saya mengetahui bagaimana penularan Covid-19
 3. I know how to prevent the spread / transmission of Covid-19
 4. I don't wear a mask when interacting with other people
 5. I don't keep my distance when interacting with other people
 6. I do not wear a mask and keep a distance when I worship at the place of worship
 7. I wash my hands according to the recommended Health protocol
- c. From the questions that have been asked above, there have been responses from the Muslim community in the city of Muko-muko:
 1. From the first question 32 respondents answered that they knew about Health Protocols and 18 others answered that they did not know or were unclear about the Health protocol recommended by the government.



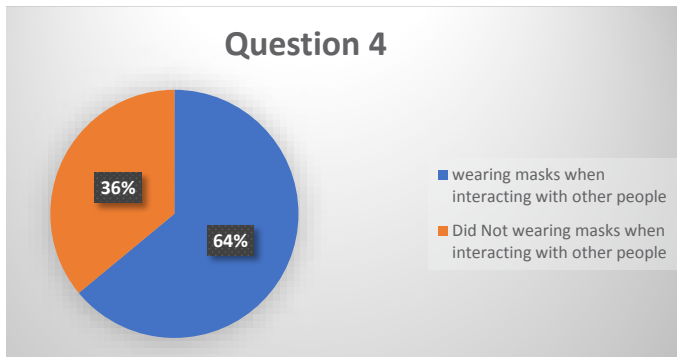
- From the question about how the transmission of Covid-19, 32 respondents answered that they knew about the transmission of Covid-19 and 18 others answered that they did not know how Covid-19 was transmitted



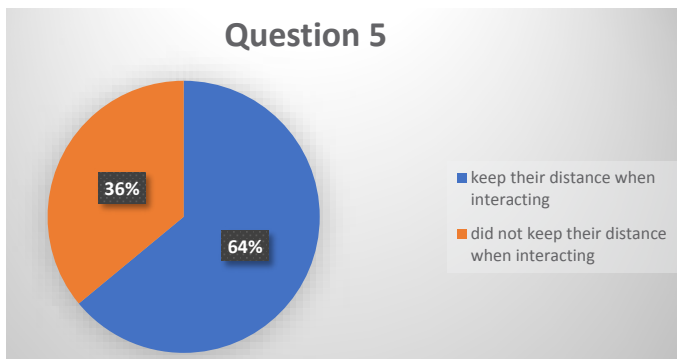
- Total of 32 respondents answered Knowing how to prevent Covid-19 transmission and 18 answered that they did not know about preventing Covid-19 transmission.



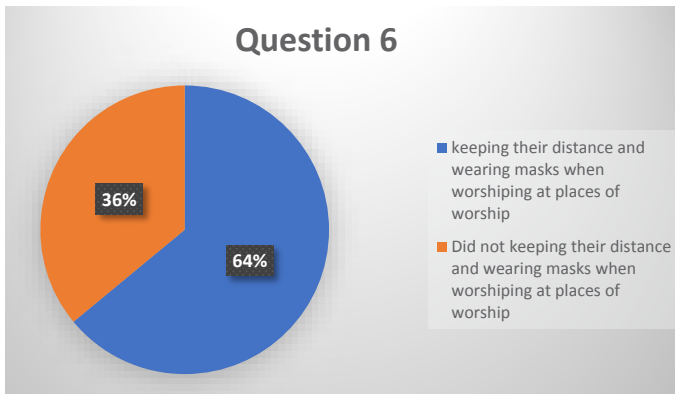
- 32 respondents answered wearing masks when interacting with other people and 18 people answered that they did not wear masks..



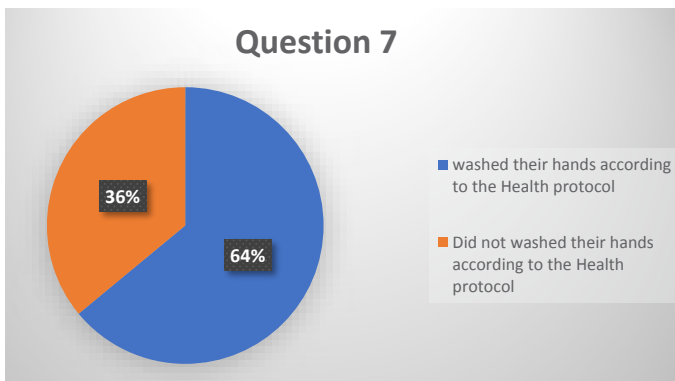
5. 32 people answered that they kept their distance when interacting with other people and 18 others answered that they did not keep their distance.



6. 32 people answered that they were keeping their distance and wearing masks when worshipping at places of worship and 18 people answered that they did not wear masks and kept their distance when worshipping in places of worship



7. 32 respondents answered that they had washed their hands according to the Health protocol and 18 others answered that they had not



Based on the results of the survey above regarding the compliance of the Muslim community in the SubDistrict of Mukomuko in implementing the Health protocol, from 50 respondents with a total of 7 questions and 350 answers, 224 (64%) answers were obtained that led to the compliance of the Muslim community in the District of Kota Mukomuko in implementing the Health protocol. and 126 (36%) answers that point to non-compliance with Health protocols during social interactions and when worshipping in places of worship. From these data, it is known that the compliance of the Muslim community in the Mukomuko Subdistrict to implement the health protocol is quite

high, but there are still many Muslim communities in the Mukomuko Subdistrict area who still have not implemented the Health protocol as recommended.

There are still many non-compliance of the Muslim community in the application of health protocols in Mukomuko Sub-district, mostly because of the ignorance of the Muslim community in Mukomuko Subdistrict about the spread of Covid-19 and about the application of health protocols in efforts to handle the spread of the Covid-19 Pandemic in the midst of the community. According to the data obtained, 18 out of 50 respondents answered not knowing about health protocols, did not know how Covid-19 transmission and prevention in the transmission of Covid-19 and respondents who answered did not know about the Health Protocol, as well as the spread and handling of Covid-19 consistently answered they did not apply health protocols in social interaction and during worship in places of worship. This indicates that the socialization conducted by the government and all relevant institutions in efforts to handle the spread of Covid-19 in the mukomuko sub-district is still not efficient.

Conclutions and Suggestions

Concluded in this study in the midst of the pandemic facing the world today the Government of Indonesia continues to make efforts in handling the spread of Covid-19, one of which is by issuing health protocol policies. In the district of Mukomuko City, Mukomuko Regency, Bengkulu Province the level of public awareness, especially the Muslim community which is the majority community in the area has a high awareness / compliance in the implementation of health protocols but nevertheless the level of non-compliance in the implementation of health protocols is also quite a lot.

There are still many levels of non-compliance of the people of Mukomuko City Subdistrict in the implementation of health protocols in the know because there is still low knowledge of the Muslim community in Mukomuko City Subdistrict about what is

health protocol, the public does not know how Covid-19 transmission and prevention in the transmission of Covid-19, this indicates efforts to socialize health protocols and the dangers of Covid-19 in the community of Mukomuko Subdistrict is still not efficiently carried out by the government and other institutions.

As for the advice that can be given in an effort to improve community compliance, especially the Muslim community in Mukomuko City Subdistrict in the implementation of health protocols is, the local government should further improve socialization to the community not only by going down directly to the field as before, the government should further increase the use of social media as a means of campaigning / socialization of health protocols, such as by making educational videos, public service advertisements and others that are then disseminated to the public utilizing social media.

In addition, the local government needs to cooperate more with religious leaders in Mukomuko (especially Islam) in the socialization of health protocols by asking Islamic religious leaders to always educate that the application of health protocols in the efforts to handle the Covid-19 pandemic is in line with what the Messenger of Allah recommends in the face of infectious diseases, this is intended to increase the knowledge and interest of the Muslim community to be more obedient in the implementation of health protocols in the future and avoid religious clusters as the cause of the spread of Covid-19 in the area.

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THE FUTURE OF ANTI-ASIAN RACISM IN THE COVID-19 PERIOD: A DEMOCRATIC SETBACK?

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Abstract

This paper aims to explain how the Anti-Asian phenomenon that occurred during the Covid-19 Pandemic, and its impact on the series of democratic setbacks that occurred globally. The existing policy frameworks at both the domestic and global levels have not shown a significant reduction in racism. Democracy will be on the verge of decline if racism continues to occur. This paper uses descriptive-qualitative methods, with data collection techniques through literature studies and documentation studies. Political racism and democracy are theoretical frameworks used in this study to explain the problems that occur. As a finding, the nature and behaviour of anti-Asian discrimination in various countries can be influenced by policies made by domestic political elites themselves, which have an impact on the formation of negative perceptions among the people. One of the triggering factors was Donald Trump's statement at the beginning of the pandemic using racist words such as "Kung-Flu" and "Chinese Virus", which resulted in a high level of public negative sentiment in various countries towards Asian society until now. If this

situation continues, it will increase the number of cases of racism against Asian descent in the countries and injure their human rights, thus creating setbacks in the application of democratic values both in the state and in society. Based on this, efforts are needed to minimize negative sentiment towards Asian descent, namely that the political elites in each country must avoid creating political discourses that lead to racism and respect for the civil rights of each race. Then government and grassroots actors need to work together in creating a state climate based on the sustainable implementation of substantial democracy in countries not only during the pandemic but also in the post-pandemic period.

Keywords: *Anti-Asia, Covid-19, Democracy, Racism.*

Introduction

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in early 2020 has caused various impacts in all aspects, especially in the social life of the community. China, which is the starting place for the spread of the virus, has received a negative stigma / stereotype in the eyes of many global communities. As a result, Chinese citizens often find labels that are discriminatory and even racist due to the pandemic outbreak. Of course, the existence of this treatment has further aggravated the situation that should have required togetherness in this separating situation.

This indicates that Covid-19 is not just a pandemic that only has an impact in the context of health, but the existence of social segregation among the community indicates that this phenomenon is a more complex event. Moreover, the phenomenon of discrimination above recently has not only labelled citizens of Chinese origin, but also people / Asian descent in general, especially those from East Asia (Gao & Liu, 2021). At the start of the outbreak of this pandemic throughout mainland China, there was also discriminatory treatment by Hong Kongers towards people originating from mainland (Xu et al.,

2021). This treatment is an impact of the xenophobic nature of Hong Kong society for various reasons, one of which is fear of the risk of transmission of the virus, and political reasons related to the behaviour of the Chinese Government towards Hong Kong in the past (Xu et al., 2021).

After the virus spread to America and Europe, the negative stigma received by the Asian community has increased. In March 2020, it was reported that 14% of Asian-Americans in the US experienced discriminatory behavior, violence, and racism (Gao & Liu, 2021). In addition, 31% of Asian-Americans are also targets of racist ridicule and as many as 39% of these communities experience alienation by other communities (Ruiz et al., 2020). Even according to the AAPI (Asian Americans-Pacific Islanders) organization, there were 4000 reports of incidents of hate speech from the start of the pandemic to March 2021, this number is an increase of 149% compared to the 2019 total (Jeung et al., 2021). These numbers indicate that the Covid-19 pandemic has caused (even exacerbated) the level of xenophobia of local people towards a certain ethnic / community.

Discriminatory phenomenon is not only centred in the US alone, but also many people in different countries have the xenophobic nature directed toward the Asian community there. In the UK, there has been an increase in victims of discriminatory treatment experienced by the Asian community by 13-16% compared to the period before the spread of the Covid-19 virus (Gray & Hansen, 2020). A similar increase in treatment has also occurred in Australia, with 377 reports of this discriminatory phenomenon recorded in the period from April to June 2020 (Asian-Australian Alliance, 2020). Canada itself is also a place where cases of hatred against the Asian community experience a high trend of cases, namely more than 600 cases reported since the pandemic (Lam, 2020). So it can be said that the problem of discrimination against both the Asian community and in general is not just a domestic problem, but a global problem that needs to be addressed together.

The phenomenon of Anti-Asian Racism during the Covid-19 pandemic is an interesting topic to raise, this phenomenon does not occur naturally, but there is interference from various parties in it. In addition, these discriminatory behaviors can have an impact on the decline in the quality of democracy in countries in the future, due to the many actions that violate human rights, either by a certain person or group. Based on this, this study aims to determine the process of forming the Anti-Asian Racism phenomenon during the Covid-19 pandemic period and its effect on the decline of democracy. So it is interesting to investigate a research question “How were the process of forming the Anti-Asian racism during the Covid-19 pandemic period and its impact on the democratic setback?”

Literature review

This study uses several previous studies as a reference for comparison, thereby strengthening the results obtained by the researcher. A study by Cary Wu explained that during the COVID-19 pandemic, hate crimes against Asian descendants had increased significantly. This phenomenon has resulted in an increase in mental disorders for all Americans, especially those in the Asian community who were victims of discrimination who had higher levels of mental disorders during the pandemic (Wu, Qian, & Wilkes, 2020). Tyler T. Reny and Matt A. Barreto supported the explanation that there was a link between the COVID-19 pandemic conditions which led to stigmatization, violence and discrimination against Asian descendants. For example, as happened in the United States, with the political rhetoric from Donald Trump who made a statement that the Covid-19 virus originated in China, causing the impact of social and racial divisions in society (Reny & Barreto, 2020). Jianhua Xu, added an explanation regarding the existence of stigma, discrimination, and even hate crimes against the Chinese-speaking community. There are discrimination case by non-Hubei Chinese citizens (such as Hong Kong and Taiwanese)

towards residents of Wuhan and Hubei that caused by fear of infection, political ideology, culture, and racism (Xu, et al., 2021).

Previous studies have explained how the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on society in many countries, which among other things gave birth to stigmatization and discrimination against Asian descendants, both from outside China such as the United States and within China itself. Previous research has not discussed the impact of anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19 pandemic on democratic values, as well as the continuity of anti-Asian racism in the post-pandemic period. This study thus becomes important to know these things.

Theoretical Framework

Political Racism

Political racism is a term that was born from “Political Elite” and “Racism”. There is no standard definition of political racism, but in understanding it we must first know the two terms. Based on this definition, racism or can be called a racist ideology is a perception that classifies races into an implicit racial hierarchy (Howard, 2007). The existence of racism will make a group experience oppression both morally and materially. The racial hierarchy of racism can also form a group relationship that influences public policy and political mobilization. This is in line with the argument that social domination is established and maintained throughout the social system (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). A clear example of this practice occurs in Caribbean society, where the white race is the ‘upper class’, in contrast to the black race which is considered to be ‘lower class’, as well as mixed races who belong to the ‘middle class’. The existence of this racial hierarchy is a classification with an unclear basis in determining the fate of groups and individuals, and can raise problems if used politically (Howard, 2007). Racism can cause various problems, where racial violence or racial discrimination is one example. Racial violence is the behavior of oppressing a person or group based on a racial hierarchy or a

justification based on race, both physically and verbally (Howard, 2007).

Racism can emerge quickly because of the existence of the political elite. By definition, political elites are politicians and bureaucrats who have a central role in society, such as in terms of policy making. In this case, the political elite can shape policies or actions against certain immigrants or ethnicities. In dealing with a situation, politicians are the people who should provide an explanation regarding the situation to the public. However, this can give rise to problems such as political racism if it is done by marginalizing an ethnicity or race (Lauren, 1988). Actions of political elites towards the public (speeches, news, press releases, etc.) are a form of political discourse that can influence social, mental, ideological knowledge, action, interaction and dialogue from the community. Thus, there is a possibility that political elites produce prejudice and racism in society (van Dijk, 1991). Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that political racism is a process of forming the phenomenon of racism with the influence of political discourse from the political elites. To clarify the explanation regarding the formation of racism by politicians, it can be seen in Figure 1.

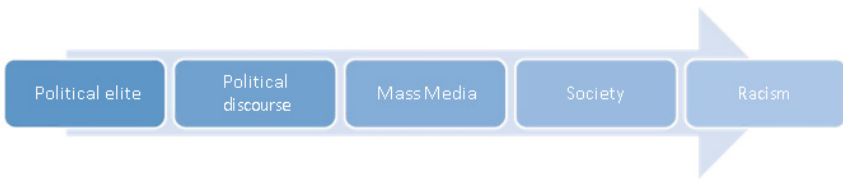


Figure 1. The process of forming racism by political elites (van Dijk, 1997)

Politicians can form racism when there is political discourse such as topics on race, ethnicity, immigrants, refugees and other minorities, and provide arguments or responses that they are a source of social problems and threats. This political discourse affects the media so that it spreads to society and leads to the formation of public opinion that leads to hatred (van Dijk, 1997). This research uses political racism in explaining the formation of anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19

pandemic, so that it can explain the various actors involved and explain the forms of racism that exist against Asian descendants during the pandemic.

Democracy

Democracy is a product of liberalism which is usually associated with a system of government that upholds full freedom and power in the hands of the people. A country is said to be democratic if there are 5 pillars consisting of: a rule of law, free elections, community control of government, the principle of the majority, and guarantees of people's basic rights such as rights (Suseno, 1997). Democracy is not limited to the system of government and the constitution, but democracy also encompasses values such as equality between people, tolerance and mutual respect. In addition, democracy also has values that form rejection of discriminatory attitudes (Suparno, 2004).

Democracy has a connection with human rights because both of them are an inseparable unity, as they both fight for the value of equality and civil rights. A democratic country must respect human rights, and if this is not done, then the democratic status of the country can be revoked (Revitch & Thernstorm, 2005). So that a country that does not pay attention to human rights both in the state and in society, can be considered as experiencing democratic decline. This is in line with the assessments of the democratic status of countries carried out by surveillance institutions. One of the surveillance institutions for democratic status is "the Economist", which assesses the democratic status of countries based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism, the functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2021).

This concept is related to the existence of racism against Asian descendants during the COVID-19 pandemic, which is a form of human rights violation. This is because racism is racial discrimination against the value of equality and civil rights in democracy and human

rights. Then, racism against Asian descent that occurred in various countries during this pandemic is a threat to the implementation of democratic values which if not handled seriously will experience setbacks.

Methodology

This type of research is descriptive qualitative. Qualitative means research conducted to understand symptoms, phenomena, events, and to be able to understand the essence of these phenomena, events and incidents (Raco, 2010). Meanwhile, descriptive means that the resulting data will be in the form of writing (depiction) about the phenomena and events under study. Then, descriptive research is able to provide in-depth descriptions of phenomena or events carried out by a particular individual, group or organization in a context that is studied comprehensively and holistically (Rahmat, 2009).

Result And Discussions

The emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic created various impacts such as the emergence of the Anti-Asian Racism phenomenon. However, this phenomenon does not occur naturally, but there is a formation process that involves several actors in it. Through studying the theoretical framework of Political Racism, the author can identify the process of the formation of Anti-Asian Racism during the Covid-19 pandemic, as shown in Figure 2.

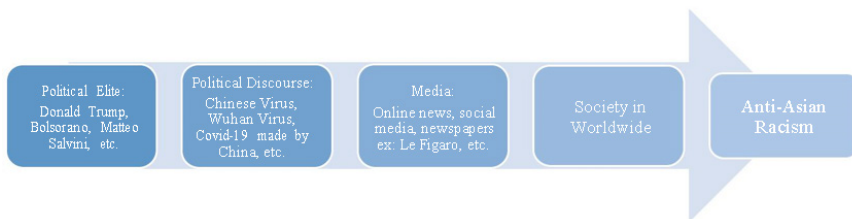


Figure 2. The process of forming Anti-Asian Racism during the Covid-19 pandemic

Looking at Figure 2, it can be seen that political elites have strong control and influence in shaping people's perceptions, especially in the midst of the swift flow of information through social media which is now part of the life of each individual. Moreover, politics cannot be separated from the narrative process which aims to make an idea / value / idea accepted or rejected by the public. The narrative process itself has become a political agent whose existence can be used to justify the behavior of the political elite itself, even the narrative also has a function as a tool to win public perceptions (Asril, 2013). So, both the narrative which has positive and negative connotations will have an impact on the formation of public opinion on something.

The stigmatization of the Covid-19 virus carried out by the political elite turned out to have an effect on public opinion, either directly or indirectly. The narrations carried out by political elites in various countries, one of which is Donald Trump, who called the virus "Chinese Virus", "Kung Flu", "Wuhan Virus" and various other negative mentions spread through the media, is a form of xenophobic and racist narrative (Benjamin, 2021). The speech has connotations as seemed to scapegoating a particular community and also indirectly indicates that the concept of white supremacy still exists.

Trump's 'dangerous' gesture not only affects the domestic situation, but also has an impact on damaging bilateral relations with China by accusing that the country is the cause of all this chaos (Davey, 2020). These political maneuvers are allegedly aimed at realizing Trump's political jargon "America First" by making political discourse that is discriminatory in nature and cornering certain groups. Moreover, the US mainstream media also functions to serve and promote these political agendas, such as the Wall Street Journal (WSJ), the New York Times, and the Washington Post (Jia & Lu, 2021). Of course, a combination of political elites who have a discourse and a political agenda can be channeled more effectively through media channels that serve as a 'funnel' to form public opinion which in this case can be used to form hateful opinions against a particular community.

In addition, the hate speech by Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro is also a form of Sinophobic sentiment which aims to create a public narrative to discriminate against China, especially from the country's perspective. He said that Covid-19 is caused whether by a laboratorium leak or by the Chinese that ate animals they shouldn't have (Porterfield, 2021). Moreover, his government cabinet also contains several political elites who support Bolsonaro's statement, such as Minister of Economy Paulo Guedes who stated that "China is the creator of Covid-19" and Minister of Education Abraham Weintraub who said that this pandemic originated from a leak from a virus laboratory in China (Ribeiro, 2021) (Folha de S. Paulo, 2020).

Stakeholders and media in various countries in Europe such as Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, and France also made statements blaming China as the source of the spread of Covid-19. The German political elite consisting of various parties gave statements openly blaming China for the Covid-19 pandemic, and criticizing China's handling of the pandemic crisis, as well as criticizing its international propaganda (European Think-tank Network on China, 2020). In Italy, Matteo Salvini as the Chair of the Opposition to the Italian Government, openly shared a video in 2015 which is considered to be a documentation of the origin of the Covid-19 virus. Matteo Salvini stated that: "If China finds out about the virus, then China can be prosecuted for crimes against humanity" (European Think-tank Network on China, 2020). In the UK, Prime Minister Boris Johnson said he would agree to a global agreement on transparency that right about the Covid-19 pandemic originating in China. He added that: "I think it's pretty clear that most of the evidence pointing to this disease (Covid-19) comes from Wuhan" (Global Times, 2021). Then, apart from the political elite, there is also the role of the mass media, one of which is the Le Figaro newspaper, which is one of the popular newspapers in France. Le Figaro once released a report that blamed China as the cause of the serious transmission of Covid-19 in European countries. In addition, the article also stated that the Wuhan P4 virology laboratory

had loose management so that it became the origin of the coronavirus (Han, 2020).

The influence caused by the political elites above has an impact on the formation of negative public opinion, this is because the political elites have strong power and influence. The political discourses launched are a strategy to create a public perception that China is a threat to the country's domestic situation, and this is supported by the media framing process (Merriënboer, 2020). Donald Trump is the first political elite to blame China for the Covid-19 pandemic which is then followed by political elites in other countries, thus creating social regression and a high chance of creating Anti-Asian sentiment among the people.

Impact on Asian Descent in Various Countries

Through the view of Political Racism, the narrative process carried out by the political elites above has made racism and discrimination a normal habit for the perpetrators. The target of hate speech is not only targeting the institutional (state) level, but also has an impact on the individual and community level. In addition, it also encourages the intensification of violent practices, and the occurrence of significant public anxiety. Psychologically, this makes Asian descendants fear discrimination, and feel pressured by their physical appearance which confirms their racial identity (Park, 2021). From a social point of view, the existence of this conflict will trigger various social friction for a long time, even though the conflict has subsided, the latent danger of conflict is still there.

As a case, hate speech carried out by political elites has an impact on the creation of a racist society and attacks based on xenophobia in various places (Benjamin, 2021). Degrading treatment includes prejudice and ridicule based on race, harassment of Asian racial people such as spitting, and acts of hatred which are justified by law to become the definition of hate crime experienced by the Asian community in various places. Many Asians in Australia themselves are the targets of

hate, even resulting in a decline in the business of Chinese restaurants established by people of Asian descent by 70% (Zatira & Prakoso, 2020). This also has an impact on the Asian community in the US who often experience violence, which can be seen from the 4000 reports to AAPI, and the worst is the shooting in Atlanta which killed 6 (six) people of Asian descent (Lynch & Volcovici, 2021).

Bolsonaro's anti-Asian rhetoric, which was also supported by the spread of the political agenda by supporters of the president, also influenced the life of the Asian community in Brazil, where they also did not escape the targets of hatred from the local community (Fleck, 2021). The UK is also the place where the Asian community experienced an increase in the rate of hate crimes by 16% in March 2020, compared to only 3-7% in February 2020 (Gray & Hansen, 2020). The virtual world is also experiencing a similar situation where there has been an increase in hate speech against the Asian community which is marked by the increase in the use of hashtags that say "Kung-Flu" "Chinese Virus" to "Ching-Chong" by 222,221,841 tweets and 16,808,191 posts on Twitter (Litam, 2020). Of course, this has an impact on psychological things such as stress, anxiety, and even creates latent conflicts among Asian communities who experience oppression (Gao & Liu, 2021).

Political discourse from political elites has also spawned many cases of Anti-Asian Racism, such as in various countries such as Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and others. Based on data from September 2020, Canada has more than 600 reports of incidents of racism against Asian descent, of which 70% of victims are women. Racist behavior that occurs includes 65% of verbal abuse such as racial insults, threats, and negative comments, and 30% covers attacks such as physical violence, spitting and coughing (Project 1907, 2020). In New Zealand, the Human Rights Commission reports that there is 54% racial discrimination against Chinese descendants (Haynes, 2021).

Anti-Asian Racism Impacts on Democratic Setback?

Racism against Asian descent during the COVID-19 pandemic can be linked to democracy. This is because these problems include human

rights violations, for example, such as violations of basic human rights which blame certain groups for being scapegoats for the existence of Covid-19 and limit their access to health and safety (WOLA, 2020). Based on this, Anti-Asian Racism includes opposing the value of equality and civil rights that exist in democracy or it can be called the opposite of the application of equality, equity and egalitarian values which are often slogans in Western countries. A government system controlled by a racist political elite indicates the imperfection of a democratic system that should protect the people regardless of whether it is a majority or a minority. Things like that can be learned that a system based on the practice of racism is a practice applied in the Middle Ages, where it is a sign of the decline in democratic practice in many countries. The decline in democracy in various countries during the Covid 19 pandemic can be seen from The Economist's report in 2021. This report explains that there are countries that have experienced a reduction in their democracy score. The United States and Canada were rated poorly in the indicators of "Citizen control", "Personal freedom", and "Civil liberties" during the Covid-19 pandemic. Then, in the United States there are cases of major racism such as the murder of George Floyd, which further exacerbate the implementation of democratic values. This caused the United States' democracy score to decrease from 7.96 in the previous year to 7.92 in 2020, so that the United States was ranked 25th in democracy, out of 167 countries (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2021).

Other countries that have similarities such as the United States are France, United Kingdom, and Brazil. In 2020, France will experience a change in its democratic status from "full democracy" to "flawed democracy", which means that the country has many issues of democracy, especially in the category of "Civil liberties" which has declined sharply. France's democracy score has decreased from 8.12 in 2019 to 7.99 in 2020. Furthermore, in the United Kingdom, although it has full democracy status, there has been a decline in the score for democracy in the "Civil liberties" sector to 8.82 from 9.12 in 2019. The

democratic decline in the civil liberties category is also experienced by Brazil which in 2019 was 8.24 and in 2021 it became 7.94, and Brazil's status still occupies a "flawed democracy" (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019; The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2021).

Based on the data on the decline in democracy from various countries above, it can be seen that it has a connection with the Anti-Asian Racism issue that occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic. This can be seen in Figure 3.



Figure 3. The linkage of anti-Asian racism on democratic setback

Seeing Figure 3, the case of anti-Asian Racism that often occurs in countries that have negative political discourse by blaming the Chinese government and leading to racism can reduce the score of democracy in that country. Because, the high number of Anti-Asian Racism cases in these countries will further injure many civil rights and civil liberties, and ultimately lead to a decline in the country's democracy score.

Anti-Asian Racism in the Post Covid-19 Period?

Stigmatization and racism against Asian descent will hardly disappear quickly. It is because of various things like attach a negative stigma to the Asian community as well as the conditions Covid-19 pandemic that never ends. The initial labelling that formed by the elites impacting on the emergence of anti-Asian racism in various countries was difficult to get rid of in the minds of the people. Even after China has intensely rejected the label, cases of racism against Asian descent still occur. Then, this was exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic that has been going on for a long time and there is no definite information when it will end, so that people continue to get mental pressure, and commit racism against Asian descendants.

Against anti-Asian Racism, there are efforts from the political elite, for example the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres in May 2020 urged governments around the world to eradicate racism that occurred during the pandemic. He said “act now to strengthen our peoples’ immunity to the hate virus.” (Haynes, 2021). US President Joe Biden has also tried to fight anti-Asian Racism. He said that the federal government contributed to shaping stigmatization and xenophobia through political elites who referred to Covid-19 to its geographic location, so that words such as “Chinese Virus”, “Wuhan Virus”, “Kung Flu” were prohibited (Zaru, 2021). However, both the efforts of Antonio Guterres and Joe Biden until now have not resulted in significant changes in anti-Asian Racism which has continued to create discrimination cases of Asian descent in various countries (Haynes, 2021). This is evidence of the strong stigmatization that has been embedded in people’s minds, and has the potential to continue to exist in the future.

Anti-Asian Racism will continue to influence the score of democracy in various countries, especially countries that have many cases of racism. However, this is not only a threat to the country alone, but a threat to democracy globally if it is unable to deal with the stigmatization and racism of Asian descent. The United States under the leadership of Joe Biden may bring an increase in the score of democracy, but anti-Asian Racism in the United States will be hard to eliminate and remain, considering that the United States is a country that before the Covid-19 pandemic had many cases of racism. Brazil and United Kingdom in The Economist report, have experienced a significant decline in their scores in the category of civil liberties, so there is the potential for the emergence of more anti-Asian racism cases in the future if not handled properly. France has changed its status to “flawed democracy”, so that the French government in the future must be able to better face the problems of civil liberties, including the case of anti-Asian racism.

Conclusion

The actions of the political elite by carrying political discourse that has racist connotations and aims to discriminate certain communities, especially Asian communities, which are considered to be the cause of this pandemic, have triggered a harmful effect on the community. The media, which is a supporting tool for the negative narrative made by these elites, has a significant role in shaping the stigmatization of the Asian community which has led to the occurrence of various hate crimes in various countries. The government, which should have been at the forefront in defending the rights of oppressed communities, turned out to be actors who played a role in this social upheaval. The negative political discourse that has an impact on policy alignments with the majority has further strengthened evidence that there is still a supremacist principle in an era where people should live equally. This is what drives the decline of democratic practices due to the failure to control the life of the state and the segregation of society based on the racial system.

Facing the problem of anti-Asian racism and its impact on the decline of democracy, political elites must avoid political discourse that can lead to anti-Asian racism. It is hoped that the mass media will be wise in filtering information topics so as not to lead to anti-Asian racism. The grassroots role consisting of the community and NGOs, supported by various other relevant actors, is an effort to challenge the existing system for a better implementation of democracy. The approach taken by grassroots actors must be horizontal and vertical in order to create mutual understanding both among the community and the government. This is necessary so that changes can occur both in terms of policies and norms that exist in society by building an understanding that racism is an action that brings a country backward in its democratic practices. So that the government and grassroots actors need to work together in creating a state climate based on the sustainable implementation of substantial democracy.

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INDONESIA'S DIPLOMACY STRATEGY ON WAYANG KULIT CLAIMS BY MALAYSIA

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Abstract

Wayang kulit is a traditional performing art that developed in Java which has its own uniqueness. The wayang kulit culture has been recognized by UNESCO as a Masterpiece Of Oral and Intangible heritage OF Humanity. The goal is that Indonesian culture is often recognized or claimed by other countries, one of which is Malaysia. Of course this makes Indonesia have to protect its culture, especially Wayang Kulit. Protecting this culture is very important because it is not only wayang kulit that has been claimed by the Malaysian state. However, there are several Indonesian cultures that are underwritten by the Malaysian State, including: Reog Ponorogo, Pendet dance, Rasa Sayange song and batik. The method used to analyze this problem uses descriptive and qualitative analysis, which is carried out by examining and explaining theoretical problems related to the wayang kulit culture, protection and claiming of

Indonesian culture. The Conclusion of this research is that the State of Indonesia makes a way to respond to this problem in which Indonesia must take a firm stand and act. This makes the Indonesian government think of the best way to overcome this problem, namely by considering foreign policy strategies, so that the best way according to the Indonesian government is diplomacy. In order for this problem to be resolved, it is necessary to increase a sense of nationalism to bridge this problem of claiming Indonesian culture.

Keywords : *wayang kulit, protection, claiming*

Introduction

Indonesia has an extensive territory and therefore is rich in diversity in tribes, nations, and cultures. Indonesia has 1340 tribes and 718 languages scattered throughout the region. Indonesia also has tribal dances, local songs, traditional music, customs clothes, and so on that each region has its own signature. The diversity of these cultures is not in spite of our heroes' efforts during the colonization. Traditional culture is a typical culture. Traditional cultures can be formed by the customs and histories of ancestors that have resulted in generations passed on to children and grandchildren. Traditional culture can become the national identity of Indonesia. The hallmark of traditional culture is a unique feature for the Indonesian nation. Indonesia's traditional culture has a unique feature that can attract other countries. In modern times people's interest in traditional cultures has declined, so traditional cultures have to be preserved and protected.

With the globalization of traditional cultures known around the world, it is a shame that many other countries would want to do so without asking the permission of its traditional cultural owners. Besides globalization, free trade has also become a way to introduce traditional culture, but it is often misused by some as the traditional batik of Java that is claimed and as if it were the trademark of its country. Reog ponorogo's traditional dance, pendet dance, the puppet claimed

by Malaysia. Malaysia and Indonesia had good relations because Malaysia had been stating that both countries were allied states. That is evident because Indonesia and Malaysia have in common historical backgrounds and have been colonized in some way. The Malaysian conflict began with the joining of Sabah and Sarawak into the Malay region. The valid effect is that it engenders resentment for governments and communities. Since then Indonesia and Malaysia have never been peaceful and have consensual in social, economic, and cultural areas. Yet there is still a conflict within it, a conflict among which is the cultural claim. The underlying factor in a conflict of political interests is the country's sense of community and social background. The cultural claim in Indonesia occurs because other countries feel that the inherited culture in Indonesia has something in common with its people. Proven by the number of cultures claimed by other countries. The claim is based on the lack of interest in traditional culture, especially in such cultures as tribal dancing. The existence of cultural claims is raising concerns for the Indonesian state. If governments do not act decisively, it will be easy for others to claim cultural claim not only of Malaysia but also of other countries. There was finally a conflict that created a rift between countries.

The leather trade was a typical Indonesian art exchange that came from Java. Marionettes are dramatic performances of flimsy leather dolls originating with native animal skins. Puppet show coupled with voice art, literary art, and sculpture. In ancient times marchers were made into volleys or entertainments. The pedagogical peculiarities of the leather drew Malaysia attention, leading to its claim. Malaysia had found the custom of marionettes to be compatible with Malaysia culture. It is a place for foreign tourist Tours in transit to Bali, where tourists feel at home in the country of Malaysia try to give traditional culture. But traditional culture in Malaysia is less abundant in Indonesia, so Malaysia attempts to claim interest from foreign tourists.

In the background of the problem, the study will consider the claim of marionette culture by Malaysia and Indonesia's efforts to

tackle the problem. The goal is to understand Indonesia's efforts to solve the problem and be expected that other countries do not claim another country's culture to be its traditional heritage (Marhas, 2017).

Literature review

This research is not independent of previous research. Previous research was used to support both the theories and the topics discussed. In an effort to analyze the claim of marionette culture by Malaysia researchers are using earlier research done by:

1. **E Mulyani (2016) in his thesis entitled influence on Indonesia's cultural claims by Malaysia on Indonesia national cultural policy.**

The thesis is an author analyzing Indonesian policy in dealing with Indonesian cultural claims by Malaysia in 2010-2015. It starts with a national culture that comes from an Indonesian nation that has a high value in outside societies and cultures that have been absorbed and dispersed by the indigenous peoples. Many cultural claims have led Indonesia to take a stand to save Indonesian culture by inventing all traditional cultures. It is necessary to avoid any cultural claims. He said the government would continue to maintain the country's economic stability in the second quarter of 2008. Malaysia was doing its claim by promoting Indonesian culture. Much criticism was reaped because the culture came from Indonesia and Malaysia made it seem as if it belonged to them. Many Indonesian citizens demonstrate in front of the building of KBRI Malaysia in Jakarta and many citizens who comment on Japanese media with spicy comments. The Indonesian attitude created a strain on the relationship between Malaysia and Indonesia. These conflicts also found no solution. In the year 2008 Malaysia reclaimed the Indonesian culture of pent dancing. This infuriated government authorities and Indonesia for the Malaysia actions. This claim is due to the Indonesian government's lack of respect for traditional culture. The Indonesian government's strategy is to register Indonesia's cultural heritage to UNESCO and to legislate regulations. Moreover, the reason Indonesian culture is often claimed by other countries is because

indonesia do not preserve existing cultures and love foreign products more (Mulyani, 2016).

2. Muhammad ragil arighi shunas (2018) Indonesia's government policy in preserving national culture (a study of Indonesian cultural claims by malaysia)

In this thesis the writer assesses that the action of malaysia with a cultural claim for political gain. The interest was done to look better than the rest of the country. The historical background is also a reason for cultural claims. Indonesia and malaysia had previously had good relations because malaysia considered Indonesia to be a party to the country. But this relationship has a conflict of one's culture. So the Indonesian and malaysia relationship which were once brothers became hostile and consensual. Malaysia became a highly developed country and therefore the state of malaysia had to establish identity. But the culture of malaysia was not so much that there was a cultural claim. Another reason for the cultural claim made by malaysia is that malaysia considers Indonesian culture to be developing in the malaysia area. It reaped much of the disapproval from the government and the people of Indonesia. Not only is it cultural, borders are also claimed by malaysia. The cultural conflict still has not found a solution plus the conflict of territorial struggle. There are other conflicts. The conflict between malaysia and Indonesia was a long one and still no solution. According to the government's policy writer to preserve the culture of Indonesia at the time of four periods, the old order's policies were naturalized and protection of foreign cultures especially those brought with it during the Dutch colonial era. The new order development policy and the centralization of Indonesian culture. Third during the time of the reformation, by authorizing local governments to manage local cultures. Fourth during the post-reform period, cultural policy was made more guarded by many cultural claims (Shunas, 2018).

3. Yuli tri wahyuni (2016) Indonesia's efforts to promote angklung as Indonesia's cultural heritage through the house of angklung in the United States (2010-2015)

Indonesia's efforts to promote angklung culture are by collaborating with the house of angklung in 2010-2015. House of angklung is an organization founded by Indonesians who live in the United States. The Indonesian government is working with the house of angklung to be introduced to the public in the United States. This action is also called cultural diplomacy, namely introducing the culture of the country to other countries. To support this organization, the Indonesian government facilitates the house of angklung by providing a training ground at the Indonesian Embassy. In addition, the Indonesian Embassy provides loans in the form of angklung if needed and the Indonesian Embassy helps promote events conducted by this organization. In addition, the Indonesian Embassy also provides financial assistance for the house of angklung so that it can continue to promote Indonesian culture abroad. One of the events carried out to introduce angklung culture is to introduce it to schools and teach angklung to students in the United States. Many schools incorporate a slang culture as their annual event. The house of angklung and the Indonesian government often entered international and record breaking. It can be seen that fliering does not require special skill that anyone can play with from children, youth, adults, even parents. With the Introduction of culture of angklung it is expected to promote harmony and maintain world peace. The philosophical significance of angklung can make it UNESCO and establish it as a cultural heritage. The house of angklung and the Indonesian government often held events and competed in until finally they managed to produce a single concert in the United States. The show was so excited that it ran out of tickets. From this it can be seen that angklung has a binding power to the people of the United States and is well-liked by the American people (Wahyuni, 2016).

Theoretical Framework

1. Multi Track Diplomacy

According to Joseph Montville, multi-track diplomacy is a combination of diplomacy between first track diplomacy (government

or country with other countries) and second track diplomacy (diplomacy between non-governmental organizations). John W McDonnal said that multitrack-diplomacy is an effort to resolve conflicts between countries that involves four aspects in a country, namely: the government, the private sector (business actors), the people, and the media.

Multi-track diplomacy has made diplomacy not only the duty of professional diplomats, but an effort to embrace and involve people from various countries in a harmonious relationship to realize peace between nations. In addition, with globalization, it is very easy to establish relationships between countries by utilizing sophisticated communication or transportation technology. Multitrack-diplomacy has a 9-point framework used to understand the system of activities to create world peace, namely:

1. Official channels, manifested through diplomacy in formal processes, policy formulation and peace through government officials and institutions
2. Informal pathways, emphasizing non-governmental professional career holders to carry out their duties and functions. This party seeks to analyze, prevent, resolve and accommodate international conflicts.
3. Business, carry out actual and potential roles in peace building through economic opportunities, international friendship and understanding, informal communication channels and supporting other peace-building activities.
4. Citizens, contribute to and are involved in development and peace activities through citizen diplomacy, exchange programs, volunteers, NGOs and certain interest groups.
5. Research, covering three work studies, among others: research related to university programs, training programs to provide expertise, formal education from kindergarten to doctoral level.
6. Activism, covers peace and environmental activism on several matters such as disarmament, human rights, social and economic

justice and advocacy of special interest groups regarding government policies.

7. Religion, studying a belief and peace-oriented activities carried out by the spiritual and religious community.
8. Funding, that is, they are both foundations and individual philanthropists who provide financial support for many peace activities.
9. Communication and media, a place for everyone's voice how public opinion is formed and expressed through print media, radio, film, electronic systems and the arts.
10. Multi-track diplomacy is not only viewed on each field individually, it is seen from the relationship between them. For this reason, multi-track diplomacy must be seen as a comprehensive system.

2. Soft Power Diplomacy

Joseph Nye stated that soft power is the ability of a country to achieve its desires through attractions, culture, values, foreign policy and the like without any coercive element. Soft power comes from assets that are used to generate attractiveness for other countries. There are three sources of soft power in a country, namely culture, political values, and foreign policy. Joseph Nye said that culture is one of the elements of soft power that provides its own attractiveness to other nations.

If the culture of a nation contains universal values and has an appeal to other parties, then this can increase the polarity of a country because of the attractiveness that is formed from a culture.

3. Cultural Acculturation

Acculturation is the mixing of influences by one culture with another that can occur if the two cultures have a long relationship. According to Melville J. Herskovits, cultural acculturation is the attitude, value, and behavior that characterizes a society or group in it.

According to the Social Research Council (1954), acculturation is a cultural change that begins with the joining of two or more independent cultures. Acculturative change is a direct consequence of cultural change. Meanwhile, according to the Organization of Migration (2004) it is an adaptation of a person, group, or class of a culture to foreign cultural elements (ideas, words, norms, values, behavior). From several definitions we can identify several important elements in acculturation such as:

1. Requires continuous intercultural interaction
2. Resulting in changes in cultural or psychological phenomena between people who interact, this can occur continuously in the next generation.
3. Can distinguish between the process and the stage in cultural acculturation, the presence of dynamic activities produces a relatively stable long-term process. The end result is changes in existing phenomena as well as new phenomena resulting from the process of cultural interaction.

Factors Affecting Acculturation

According to Radfield (1936) there are 3 issues identified as factors that influence acculturation:

a. Contact / interaction

The important thing in acculturation is where contact is a “meeting” between two or more cultural groups or individuals who together interact continuously and directly. Acculturation is said to occur when individuals or groups engage in “interaction” at the same place and time, not through second person experiences (other people’s experiences) or indirect contact (through media channels).

b. Mutual influence

The two acculturated cultures influence each other and make the other culture accepted by the cultural community.

c. Change

In studying acculturation we can see the process of interaction between cultures, and how culture can change and what is rewarded during this cultural acculturation occurs.

The culture will be brought to an increase at a later stage, namely cultural selection, where the new culture can replace the old culture without eliminating the old culture or replacing the old culture as a whole.

4. Intangible List Representatives

Intangible cultural heritage according to UNESCO definition includes all practices, representations of expression, knowledge, tools, objects (natural), artifacts and cultural spaces associated with them, which are recognized by communities, groups and individuals as part of their cultural heritage.

These tangible list representatives are passed down from generation to generation and are continuously, reinvented by communities and groups to give cultural heritage a sense of identity and sustainability, as well as promote respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. UNESCO classifies intangible cultural heritage into several categories:

1. Oral and expression traditions, including behavior as a vehicle for intangible cultural heritage
2. Performing arts
3. Social Practices, Rituals, Festivals
4. Knowledge and practice about nature and the universe
5. Traditional skills (Riswanda, 2018).

Methodology

a. Research methods

Descriptive research is research that tries to describe a symptom, event, event that is happening at the present time. (Sujana and Ibrahim, 1989: 65) Descriptive research focuses on solving actual problems as they are when research is carried out become the center of attention,

then describe or describe it as it is, so that the use of the findings of this study is valid at the same time which is not necessarily relevant if used for the yad time. Because it does not always require a hypothesis and the event already exists and the researcher just needs to describe it. The variable under study can be single, or more than one variable, it can even describe the relationship of several variables (Soendari, n.d.).

b. Data Collection Techniques and Research Instruments

Data collection techniques are ideas created by researchers in conducting research that comes from observations, interviews, documentation, etc. with the aim of collecting valid data and information from various sources, so that the research carried out is reliable and unquestionable. Basically, data collection is carried out by researchers to obtain the desired information, before conducting research. Data is a sample of the object under study, but still needs processing, data can be in the form of sounds, images/photos, symbols, letters or numbers. The data can be divided into 2; (1) primary data, data collection carried out by individuals directly from the object under study, (2) secondary data, data collection that is not done directly. The author uses data collection techniques based on library studies, using secondary data types to obtain sources - a valid data source, through several references such as news, articles, journals, and several other data sourced from the website. In the data collection technique, it begins with finding and collecting as much data as possible, the data obtained is then arranged and grouped into several discussion chapters and adjusted according to the systematic writing.

The research instrument needs to be done as a support in data collection techniques, the instrument is used as a tool to measure the phenomenon being studied so that it is appropriate and does not come out of the theme under study, therefore research instruments are important in obtaining data in the field.

c. Analytical Methods

Analytical Descriptive Research Methods (Analytical)

The analytical descriptive research method according to Sugiyono (2018, p. 3) is a method for obtaining in-depth data, data that contains meaning and can significantly affect the substance of the research. This means that this method directly presents the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the participants or the object and subject of the study. This method also seeks to analyze research subjects in order to obtain in-depth data (Gamal, 2021).

Result And Discussion

The Efforts to preserve the cultural and ethnic diversity that Indonesia has and the impact of the progress of globalization

Indonesia has a very large number of cultures and tribes, with 1340 ethnic groups and 718 languages scattered throughout the region. Maintaining this is not easy, it takes efforts from heroes from ancient times to our generation who can defend to preserve the culture and tribes that we have had for a long time. Indonesian culture has its own characteristics, especially in remote areas, traditional culture is very thick with the customs and mores of the region, which makes each region have its own magical impression. In the current era of globalization, culture in Indonesia has begun to change due to the inclusion of elements of globalization into Indonesian culture itself. The impact of other currents of globalization is the rapid progress in the field of technology, we know that the advancement of these sophisticated technologies can damage the mental and moral of the nation's children if it is not balanced with the socialization of good and correct use. For example, in West Nusa Tenggara (NTT), they used to work together to work together to work on agriculture together. However, now with machine technology. Everything from the planting process to rice milling is done by machines. This has led to a decrease in mutual cooperation between communities, resulting in reduced direct interaction. However, as a generation that must follow this increasingly strong globalization era, we must remain strong and be able to maintain the culture and diversity of the tribes that this beloved Indonesia has,

so that our children and grandchildren can still feel the warmth and strong mutual cooperation that has been attached of Indonesian society since time immemorial.

Claims of distinctive Indonesian culture by Malaysia

The cultural characteristics of a country can have a positive or negative impact on that country. Outsiders can argue about what they see about our culture and ethnic diversity. However, if a country claims the characteristics of another country it can be said to be imprecise and must be followed up in order to get back on the right track. For example, the Malaysian state has claimed the characteristics of Indonesian culture, such as Javanese Batik, Reog Ponorogo dance, Pendet dance and Wayang Kulit. Perhaps, this claim can occur because Indonesia is so close geographically and also has the same background. Since the time Malaysia continues to claim Indonesian culture, this has sparked a consensus between Indonesian and Malaysian people, especially in social media, which until now has continued to dispute when talking about Indonesian culture. The Indonesian government must be firm if at any time Malaysia or other countries wish to claim the distinctive features of Indonesian culture. Because, we know the struggle to create and maintain a culture so that it can survive until now, it is not an easy thing. So, hopefully we as Indonesians can introduce a culture and ethnicity as ours and also hopefully the government can introduce our culture and ethnicity to a better future (Haluan.com, 2020).

Disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia regarding the many claims of distinctive Indonesian culture

In relations between nations, there must be ups and downs and many polemics that can occur which will become disputes between one country to another. Disputes or conflicts can occur because of territorial disputes, differences in ideology, economic or political interests as well as culture. For example, Indonesia and Malaysia often have polemics about Indonesian cultural leaders who are often recognized by Malaysia, such as works of art, songs and dance. We

ourselves know that cultural heritage is a form of national identity and character from a country itself that has been inherent for a long time (Unpas, n.d.).

With the claim of culture by other countries, we as a society cannot remain silent and the government must act decisively until our cultural rights return to their place of origin. With things that happen like this, the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia becomes heated and increases feelings of anti-Malaysia in Indonesia and vice versa.

To be able to resolve the problems of these two countries, cooperation between the two countries is needed so that there is no dispute over this cultural heritage again. It is clear that Malaysia and Indonesia need to continue to make deeper connections in order to know the ins and outs of this culture. The governments of these two countries must also improve relations in the fields of economy, sosbud, politics, technology, and others in order to improve relations between communities (Omar et al., 2013).

A Central Javanese Wayang Kulit performance that was claimed by Malaysia

The performance of a Central Javanese traditional leather puppet drama which we call Wayang Kulit was claimed by Malaysia. However, Malaysia's claim was denied by the UN UNESCO since 27 November 2003 which they were. recognize that wayang kulit is an original Indonesian cultural heritage. In 2017, the Indonesian people were angered by Malaysia during a national costume performance at the Miss Asia International 2017 event held in Shanghai, China. The costumes used by the Malaysian model resembled the form of Wayang Kulit and they gave the theme "The Puppet Show" and the costume won the Best National Costume in the event. A number of Indonesians regretted the form of wayang used in these costumes because it was exactly the shape of the Indonesian puppet. Whereas Wayang Kulit itself has been designated by UNESCO as a world heritage owned by Indonesia since 2003 ago.

Conclusions

In living as a nation and state, we need something called respect for the rights of others, from an economic perspective, socio-cultural and political in order to avoid disputes. In every country, there must be its own characteristics inherent in the country. We as other nations should appreciate and provide positive feedback on that culture. In the case above, “The claim of Wayang Kulit culture by Malaysia” is an example that can prove that people in the era of globalization actually nowadays forget and are indifferent to Indonesian culture. Lack of appreciation to be able to preserve Indonesian culture and consider local culture to be ancient that belonged to the older generation only.

Furthermore, the lack of participation from the government in preserving Indonesian culture and the lack of initiative from the government to register or patent the Indonesian culture so that it can be claimed by other countries.

The lack of socialization of our culture to the media, even though we know the role of the media is very large and so effective in this era. What can be expected so that everyone will know if it's our culture. Hopefully this claim of Indonesian culture by Malaysia will be a slap in the neck for us to be able to introduce to the world how rich Indonesian tribes and cultures are and hopefully we can maintain and protect the culture and tribes that we have.

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WINNING THE DERADICALIZATION NARRATIVE OVER GLOBAL TERRORISM

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Abstract

Terrorism became a psycho-social phenomenon that echoed the most at the beginning of this postmodern era. A phenomenon that must be combated through comprehensive political communication. The wrong interpretation of the Qur'an is partially the cause of this radicalism. Imam Ibn 'Arabi explained that a comprehensive interpretation of the Qur'an must go through 7 levels. So not just anyone can become a mufassir or an expert in interpreting the Qur'an. That is the understanding of the Qur'an in classical times - not like today which is so wild and partial. Understanding mu'tazilah or interpretation based on logic, should not be reckless like now. Then there were factions within the Muslim, some were radical and some were moderate. Radical ideas spread very quickly across national borders and across ages, due to ideal, the third information revolution, easy distribution of weapons, and the borderless nature of the state. So terrorism becomes a global disease that is difficult to cure. The moderate faction has difficulty preventing the infiltration of radical ideas in society with various class levels, because these ideas are so diasporative. The ideas that are actually wrong.

Schools or madrasah become the backbone of the prevention of radical ideas, which will only have an impact for 10 years. Fighting radicalism through academic channels must be pursued. It is appropriate to inspire anyone to stop contributing to terrorism and then defend global peace. However, terrorism is a great threat to world peace, and deradicalization is a noble endeavor that must be continuously pursued.

Keywords: *Deradicalization, Terrorism, Maqashid as Shariah, Peace Building, Global Prosperity*

Introduction

Terrorism is a product of civilization that is detrimental to humanity. The tradition of terrorism is very close to the misinterpretation of jihad by Muslims. In the Qur'an there is no Arabic word for war, namely *al 'unf*, there is the word *jihad* - then the main *jihad* is fighting lust. This fragmented interpretation is dangerous for global peace. Fortunately, the academic realm was not attacked by the spread of radicalism. Even through school, radical understanding can be avoided. There are so many scholars who write research on the importance of building a dimension of peace and stemming radicalism through inclusive education – be it in Islamic boarding schools or conventional schools. So the deradicalization narrative will win the dialectic against terrorism, one of which is through academic channels. Likewise, mosques will then be interpreted as a determinant for sowing moderate understandings against radicalism. That radical understanding which was later not accepted by the community became the justification for moderate parties to fight this radicalism.

Theoretical Framework: *Maqashid as Shariah*

The Qur'an as a sacred and spiritual text which is the main reference for Muslims in acting and interacting does not teach radicalism. It must be understood that the war verses in the Qur'an correspond to the conditions of war in the past because the conditions of the Muslims

were threatened. Meanwhile, in the postmodern era like now, war is a phenomenon that is avoided.

The word *al-'unf* as a translation of violence is not found in the Qur'an. Then there are the words *qatl*, *jihad*, *harb*, *qisas*, *darb*, *'iqab*, and *zulm* which do not directly mean violence.

Contemporary interpretation of the Qur'an is needed in today's conditions – a different condition when Muslims are under threat as in the past. As stated by Ulya Fikriyati, as follows:

“When the interpretation is faced with different conditions, it should be updated and “adjusted”. A commentary cannot be said to be a “good interpretation” unless it fulfills three main conditions: first, it can distinguish between the *jawhari* and *idtirari* parts of the Qur'an. The *idtirari* part is important, but it is temporal, and the *jawhari* part is more important because it is an eternal essence. Thus, the interest of an exegete is to withdraw the *jawhari* part of the Qur'an and make “new” offers regarding the *idtirari* part of the Qur'an itself. Not just stuck with the second part and forgetting the first. Second, the method used in this interpretation should be adapted to the demands of the times. Confining interpretive activities to classical methods and rejecting all contemporary methods will not be useful for producing *qira'ah mutijah* on the Qur'an. Third, “assisting” modern and contemporary disciplines is a necessity in giving birth to reforms in interpretation. Interpretation should not be a “closed” science which has sufficient source only in the narrations. On the other hand, he must be willing to open himself up and provide the widest possible opportunity for anyone to swim in the deep ocean of *al Qur'an* from the views of various sciences (Fikriyati, 2015)”.

Methodology

This paper is built on the positivist paradigm of the writings of 5 journals on deradicalization and maqasid as shariah, in the publication period between 2015-2021. The author's focus is also on the concept of deradicalization and maqasid as shariah as an analytical tool to invalidate the term of radicalism. Then the research method uses an interpretive and holistic scheme – where research Conclusions will be found from an understanding of the entire content of the writing.

Result And Discussion

Terrorism is Not in Line with *Maqasid as Shariah*

Radicalism for contemporary Muslims is actually a mistake. It should takes clear understanding over 7 levels of understanding of *Qur'an*, about *Maqasid as Shariah* to completely know *Qur'an* as explained by Imam Ibn 'Arabi. A condition before a Muslim reaches the predicate of “mufasssir”. The view of *Maqasid as Shariah* is further in the *Maqasid al Qur'an* itself: *Hifz al Din wa Tatwir Wasailih*, *Hifz al 'Aql wa Tatwiruh*, *Hifz al Nafs wa Tatwir Wasail Istikmalih*, *Hifz al 'Ird wa Tatwir Wasail li al Husul 'alayh*, *Hifz al Mal wa Tanmiyatuh*, *Hifz al Huquq al Insaniyah wa ma Yandarij Tahtaha*, and *Hifz al 'Alam wa Tatwir' Imaratiha* (Fikriyati, 2015) - *Huquq al Insaniyah wa ma Yandarij Tahtaha*, and *Hifz al 'Alam wa Tatwir' Imaratiha* - state that radicalism is not in accordance with the complete interpretation of the *Qur'an*.

The first is *Hifz al Din wa Tatwir Wasaalih*. This means maintaining the honor of religion and taking measures so that religion develops and spreads. At this point, it is clear that acts of radicalism have harmed the honor of Islam as a noble religion. Radicalism is also not a good way of preaching because it involves enmity, not peace. From the understanding of the first interpretation, it is clear that radicalism is not in accordance with the *Qur'an*.

Second, *Hifz al 'Aql wa Tatwiruh*. It means keeping the mind in order to develop on the sides of humanity. At this point it is also explained that radicalism is against humanity. So it is right that we are hostile to radicalism, not only Muslims but all of humanity.

Third, *Hifz al Nafs wa Tatwir Wasail Istikmalih*. It means protecting and respecting every living soul. Radicalism clearly does not respect humanity, so it is clearly not in accordance with the understanding of the *Qur'an*.

Fourth, *Hifz al 'Ird wa Tatwir Wasail li al Husul' alayh*. This means maintaining the specific honor of the surviving Muslims. Playing with radicalism clearly endangers the honor and safety of the ummah. So at this point, radicalism should be avoided.

Fifth, *Hifz al Mal wa Tanmiyatuh*. It means protecting the economy of the people. In the case of radicalism, especially terrorism, once it happens it is often followed by the departure of investors from the economy of Muslim countries. This point also explains that radicalism should not be followed and must be resisted.

Sixth, *Hifz al Huquq al Insaniyah wa ma Yandarij Tahtaha*. This means protecting Human Rights. Once again, radicalism injures human rights for the citizens of the world. In fact, *al Qur'an ul Karim* was revealed to be the most important basis for humanity. It is sad today, those who do not understand Islam properly refer to the *Qur'an* as a justification for acts of terror.

Finally, *Hifz al 'Alam wa Tatwir' Imaratiha*. It means protecting the earth. Radicalism that terrorizes the citizens of the earth is totally unacceptable. Moreover, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), which uses the excuse of the *Qur'an* to wage war against the legitimate government, destroying houses, public facilities and nature. The *Qur'an* and *shariah* never allow this.

ISIS Phenomenon Does Not Comply With Shariah

ISIS has always argued that *jihad* is necessary in Iraq and Syria because the Muslim *ummah* is being persecuted - by calling for *jihad*

on *Dar ul Islam* or the occupied Islamic territories. It also mentions the existence of *Dar ul Kufr*, which is said to be inhabited by Muslims outside the Arabian Peninsula. This then led ISIS to suggest that Muslims living in *Dar ul Kufr* migrate to fight for the liberation of *Dar ul Islam* in Iraq and Syria. But this is never in Islamic spiritual texts so it is not compatible with *shariah* as well. Especially when we see that ISIS often persecutes citizens accused of being infidels, it is clear that they are overreaching. Neither Imam Hanafi, Imam Maliki, Imam Shafi'i, and Imam Hambali never mention the *fatwa* of *hijra* for *jihad*. So that the ISIS struggle actually does not have a clear *shariah* basis (Shah, n.d.).

Deradicalization Through Islamic Boarding Schools and Conventional Education

Islamic boarding schools is a place for the growth of Islamic radicalism. Through access and connectivity of radical activists, Islamic boarding school becomes a dangerous place for the spread of radicalism. However, the efforts of the government to collaborate with other determinants in the last 10 years have resulted in fewer Islamic boarding school, *kiai*, *santri*, and their sympathizers with radical affiliations (Sulasman, 2015).

The programs that are commonly used by Islamic boarding schools for deradicalization programs are: first, the internalization of Islam and peace values. Second, the expansion of the Islamic perspective. Third, the adoption of the school system in the boarding school environment. Fourth, education of nationalism. Fifth, the use of local wisdom. Sixth, education and skills training (Sulasman, 2015).

This program has been relatively successful in suppressing Islamic radicalism in the Islamic boarding school environment. It is a great achievement, that in 10 years - for future generations - it is hoped that there will be no more Islamic radicalism.

Success stories have also emerged from conventional schools. That the school subject matter prepared by the government, which

sided with the peace campaign, succeeded in suppressing the spread of Islamic radicalism.

Organizing the Mosque to Become a Peace Building Institution

Mosques are also a dangerous place for radical ideas to emerge. However, it is evident that several mosques that have emerged, such as in Yogyakarta: the Syuhada Mosque, the Jogokariyan Mosque, the UIN Sunan Kalijaga Mosque, routinely hold deradicalization sermons (Muryanti, 2019). A great progress, that radicalism is not liked by the majority of Islam. In fact, many *da'wah* activism are openly against and against, such as the Syuhada Mosque, Jogokariyan Mosque, and the Sunan Kalijaga UIN Mosque. Hopefully this kind of anti-radical *da'wah* community will continue to grow, defend humanity and fight the wrong.

Conclusion

Islamic radicalism is a dangerous pathogen for global peace and prosperity. An understanding that grew throughout the world because of the misinterpretation of the *Qur'an* and *shariah*. Imam Ibn 'Arabi explained the seven levels of understanding of the *Qur'an*, so that the person could be recognized as a *mufassir* or expert in interpreting the *Qur'an*. The interpretation of contemporary Qur'anic arguments by the fake *mufassir* is what is dangerous. The evidence of the *Qur'an* should not be understood in pieces, especially regarding the verses of war. So that it is not misinterpreted and leads to conflict to the community.

In order to prevent these unwanted things from getting worse, de-radicalization activists do tremendous effort to manage anti-radical Islamic boarding schools and anti-radical mosques. An effort that we must strongly support, for the sake of lasting global peace and prosperity. Amen.

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GOVERNMENT CHALLENGES IN SUCCESSFUL VACCINATION POLICIES EVENTLY AMID PUBLIC CONCERNS ABOUT THE SIDE EFFECTS OF COVID VACCINES 19

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Abstract

It has been more than a year that the Covid-19 virus has become cancer throughout the world, especially in Indonesia. More than 100,000 people worldwide have died from this virus. In the end, the government vaccinated all Indonesians so that it was hoped that it would reduce the spread of the pandemic. Some people also disagree with this vaccination. The main reason is the safety and effectiveness of the vaccine. And it is also caused by oblique news or hoaxes that have spread to the community in several areas. This kind of phenomenon is normal, especially in our country such as Indonesia, with its many cultures, various religions. Such factors also play a big role in how people perceive new things outside of the situation they are facing. The purpose of this research itself is to see how the actions that

the government has taken for the Covid-19 vaccine policy and analyze the main factors that have become obstacles and that support the success of the policy. The method used is secondary data analysis and the level of qualitative analysis by collecting and managing data, so the type of data used is qualitative data. After the research we conducted through sources related to our research, we found that there were indications that hoax news factors could actually have an influence on the smooth running of the government policy process itself and a softer approach was needed to deal with public sentiment in dealing with this vaccination policy through education about vaccines. Covid 19 is compared to providing legal sanctions which have even suppressed the psychology of the community in the midst of the Covid pandemic.

Keywords: covid 19 vaccin, policy, Hoax news

Introduction

As a result of the pandemic covid 19 virus that never met the end point, the government held a vaccination program to all people in Indonesia that is expected to reduce the spread of pandemic. After the release of the vaccine, Indonesia became the first vaccine recipient country. However, there are still some people who disagree about this vaccination program. The main cause is the safety and correctness of the effectiveness of the vaccine. In mid-2020, president Jokowi set vaccines as a new policy to deal with the spread of the covid 19 virus and signed in 2021. This policy is set by several parties, especially the government, which is oriented to the fulfillment of the needs and interests of the community. The meaning of the implementation of public policy is a relationship that allows the achievement of goals or objectives as the end result of government activities. Public policy deficiencies or mistakes will be known after the public policy is implemented. The success of public policy implementation can be seen from the impact caused as a result of evaluation of the implementation of a policy. Russia became

the first country to make the covid 19 vaccine under the name “sputnik v” followed by several other developed countries such as the United States, China, Germany, and Australia. Developing countries and poor countries are certainly becoming consumer countries in ordering these vaccines. As a result there was a trade in vaccines in the international system. This is interesting in intermestic studies where the anarchy of the international system in the turmoil of vaccine trade affects the domestic policy structure of a country which is driven by the presence of vaccine trade factors that occur in the international sphere.

There have been previous studies related to the author’s topic, such as makmum & hazhiyah journal entitled “*Tinjauan Terkait Pengembangan Vaksin Covid 19*” (Makmum & Hazhiyah, 2020). Explaining that the Covid-19 virus that originated from one of the cities in China namely Wuhan then spread throughout the chinese community and ended with the spread of the virus around the world that we now know with pandemic . Second, Telaumbanua’s journal entitled “*Urgensi Pembentukan Aturan Terkait Pencegahan Covid-19 di Indonesia*” (Telaumbanua, 2020), explaining that the spread of corona virus has also occurred in Indonesia, in its efforts the government has implemented several policies to deal with the spread of corona virus to various regions, starting from 2020 since the coronavirus outbreak is increasing in Indonesia we can know some policies have been done by the government including policies “*work from home*” and lockdown implementation in various regions. The meaning of the implementation of public policy is a relationship that allows the achievement of the Author also explains the regulations issued by the Minister of Health that regulates public health while the public is quarantined.

The third journal by Joharudin et al entitled “*Panic Syndrom Covid-19: Penekanan Terhadap Kebijakan Yang Diberikan*” (Joharudin, Septiadi, Maharani, Aisi, & Nurwahyuningsih, 2020), Explaining that in its implementation the emphasis on policies provided by the government and the announcement of the Covid-19 Virus pandemic caused a great panic in the community. Where is the impact of this

pandemic, namely Panic Syndrom. This syndrome is a symptom where people will over-buy things to protect themselves from pandemics but with excessive reactions. We can see the phenomenon of people buying masks with excessive stock per person. Not until there as a result of this pandemic covid can attack the psychology of society. Fourth, Rinaldi & Yuniasantiyang journal about “*Kecemasan pada Masyarakat Saat Masa Pandemi Covid-19 di Indonesia*” (Rinaldi & Yuniasanti, 2020), explained that personal risk assessment of Covid-19 affects the level of anxiety in the community, the presence of misinformation on social media also affects anxiety in the community. Therefore, transparency and correctness of information related to Covid-19 and vaccines are needed in Indonesia.

Fifth, Akbar’s journal entitled “*Vaksinasi Covid-19 dan Kebijakan Negara: Perspektif Ekonomi Politik*” (Akbar, 2021), explaining that the government’s vaccine policy is appropriate if we see this as a form of urgency of the government in responding to the handling of indonesian public health. However, the government’s decision-making seems hasty so that not a little reaping criticism in the end we can see with there are still some people who refuse to be vaccinated because there is no empirical proof of the continuation of the effectiveness of the vaccine covid 19 so it seems that there are also economic benefits by relying on this product with the hands of power and interests of the state. Covid 19 vaccination policy set by the government. vaccination policy taken by the government is not just a drug or a means of improving the body’s immunity from the transmission of covid 19 alone. Vaccine covid 19 also associated with the political economic interests of many countries in which contained the dominance of many countries even hegemony and infiltration of market interests of a State. Sixth, Dwipani’s journal entitled “*Efforts in Securing Vaccine for Covid-19 Outbreak in Indonesia.Health Notions*” (Dwipayani, 2020), explained that efforts to use vaccines in Indonesia also saw from cases of death due to Covid-19 where Indonesia became the country with the highest cases in Asia. The government has created a law governing the procurement of

the Covid-19 vaccine. The government also determined that a mass vaccination program would be implemented in January 2021.

The seventh journal of Masnun et al entitled “*Pelindungan Hukum Atas Vaksin Covid-*

19 Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara Pemenuhan Vaksin Dalam Mewujudkan Negara Kesejahteraan” (Masnun, Sulistyowati, & Ronaboyd, 2021), explaining that the covid-19 vaccine that has been found is certainly a commodity that has a high selling value, therefore it takes the law to regulate in terms of the use or sale of vaccines that are limited. vaccine fulfillment for the community by the government is needed no exception Indonesia, the fulfillment of the vaccine is the responsibility of the state listed in the opening of the 1945 Constitution. In the fulfillment of the return to vaccines that require legal protection, the state comes with the responsibility of applying mandatory licenses or confidential information, this is done so that there is no excessive exploitation of the vaccine covid-19.

Eighth, the journal of Rachman &Pranama entitled “*Analisis Sentimen Pro dan Kontra Masyarakat Indonesia tentang Vaksin COVID-19 pada Media Sosial Twitter”* (Rachman & Pramana, 2020), explained that the vaccine program that has been implemented by the government since mid-January then get pros and cons from various communities, but the pro sentiment is more than the counter to the Covid-19 vaccine, more pro or positive sentiment can be a consideration for vaccination activities that will be carried out by the relevant parties to run smoothly. however, we still find some people who refuse to be vaccinated so that the national vaccination program that the government can not meet the success of the policy is seen by the public who are still concerned about the safety of the vaccine.

Ninth, Rahayu’s journal entitled “*Vaksin Covid 19 di Indonesia: Analisis Berita Hoax”* (Rahayu, 2021), explained that the rejection of Covid-19 vaccination has actually shown the phenomenon of antivaksin Covid-19 in Indonesia may be this phenomenon not only

happening in Indonesia but also in other countries in general. As for the factors behind why the antivaksin phenomenon is so strong among the Indonesian people the news of Hoax, hoax news circulating in the community related to the composition of vaccines such as the vaccine sinovac containing borax, formaldehyde, and vero cells from African green ape cells that are not tested halal, vaccines derived from weakened viruses, and the presence of microchips that exist in the vaccine. Further hoax news about the side effects of vaccines that can cause enlargement of the male genitalia, infertility in women to death.

The last journal by Rohani & Sensuyati entitled “*Analisis Berita Hoax Covid - 19 Di Media Sosial Di Indonesia*” (Rohani & Sensusiyati, 2020), explained that hoax news related to people who contracted the virus, prevention and treatment related to Covid-19 Virus is widely spread in Indonesian society.

From previous studies, the interesting thing to study further is about the actions that Indonesia has taken related to the Policy of Covid-19 Vaccination in Indonesia, because we know that issue about vaccination and vaccine trade has become an international issue, then Indonesia as a country affected by the Covid-19 pandemic also uses the Covid-19 vaccine as a way to overcome this problem. however, behind it all there will be regulations to regulate vaccination activities. Another interesting thing that needs to be discussed is the inhibitory and supporting factors of success by the community from the Covid-19 vaccination policy by the Government of Indonesia. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to see how the government has taken actions related to the Covid-19 vaccine policy and analyze the factors that are obstacles and that support the success of the policy.

Metode

The method in this study uses secondary data analysis by descriptive explanation and qualitative analysis level of qualitative method, then the type of data used is qualitative data. Qualitative data used using sentence forms and descriptions, can even be short stories. In this case,

researchers try to describe or describe the events of the phenomenon of community rejection in some areas related to government programs to conduct a comprehensive vaccine in Indonesia that results in the hampering of the vaccination process itself, and analyze the sources of data and facts that will be used to instruct the events that occur. For further source sources are collected from research data and information articles and scientific journals as well as related news from accurate and reliable news sources. In order to get maximum results the author will use research strategies and techniques which are considered appropriate and accountable. The research techniques referred to by the authors are: (1) data collection, as well as (2) data analysis techniques. Data collection techniques conducted in this study are qualitative or secondary data analysis research techniques. The policy that has been issued and implemented by the government related to Covid-19 vaccination, looking at some of the Literature reviews related to the research studied, and library research is a way of collecting data by studying a number of literature, literature used since 2020, so the time limit used in this study is from 2020-2021. Literature used in the form of books, journals, official documents, websites related to this issue. The data analysis techniques used in this study are qualitative where the problem is described based on the facts and data that are relevant to this study, namely by analyzing the factors that hinder the government's COVID-19 vaccine policy and if it can support the policy.

Structur Domestic Concept

By using the domestic structure as a variable in explaining foreign policy, what kind of domestic structure is derived from the dynamics of the int'l system. Government regimes / state leaders that pursue their interests through public policy and political orientation generally become the unit of analysis affecting domestic structures. Peter analyzes the difference between “strong” and “weak” countries in explaining the foreign economy policy.

1. The making of a country's domestic policies

The factor of national interest is of course the main reason for the government in determining vaccines as a government policy for all Indonesian people. Indonesia applies sanctions and penalties that do not play games for people who do not want to be vaccinated against ultimatum, such as withdrawal of BLT for families who do not want to receive vaccines, fines of 5 million for anyone who refuses to be vaccinated, imprisonment, etc. This is mentioned in the presidential regulation article 13A number 4 (Perpres, 2021).

However, the national interest has become a common indicator for the state in determining its domestic policy. According to Peter Gourevitch, with his perspective on the domestic structure, namely the encouragement of the situation in the international system to influence a country's policy making due to the natural state of the international system. Peter explained that the condition of the domestic structure that occurred was a reflection of the state of the international system at that time. thus A comparative often tries to explain the natural state of the domestic structure: why is it like that, how is it like that, why one structure differs from another, how it affects various lives, etc.

To answer questions like that the international system can be an explanatory variable according to Peter. In his perspective, Peter states that the impact of the international system on domestic politics includes various effects, certain events, special decisions, a policy, type of regime, and coalition patterns. The regimes of strong countries (America, Russia, China, Japan, Germany) in the international system greatly influence third world countries in the domestic policy process of a country, in this case the vaccine trade that is created unexpectedly encourages each country to implement vaccines as a policy domestic.

From the issue in the international system, namely the trade in vaccines in developed countries, encouraging the government to

rush without empirical evidence of the continued effectiveness of vaccines to issue vaccination policy decisions evenly for all people, but at the same time a problem arises where some people refuse to be vaccinated because of their sense of lack of trust in the truth about the efficacy of the vaccine itself and the lack of response from the government to hoax news related to vaccines which are the inhibiting factors of this policy. By using Peter's perspective on the international system, we can see how international issues can have an impact on a country's domestic policy making.

Discussion and Result

The reasons and interests why the government implemented vaccines are government policy because the sinovac vaccine is considered effective in preventing the spread of Covid-19. Where the Sinovac vaccine is a form of collaboration between PT Bio Farma and the Sinovac company. The cooperation between the two companies is not only for economic transactions but also for the transfer of technology and knowledge. And then PT Bio Farma will produce its own vaccines for Indonesia where the raw materials come from Sinovac companies, to produce vaccines PT Bio Farma has obtained an emergency use permit from the BPOM.

In accordance with the regulation of the minister of health number 10 of 2021 in article 4, it is explained that the implementation of vaccination aims to achieve herd immunity in society, reduce morbidity and mortality caused by Covid-19, and reduce transmission of Covid-19, and protect the public from Covid-19. in order to remain productive economically and socially. (Ministry of Health, 2021).

The efficacy of the covid 19 vaccine is indeed very important to build body resistance against viruses and create herd immunity. Through improved immunity, it is hoped that this will make various economic sectors, including tourism, recover quickly. 1.2 million Covid-19 vaccines made by Sinovac arrived at Soekarno Hatta Airport. This vaccine was imported on the suggestion of the government which

is to give vaccinations to all people throughout Indonesia. In the Covid-19 vaccination program held by the government, there are many obstacles that are faced and several obstacles that arise from several aspects. One of them is an unclear database on the number of health workers registered to receive vaccinations. As a result, this invalid data is the reason why some health workers do not get vaccinations from the government. Not to mention the emergence of disinformation that is rapidly spreading among the public.

A. Factors that become obstacles to government policy

Pandemic that has occurred during the past 2 years. But they have not yet gotten or found the end point of the transmission of the Covid-19 virus. Elites from various countries in the world are doing everything they can to find solutions to cure and destroy the virus which is predicted to be endemic at this time. After the official vaccination policy was issued by the president on October 5, 2020, then it was ratified in February 2021. In Presidential Decree number 14 of 2021, President Jokowi officially stipulated the mass vaccination activity required for all Indonesian people as his policy in 2021.

Vaccination is carried out by means of new regulations. various media reported about the vaccination policy set by President Jokowi, of course this caused a lot of public reaction in facing the policy that will be implemented in early November 2021. The Presidential Decree was then followed up by all elements of the government involved and certainly had to do with the Perpres that had been issued such as the departure of Foreign Minister Retno Lestari, Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) Eric Tohir and the Indonesian Health Team to England and Switzerland with the aim of carry out international cooperation related to the procurement of national vaccinations in Indonesia. The result was that the discourse on vaccination was distributed evenly throughout the Indonesian community.

It was reported directly from the CNN TV station that President Jokowi and other high-ranking state officials were the first recipients of the vaccine after the policy was officially issued. The actions taken

by Jokowi are indeed very appropriate to see that since the discovery and production of the vaccine by China, Indonesia has also become a recipient country for the vaccine. This of course provoked a public reaction to the vaccine, various responses were given by the public. Through a live broadcast on CNN, people throughout Indonesia were shown where their country's leaders and other high-ranking officials carried out their first vaccine. The actions taken by President Jokowi are very influential in the future response of the community.

The vaccination activity plan should consider all kinds of aspects, from the feasibility of the vaccines used, the risks after use, and all kinds of procedures to the stages of giving the vaccine later to the community. The vaccination plan also needs to consider sharing input by seeing how the respond and public opinion about the vaccination activity. For this reason, the actions taken by the president of Jokowi are very appropriate to calm public anxiety about the side effects caused by the Covid-19 vaccine as well as to fight the large amount of information and news related to the vaccine.

In implementing a policy, the process is not as smooth and smooth as the policy itself is issued. On the way, the government is often faced with various external problems, issue issues, and various other obstacles. Several obstacles are the dominant main factors which have a very large and strong impact on society, especially on the community's stigma, as well as several factors that have become obstacles in the process of implementing the Covid-19 vaccination policy throughout Indonesia :

1. Often underestimated and ignorant of the rise of news "HOAX" about current events or various information - information that is not true and has been spread out there cannot be suspected to be the main factor that hinders government policy rather than lack of information to the community concerned. vaccination itself in this problem is that there are still people who refuse to be vaccinated for various reasons they have, but that reason is not groundless at

all, but there is hoax news that frightens the public, causing feelings of worry about the side effects of using vaccines.

The news about hoaxes that are circulating is even more trusted by some people than to the government itself, therefore the government's challenge here is none other than winning a sense of trust from the community in how to reduce their anxiety amidst the provision of vaccinations to the public. Then the government and TV stations also coordinate with each news TV station to inform the public about information related to the truth, safety, even if necessary, the content contained in the vaccine should be notified to the public for various questions and suspicions could subside slowly because today's society only gets confusing information.

The impact of hoax news cannot be ignored, the government and related parties need to be more agile than the hoax news to provide complete information which is thought to be a question for the public seeing that our society has a culture and religion that is bound to each of which can make the community not participate in the vaccination. Therefore, the government must clarify if there is any hoax news that is different in the community.

2. Criminal punishments issued by the government and other ultimatums given by the government will only make the community jump even more with this vaccination process. Indeed, the tough and decisive way which is carried out by the government needs to be done to regulate the hard side of the community, but it should also look at the situation and conditions on the ground, such as penalties and people's concerns about the side effects of the Covid-19 vaccine, of course it will clash and this will only make The community also feels pressure from the government and the conditions that are currently being experienced this pressure can cause turmoil to end in acts of resistance in various regions where there is a better and familial approach to the community that might feel different and it might be successful. So decisions regarding

punishments and other ultimatums can be an inhibiting factor for this government policy. It can be seen from the psychological factors of the community in the environmental conditions faced with a pandemic situation that has yet to exist and then comes up with the discovery of a vaccine to be believed to strengthen the body's immunity so that it can possibly reduce transmission. Covid-19 virus.

Niken Widiastuti as Chair of the Public Communication Committee for Handling Covid-19 and National Economic Recovery or KPC-PEN said that what has recently spread among the public is the halal certification of vaccines. Then, the impact or post-immunization events. In this case, Niken hopes that the government will continue to provide education to the public so that they are not easily affected by unclear information about vaccinations. Based on the results of a trial conducted on 144 volunteers by Zu Fengcai, the vaccine given was very suitable for emergency use, in which case it could be concluded that no issues had arisen regarding its safety. The government states that hoax or hoax news that spreads in the community is one of the biggest obstacles that must be faced during the Covid-19 vaccination process.

B. Factors that can support the success of national vaccination in Indonesia

1. Education must continue to be carried out by the government to the community. There is a lot of hoax information in the midst of the community about the Covid-19 vaccine that has hindered the running of the free mass vaccination program. Hoax itself is information that contradicts facts and has misinformation or indicates false information (Rahayu, R.N & Sensusiyati.2020). Therefore, intensive education needs to be carried out so that misinformation or hoaxes do not continue to be trusted by the public and can strengthen public confidence so that they are willing to carry out vaccinations.
2. Do not put too much pressure on people who do not want to vaccinate, because the pressure given will give fear and even more

distrust of the success of the Covid-19 vaccine. According to Herman Saputra, who is the Expert Council of the Indonesian Public Health Expert Association, observes that people who reject vaccines are due to lack of information from the government. Once again, education needs to be carried out by the government to the village level. Since poor communication between the public and the government causes this to happen, it appears here that intensive public communication needs to be carried out. The information conveyed must also be transparent about the safety assurance of the vaccines used and the facts in the field should not be exaggerated and ensure the halalness of the Covid-19 vaccine.

3. The role of the media here is very influential in the community in the midst of this pandemic. In this case, it is recommended that television stations in Indonesia be more responsive in providing all kinds of information relating to events that are currently being experienced by the community. The Ministry of Information and Communication must also make various efforts to keep the public informed about the proliferation of hoax news stories going out through various media channels. In carrying out this policy, the biggest obstacle and enemy that is very difficult for President Jokowi and the government to fight is related to hoax news, untrue news spread by certain individuals or communities who are against or anti-government which is always an obstacle to policies that are will be held by the government. Therefore, President Jokowi together with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology must continue to coordinate gradually during the vaccination period.

Conclusion

The covid 19 pandemic that has not yet found an end forces the Indonesian government to make vaccination program as a form of handling the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia. This policy has been regulated in Presidential Decree No. 14 of 2021, and the vaccine used

by the Indonesian government is Sinovac, which is produced by PT Bio Farma. There are several obstacles in the implementation of the vaccination program, one of which is the hoax news that is spread, as well as the existence of penalties and sanctions for those who do not want to be vaccinated, there by increasing public sentiment about this program. Therefore, the government must continue to provide education and public communication so that this policy can still be implemented properly and without obstacles. The government does not need to pressure and force the public, because this will only increase public fear of the vaccine from Covid-19. In addition, the role of the media as well as the communication and information ministry in the dissemination of accurate information about the Covid-19 vaccine is also needed.

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ANALYSIS OF GREENPEACE'S ROLE IN CAMPAIGN IN GEOLOGICAL ISSUES ON SOCIAL MEDIA TWITTER

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Abstract

In its development NGO is a form of social movement that moves on one of the social issues of society. one of them is Greenpeace which is engaged in environmental issues. The study was intended to analyse campaign activities conducted by Greenpeace through social media twitter. The focus in this study was the intensity of Twitter accounts related to public service and sentiment from the public. The methods taken for this study are quality with a descriptive approach. Data analysis was conducted using Nvivo 12Plus software from social media twitter via Ncapture. The data is then processed using Nvivo 12Plus software. The results found that the highest intensity of activity on Greenpeace's twitter account on environmental issues campaign occurred in October, which was 23.38%. In the other period, the month of March to September intesitasnya increased from 1.91% to 10.06% and November to December decreased from 4.61-4.29 . The high intensity of Twitter shows that Greenpeace has provided campaign information on environmental issues. In addition, the accumulation of public sentiment from Greenpeace

account activity consists of 001% positive and 004% negative. This sentiment is based on the public response to the campaign conducted in the period March-December 2020.

Keywords: *Ecological, Campaign, Greenpeace, twitter*

Introduction

Natural Resources are everything that is sourced from nature to be able to meet human needs. Until now man as the main controller in nature, which is no longer a human being who adapts to nature and the environment. This is in line with the changes in natural and environmental circumstances that are processed in such a way as to be able to follow the will and also meet the needs of human life (Waruni, 2019). As we know that natural resources include everything on the earth that provides benefits such as water, soil, minerals, petroleum and so on. Natural resources in Indonesia are abundant, but still lacking the wisdom of the government in managing natural resources. In Indonesia there are a number of environmental organizations that contributed to the efforts to safeguard these natural resources. The human concern over environmental problems today can be seen from the emergence of various environmental-based community movements.

Greenpeace is an international organization that campaigns vigorously for the environment globally. Greenpeace is present in more than 55 countries in Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific (Princess, 2019).

Greenpeace officially entered southeast Asia in 2000 by looking at the large population of plant and animal species in the region, but became threatened by climate change and deforestation. This is the main focus of Greenpeace's campaign in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, which is protecting Indonesia's forests and energy revolution (Putri, 2019). Greenpeace as a non-state actor can play a role and function as an international organization. In this case Greenpeace belongs to the category of NGOs whose membership does not represent the government or the state. Greenpeace as an international organization

between governments that are non-political and perform a number of functions to be able to meet the expectations or objectives that have been mutually agreed upon at the time of its formation, and when it is associated between functions with the objectives of an international organization, it can be explained that international organizations act as non-governmental agents with the aim of equalization and environmental countermeasures (Gusman &Joko Waluyo, 2014).

Where in this case this organization that has been established since 1971 which also adheres to the principle of anti-violence or also known as *non coarsion*. The running of the era is also supported by the modernization era which is characterized by the expansion of globalusasu system that gives birth to various changes specifically in the field of technology, information and communication (ICT) (Ramadhuan & Susilo, 2019). The development of technology, information and communication (ICT) gave birth to several existing features such as social media that make it easier for individuals around the world to connect with each other.

On the development of technology internet on social media that already has many platforms in it such as instagram, twitter, facebook and many more. Until now, the internet, which makes human activities inseparable from the internet, has not closed the possibility in the context of government, namely in social activities such as environmental campaigns encouraged by Greenpeace that already use new media in voicing ideas and ideas. In this case the big campaign that managed to become a global campaign is a campaign against the use of harmful and toxic chemicals (B3) in the textile industry that causes water pollution in China (Ramadhuan &Susilo, 2019).

To be able to channel ideas and ideas in voicing the purpose of this organization, namely those in the field of conservation and environmental management, various platforms chosen by international organizations, one of which is through social media twitter. Twitter is a social networking service in the form of microblogs that allow its users to be able to send and read text-based messages (Mulyana

&Muksin, 2011). Social media that has developed to date has been far from a means to be able to express themselves. Social media such as Twitter will continue to develop, one of which will be a medium to be able to give criticism or receive social criticism, especially to or from the Government of Indonesia.

From that background, the study focuses on how Greenpeace's analysis campaigns for ecological issues on social media using Nvivo. Interestingly, Greenpeace is a non-governmental international organization, also known as an environmental organization on a global network and Greenpeace already has a considerable part in campaigning for environmental issues around the world.

Literature review

In the perspective of the environment itself the role of NGO institutions as described in the research Kuswardini, (2020) and Kristanto (2017) mentions that NGOs as non- governmental institutions have an important function. There are several things behind it as well as its socialization and its efforts in building and encouraging environmental ethics in everything related to the development process. In addition, NGOs also play an active role as an advocacy and literacy network in promoting the importance of the environment and ecological sustainability in a particular place.

Greenpeace itself as an NGO engaged in ecological and environmental issues also has its own actions in addressing it. In the research conducted by Karjaya (2020), Gusman & Joko Waluyo (2014), Hardinia (2014), Virgy (2020) mentioned that Greenpeace is an NGO institution that plays a role in ecological issues in Indonesia. There are several cases that have been handled as well as the construction of power plants in Batang and Teluk in Jakarta. In addition, the ecological movement conducted by Greenpeace has also stepped on the international level rahmat (2017), Setiyawan (2013), Nurkumala (2015) and Susanti (2018). The spirit of strengthening ecological advocacy and literacy is a major factor for Greenpeace.

From some of the research that has been done above, researchers pulled a different study because most of the research conducted only focuses on conventional media only. Therefore, the research will focus on Greenpeace's use of social media (twitter) in campaigning on issues related to ecology and the environment.

Theoretical Framework

1. Ecological Politics

Ecological politics, which explains that environmental damage and conflict are inseparable from aspects of economic political interests. This perspective seeks to explain the problem of environmental damage by taking into account aspects of power, distribution fairness, control, local network interests -historical nationality, gender, and actor roles (Slamet, 2018). The sharpness of the ecological political perspective is seen in how to understand the environmental damage as a result of power and market practices. The damage in a region could be due to the presence of global market forces that are not directly involved. Cases of conflict and forest fires, always related to political, economic, market, and especially on how to control the management of natural resources.

Syatori (2014) political ecology takes place, first: as his attention to the 'scale', which allows scientists to identify and analyze the chains that connect environmental dynamics with social, political, cultural and economic forces on various conceptual and physical sites, and secondly: its consequent focus on 'power' in its various manifestations as the central key to understanding how ideas of sustainability are created and disseminated.

The basic assumption in ecology-politics boils down to the establishment that environmental change is not neutral, but is a form of politicized environment that involves many actors of interest both at the local, regional, and global levels.⁵ (Haryani, 2020). The dominant actors are generally state and private large. This dominance led to the so-called tragedy of enclosure, which is a tragedy due to state and private

dominance that causes public access to utilization and management to be increasingly restricted. The weakening of access makes the community more marginalized. The purpose of ecology-politics is not only to clarify the phenomenon of environmental change alone, but also an important foothold in the formulation of environmental management policy (Chandra Kusuma Putra, Ratih Nur Pratiwi, 2012).

2. NGO

NGO is an organization founded by individuals or groups of people who voluntarily provide services to the general public without aiming to benefit from its activities (Wulan & Mukhtali, 2013). According to Arianto (2017) “ In a broader context, the term NGO can be interpreted as all non-profit organizations that are not related to government. NGOs are generally value-based organizations that rely on, either partially or in whole, charitable donations and voluntary services.

In the process of development of the country, NGOs / NGOs play three types of very important roles, namely: (1) Supporting and powering the community at the level of “grassroots”, which is essential in the framework of poverty alleviation. (2) Increase broad political influence, through a network of cooperation, both domestically and with international institutions. (3) Take part in the determination of direction and development agenda (Mahardhani, 2020).

Methodology

This research is qualitative research using six stages in the study of literature by utilizing social media twitter which includes the process of data collection, data analysis using Nvivo 12Plus, and understanding the model of using social media as a communication medium (Salahudin, 2021). The data in this study uses a literature study method with twitter account @greenpeace by retrieving via NCapture from Chrome Web. Then use Nvivo 12Plus analysis in terms of data collection, data coding process, validity, and interpretation as well as data presentation. This

research focuses on communication on Twitter @greenpeace as a medium in campaigning ecological issues to the community.

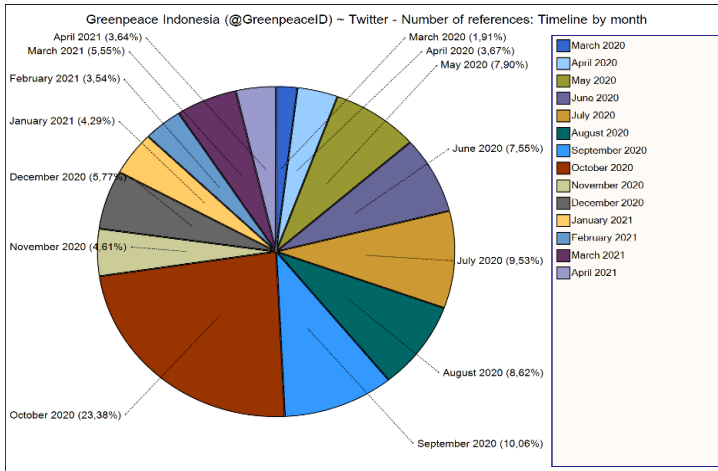
Result And Discussion

1. Central Java Government's Twitter Account Activity as A Public Media Speherefor The Community

The existence of massive and comprehensive advances in technology and electronic communication has become a new adaptation of life in the era of contemporary life. So many platforms are found in terms of media that are used as information media, one of which is in the form of social media. Therefore, these social media users are used as the main reason in adopting as a medium of communication and interaction. In addition, the use of social media as a communication platform can also create an interaction and community participation in certain phenomena.

Through social media Twitter @GreenpeaceID as a mobile organization and campaigned in uncovering environmental ecological problems. In conducting socialization and campaigns on social media, greenpeace is also an NGO with a member or association setting projections on ecological issues. In this case, Greenpeace also conducted the establishment in the field of advocacy as well as legal protection, human rights, and environmental protection. Civil society groups from local communities to international federation networks are all moved by greenpeace's ecological campaign (Nurkumala, 2015).

Figure 1: GreenpeaceID's twitter account activity in campaigning for ecological issues



Source: processed by researchers using Nvivo12plus (2021)

The study focused on the intensity of tweets made by @greenpeaceID accounts on social media by 2020. From the data presented in the graph above, it can be found that the intensity of account activity @greenpeaceID increased in June-October 2020. The increase in the intensity of media accounts was highest in October at 23.38 percent. The activity that occurred in that month was a discussion about the rejection of the Copyright Work Bill which has implications for ecological damage. Greenpeace itself campaigns massively on the potential future of forests in Indonesia eroded by 30 percent which is rolled out in the Omnibus Law Cilaka.

In addition, in the Omnibus Law Bill there are several other implications in damaging ecological ecosystems. First, the absence of protection and the environment because everything is the legitimacy of a company. Second, there is no explicit information about the ease of investing in the community and environmental feasibility. Third, the process of controlling is carried out entirely by the central government. And fourth, the absence of the parameters of assessment of the environmental impact analysis (Amdal) study (Jatmika, 2020).

In the period March through September, intensities tweeted on @greenpeaceID account discussing some ecological issues that had a very negative impact on society. There are several things discussed such as the scandal of land projects in several places in Indonesia and reclamation plans on the makasar coast. Discussion of the Omnibus Law Bill itself also became a massive issue in July (9.53%) and August (8.62%). In September alone, the intensity increased by 10.06 percent with a discussion of sentiments over Watchdoc's film "State Electricity Electrocutation." In the film, the description of the boost in electricity consumption with projections to benefit corporations alone.

Lastly in november to December, @greenpeaceID account activity focused on campaigning for several coal-fired companies. One of the highlights is the planned construction of a coal-powered power plant in Batang that has been controversial and rejected by the community. Then there are other issues such as forest fires aimed at expanding new plantation that are very massive in the Papua Forest. Then there are campaigners and solutions to the discussion of the Omnibus Law Bill that focuses on the management of regional governance and licensing processes contained in the Right to Business (HGU) (Rahmawan & Cetera, 2020).



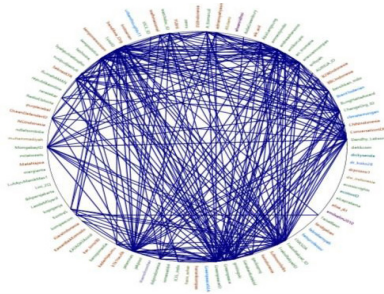
Source: *processed by researchers using Nvivo12plus (2021)*

Tweet activity on @greenpeaceID twitter accounts from March to December 2020 is dominated by ecological issues campaigns. Greenpeace itself in spreading kampaye on socialmedia Twitter not infrequently conduct feedback (response) to ecological issues that are happening but instead just campaigning. However, a lot of users tryto disseminate the information conveyed by @greenpeaceID. For the users there are sharing community groupssuch as local and foreign residents who continue to participate in it (Gusman & Joko Waluyo,2014). Based on the results of the analysis of the user's map response on greenpeaceID twitter account, it is known that in addition to interactions in Indonesia, there are also @greenpeaceIDaccount interactions in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas.

2. GreenpeaceID Twitter Account Interaction with Users

In communication. Interaction, and digital-based campaign efforts, Greenpeace as an NGO continues to distribute through social media twitter @greenpeaceID on the developmentof ecological issues. Of course, this is one of Greenpeace's focus in conducting campaigns that project on ecological sustainability globally. The use of virtual communication and interaction is considered more interactive and increases the participatory of the community in various matters of interest. Here is the data and information of @greenpeaceID account interaction with the users.

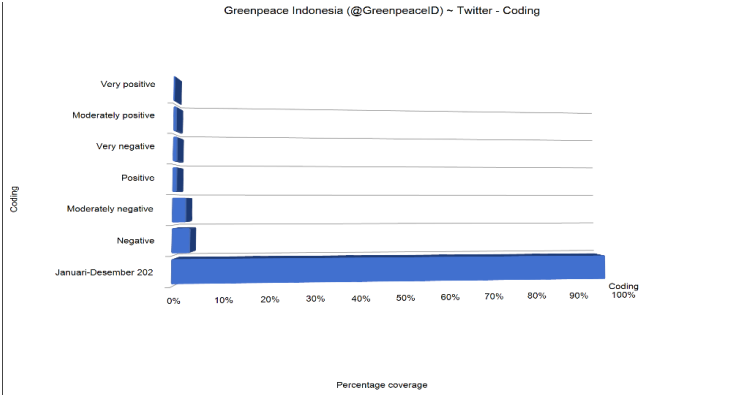
Figure 3: World similarity Nvivo 12 plus greenpeace twitter account interaction with users



Source: processed by researchers using Nvivo12plus (2021)

The windows photo viewer view above is an activity of interaction and communication conducted between @greenpeaceID accounts and users. There are several things that can be seen first, the distribution of information carried out by the account @greenpeaceID always attach the news link of the mass media. We can see from the use of the word “https” which mastered the news of interaction with the public. Account activity @greenpeaceID also conduct ecological issues campaigns to the entire community there are several nomenclatures that are often used such as forests, countries, people, policies, environment, government, and others. Third there are several massive taglines used namely #mositidakpercaya, #tolakomnibuslkaw, and #atasviruscabutomnibus which can be summed up as attitudes that are poured through social media twitter by @greenpeaceID accounts and users.

Figure 5: windows photo viewer Nvivo 12 plus



Source: processed by researchers using Nvivo12plus (2021)

The chart presented above is a percentage of the sentiments made by the public on @greenpeaceID accounts. The highest percentage occurred in negative sentiment which is 004%. There is some public sentiment as well as distrust of the preaching of ecological issues and tends to regard GreenpeaceID as an independent institution. For the positive sentiment itself the percentage is only 001% caused by a small percentage of the community who are positively rebuked to the model of information distribution conducted by @greenpeaceID.

Conclusion

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that the intensity of tweets made by @greenpeaceID accounts on social media twitter is 2020, the intensity of account activity @greenpeaceID increased in June-October 2020. The increase in the intensity of media accounts was highest in October at 23.38 percent because inTheOtober month of 2020 it is known that Greenpeace itself is very actively campaigning for the potential future of forests inIndonesia eroded by 30 percent which is rolled out in the Omibus Law Cilaka Law. Also this month, it was warming to the rejection of the Copyright Work Bill which has implications forecological damage.

Based on the results of the analysis of the user's map response on greenpeaceID twitter account, it is known that in addition to interactions in Indonesia, there are also @greenpeaceID account interactions in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas. Based on World similarity Nvivo 12 plus greenpeace twitter account interaction with users there are several things that can be known that the most massive interactions are done with @tirtoID and@Temponewsroom accounts. This is because both accounts are a trusted and supportive newsmedia for the campaign conducted by Greenpeace, as well as interactive and intense mutuallin campaigning and distributing ecological issues.

In addition, the activity of id @greenpeace accounts also often communicate in terms of campaigning ecological issues as a medium of information distribution. This is reflected in @fraksirakyatID, @antikorupsi, and CoversationID accounts, and more. The communication process is carried out with evidence that the activities carried out by @greenpeaceID accounts are not only carried out by online news accounts but also carried out with some ecological activists and some accounts reviewing ecological and public policy issues.

Furthermore, in the windows photo viewer view can be seen that the distribution of information carried out by the account @greenpeaceID always attach the news link of the mass media. We can see from the use of the word "https" which mastered the news

of interaction with the public. Account activity @greenpeaceID also conduct ecological issues campaigns to the entire community there are several nomenclatures that are often used such as forests, countries, people, policies, environment, government, and others. Thirdly, there are several massive taglines used, namely #mositidakpercaya, #tolakomnibuskaw, and #atasiviruscabutomnibus which can be summed up as attitudes expressed through social media twitter by @greenpeaceID accounts and users.

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It can be concluded that @greenpeaceID twitter account has a very important role in the effort to campaign ecological issues through his twitter account. With the information in the account makes twitter users who interact get information. @greenpeaceID's twitter account is also very active in raising hot issues into the topic of conversation.

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REBRANDING INDONESIAN TOURISM AMIDST GLOBAL PANDEMIC TURBULENCE - THE COVID-19: CHALLENGES ON NATION BRANDING^{1*}

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Abstract

This article aims to answer how Indonesia rebrands tourism amidst the global pandemic to attract international tourism arrivals. Pandemic COVID-19 as a world turbulence time significantly impacted tourism sectors. Global travel restriction and social distancing become a new challenge to develop the tourism industry sector. UNWTO World Tourism Barometer recorded as of March 2021, international tourist arrivals decrease by 87% in January 2021, following the decline of international tourist arrivals of 2020's last quarter. For tourism sector development, Indonesia one of the countries which get high contribution from tourism industry sectors. It contributes to the labor absorption of 12,7 million people, equivalent to 10 % of the total working population in Indonesia. However, since the pandemic, Indonesia has established many policies to recover the tourism industry. This research is qualitative

¹ * This article is the preliminary working draft for the research in tourism. Please do not quote or cite without author permission.

research supported by secondary data from the ministerial press release, related journals, and academic sources. The result shows Indonesia has a good move in maintaining this sector during a pandemic by providing several policies such as Cleanliness, Health, Safety, and Environmental Sustainability (CHSE) certification to strengthen the implementation of health protocol in tourism industry sectors. Nonetheless, Indonesia needs to solve the challenge from a managerial perspective to engage multi stakeholders in this sector.

Keywords: *Tourism Rebranding, Stakeholder Management, COVID-19, challenges, nation branding*

Introduction

Pandemic COVID 2019 – world turbulence time – significantly impacted to the various impact of living such as economy, social, and society lifestyle. Worldwide travel restriction and social distancing policy become a new challenge in some industries, for instance tourism industry. Based on the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, updated as of March 2021, international tourism recorded a slump in January 2021 – with a decrease of 87% -- after it hit 73% in 2020 as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic (UNWTO, 2021). Whereas, tourism has significant impact to the economic growth, Holik (2016) proved the impact at least to five ASEAN Countries – Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philipphines and Singapore – by arguing that tourism not only bringing the foreign exchange but also economic activity for local resident. It drives the state development.

Specifically, in Indonesia, tourism contributed to 229.5 trillion rupiahs in 2018, which increased by around 15.4% yearly. Even data from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy show that employment in the tourism sector reached 12.7 million people, equivalent to 10 percent of the total working population of Indonesia (CNN.com, 2020). This was the case, despite Indonesia being the

fourth country in South East Asia earning foreign exchange from tourism sector. However, when the COVID-19 hit, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy recorded a significant decrease of 74.84% compared to 2019 (Kemenparekraf, 2021). In addition, the Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association (PHRI) recorded that until April 2020, the tourism sector in Indonesia lost IDR. 85.7 billion (DW.COM, 2020). In an online discussion with an Indonesian travel company, *Wisata Indonesia*, entitled “ASITA Synergy and Government Statements Responding to Indonesia’s New Normal Tourism Policy”, Nia Niscaya, Deputy for Marketing of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy conveyed the need for improvement because Indonesia has experienced a lack of trust (Mulyawan, 2020).

At the beginning of the pandemic, Indonesia’s tourism branding changed from *Wonderful Indonesia* to *Thoughtful Indonesia* (figure 1). The head of the Communication Bureau of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Agustini Rahayu, said that the primary tourism branding is still Wonderful Indonesia; she emphasized that Thoughtful Indonesia is a contextual logo as a message in the crisis era (Aditya, 2020).



Tabel 1. Indonesia Tourism Brand Before Pandemic (Left) and Indonesia Tourism Brand After Pandemic (right)

Based on several new facts in Indonesian tourism branding, Indonesia this paper aims to analyse how Indonesia brand the tourism industry sector during and post COVID-19 to compete during turbulence time. This article will cover research gap about how tourism branding to compete with other tourism in the world, since tourism has significant contribution in Indonesia and the challenge of nation

branding specifically in the tourism sector. The analysis will be divided in to the findings and the shift and challenges of tourism branding in Indonesia.

Literature review

Tourism has been one of top discussion amidst pandemic COVID-19. Some prior studies show COVID-19 affected to the international tourism (Beh & Lin, 2021; Gössling et al., 2021). Pandemic also impacted several countries' tourism sector such as India which need to restructure tourism sector and tourism factory so foreign exchange earnings (FEE) will not decrease (Jaipuria et al., 2020). Meanwhile, other group of research about tourism during the pandemic mostly related to the recovery process. Yeh (2020) , for instance, offers the idea of open communication and government-sponsored loan – specifically which no interest loan will help the tourism industry sector. (Foo et al., 2020) also justified how the stimulus package in Malaysia which beneficial for assisting tourism industry. This turbulence time stimulate researcher and academicians about tourism (Gössling et al., 2021; Ioannides & Gyimóthy, 2020). Ioannides & Gyimóthy (2020) argue that taking lesson learn about COVID-19 as a space to redesign curriculum for future tourism industry sector, in addition this could be as a transition time toward more sustainable tourism.

Regarding nation branding in the context of tourism in Indonesia during the pandemic, there are pros and cons to changing the Indonesian tourism branding logo. One of the studies that focus on the benefits of a logo change is Hubner et al. (2020) which quantitatively examines the effect of using the Thoughtful Indonesian logo on the attraction of foreign visitors, one of which Australian visitors. Meanwhile, Chotijah (2020) states that this change actually degrades public attention and awareness because the contextual logo used by Indonesia is very similar to the master logo. The researcher concludes that one form of maintaining reputation is by maintaining consistency in the use of the logo.

Theoretical Framework

Nation Branding

Nation branding was primarily authored and coined by Simon Anholt. Conceptually, nation branding is not a new concept, so Szondi (2008) states that this is an image management concept. The idea of nation branding is more about (representing) branding strategies and tools used by a country. Szondi quoted Fan (2006), who emphasizes that nation branding focuses on branding and marketing communication techniques to promote the image of a nation. Nation branding does not directly refer to the government, but the government can act as an initiator or coordinator in the nation branding process (Szondi, 2008). One of the features highlighted by Szondi (2018) is the consideration used to prioritize target audiences who are not only domestic but also international.

Furthermore, (Szondi, 2008) emphasizes that nation branding has (more) objectives to increase economic interests. In context, nation branding is more depoliticized or depends on a more general agreement between actors and parties, although it is sometimes used for politicizing matters. In addition, nation branding tends to be image, marketing, and consumerism driven. Nation branding actors include national tourism agencies, travel agents, promotion and export agencies, state chambers of commerce, and multinational organizations. Meanwhile, the strategy used for nation branding is more about image management and visual and symbol elements. Its approach is more centralized, and the essence of branding is shaped for a global and more homogeneous audience. The tactics used for nation branding are usually through logos and slogans. Nation branding is sponsored by public and private partnerships.

The concept of nation branding tends to be considered by experts as overlapping with public diplomacy. Szondi (2008) cites the thoughts of Melissen - the editor of the book the *New Public Diplomacy - Soft Power in International Relations* - which concludes that the concept of

nation branding tends to be more ambitious, has a holistic approach, and requires more effort than implementing public diplomacy.

Methodology

This research will use a qualitative approach. Creswell & Poth (2018) define five qualitative approaches: narrative research, phenomenological research, grounded theory research, ethnographic research, and case study research. This research will be part of the development of a grounded theory, namely the theory of nation branding, especially challenges to nation branding in the context of tourism. To support this concept, the researchers used a case study of Indonesian tourism amid a pandemic and analysed more deeply the challenges of rebranding Indonesian tourism during the pandemic. Creswell & Poth (2018) conveyed that grounded theory research will collect information from interviews, field notes, and memos. However, this study will primarily use a desk study with data collected through previous research, empirical data from the ministry of tourism and creative economy, reports, and news related to nation branding and tourism sector issues during a pandemic.

Result And Discussions

Based on Szondi's perspective on nation branding. There are several features to see how the effect of changing the Indonesia tourism brand including to the goals, target, strategy, actor, and sponsor of this chaging:

a. Goals

The new tourism branding "Thoughtful Indonesia" is purposed to share the highest empathy specifically for the tourism sector during the pandemic. Responding to this logo change, the then Indonesian Minister of Tourism (Dimiyati, 2020), Wishnutama, said that this logo shows Indonesia's empathy with the sector amid the COVID 19 pandemic, and the installation of the Thoughtful Indonesia logo received appreciation from the people in Europe.

According to Wishnutama, this is part of soft promotion abroad. This logo is also considered as a medium of communication with the global community to empathize in this situation. Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Wishnutama said:

“... It’s part of us to communicate; we empathize with the current situation, and we are still Wonderful in many ways”
(Dimiyati, 2020)

b. Target

This change was intended for the public at home and abroad. Through this logo, the then Minister of Tourism Wishnutama said there needed to be a communication message in the crisis condition. Besides, it was used as a basis for the government through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy to present programs considered thoughtful to support and assist actors and workers in the tourism sector and creative economy affected by the COVID-19 pandemic (Purnama, 2020).

c. Actors

Actors in this branding change have been driven by the government. However, in its implementation, the government also invited the public to encourage tourism branding. Invitations accompanied the government’s branding on social media through the hashtags #rinduWisataLagi or #DiIndonesiaAja. The Deputy for Marketing of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Nia Niscaya, said that this was used to support industry players to remain optimistic. Other government efforts have even received positive responses from celebrities and the wider community. This campaign was also still based on the enforcement of the Cleanliness, Heath, Safety, and Environmental Sustainability (CHSE) protocol (Laoli, 2021).

d. Sponsor

Public private partnership becomes one of sponsor on branding and rebuilding tourism sector. Indonesia remains attractive destination for investment and trade(Kemlu, 2020). The foreign

investment grow the tourism infrastructure, and other green project. The sponsor of tourism development is in responsible tourism, sustainable tourism, community tourism, ecotourism, and participative tourism.

Challenge of Tourism as a Part of Nation Branding

The turbulence caused by COVID-19 pauses National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024. This RPJMN aims to develop tourism sector and product, the marketing of tourism and economic creative based on strategic partnership, integrated the tourism and economic creative, management and development of competent and competitive human resource (Kadarisman, 2021). The declining the tourism sector already get attention from the government. Since 2020, many national policies are produced to mitigate the impact of COVID-19. Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy held national coordination meeting for recovering tourism sector in Bali, 26-28 November 2020. At that meeting, previous minister of tourism and creative economy, Wishnutama Kusubandio mentioned the necessity of national strategic which manifested by consolidating stakeholder of some ministers with tourism and creative economy to accelerate the tourism sector recovery (Rokom, 2021). Various strategies for stabilizing the tourism sector has been established. There are some strategic such as preparing infrastructure to improve the connectivity of super priority destinations, redesign tourism strategy in several destinations, and holding the training for tourism sector and guide (Walakula, 2020).

In the midst of Pandemic, UNWTO partnering with the Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy have held the workshop for rebuilding Capacity Building Workshop on Restarting International Tourism on December 2020, in Bali . This workshop outlines the necessity several key messages

1. Collaboration between the public and private sectors. It is shown from many programs hold to achieve the collaboration such as Meeting, Incentive Convention, and Exhibition (MICE) industry

and travel agent meeting which produce 570 information exchange (JPPN.COM, 2020).

2. Issued tourism protocols which also covers Cleanliness, Health, Safety, and Environment sustainability (CHSE). It is also justified by Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy mentions the necessity of implementing health protocol, this commitment is establish by preparing the tourism destination which fulfill the Cleanness, Health, Safety, and sustainable Environment (Rahayu, 2021).
3. This is related to Suprihatin (2020) findings, which show that the weakening need for tourists to travel is partly due to concerns about contracting the virus, while tourists still have a high desire to travel. Therefore, tourists need security guarantees (Suprihatin, 2020). The ministry of Tourism and Economy Creative has been establishing 6000 CHSE certificates in 2020 and targeting 6500 CHSE certificates in 2021 (Barlian, 2021). In a practical action, government provides websites of CHSE including the information of the progress of certification in Indonesia. Tourism Attractiveness, Tourism Villages, Homestay, Hotel, Restaurant, Meeting room, etc are prioritized to get free certification (Kemenparekraf, 2020). There are 21 provinces for specific free CHSE certification such as Bali, DIY, Kepulauan Riau, Aceh, South Borneo, Riau, Lampung, North Sumatera, West Java, South Sulawesi, Esst Java, Jambi, East Nusa Tenggara, North Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, Central Java, North Borneo, Jakarta, South Sumatra, and Bengkulu (Kemenparekraf, 2020).

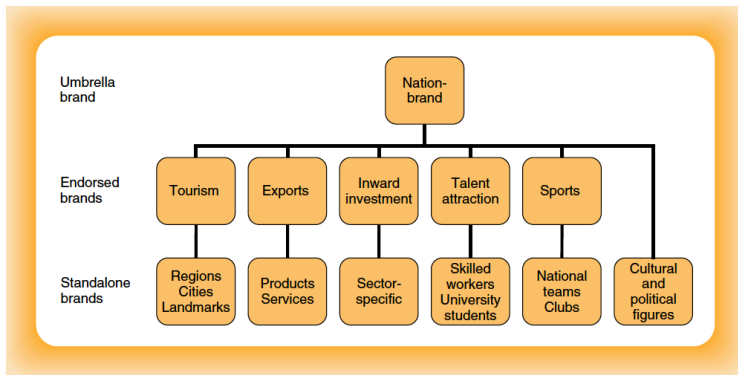
The significant challenges could be in managerial perspective which related to the extent of stakeholder supposed to be involved. Dinnie (2008) argues that this will be related to the three things: coordination of nation-brand touchpoint, the need of nation-branding architecture development, and the nature of nation branding which highly politicized.

(1) Coordination of nation-brand touch point,

It seem from the very beginning of national policy which categorizes as less integrated from one ministerial to others. The long term and short term policy in the midst of crisis will also require a solid national strategies. In the other hand, government also changes the minister (as political appointee) to manage the sector impacted from COVID-19. Ripoll González & Gale (2020) on their writing mention the emergence of participatory branding required stakeholder interdependence and the need to cooperate to achieve place branding; which in this paper related to the tourism sector. Pambagio (2020) describes inconsistency of policy during the pandemic in Indonesia by giving example of establishing the Government regulations, Presidential Regulations, Ministerial Regulation, Ministerial Decrees etc. One of clear case – mentioned by Pambagio (2020)—when, COVID infection cases increase, government boosted the policy to recover economy. On the other hand, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment gave the instruction to The District Head in Java Province to slacken pandemic cases, such as requirement of rapid antibody for tourist.

(2) the need of nation-branding architecture development

Dinnie (2008) discloses Nation-Brand Architecture (NBAR) which has irregular form (no strict rule). Developing NBAR would be a leverage for nation branding development, which link between sub-brands. In his book, Dinnie (2008) gives the example of The NBAR (Nation-Brand Architecture) Model among tourism, talent attraction, exports, sports, and inward investment. The NBAR model is described as follows:



Source: (Dinnie, 2008)

Tabel 2. The NBAR model

This model will absolutely support coordination between endorsed brand. Tourism, as a part of umbrella Nation Branding, is managed to increase the potential of regions cities and landmarks. Sandiaga – in his visit to Lombok – committed to rebuild the tourism sector to Gili Trawangan, Gili Air, and Gili Meno. He justified some strategic activities such as extending tourism event, producing travel pattern, promoting tourism package, and rebuilding sustainable tourism (Chairunnisa, 2021). This is a good start in branding management, Sandiaga showed structured development plan on tourism sector amidst this pandemic, even though, this tourism development structure should be developed as national policy.

(3) The nature of nation branding which highly politicized

The third challenge is one of the very critical section in Indonesia, which is politic side. Dinnie (2008) illustrates the successful of cooperating with public and private sector boosting the leader in Brazil. Kerr & Balakrishnan (2012) also justify two dimensions of politics in term of place brand architecture and place management; which are political structure and the second is the control. In addition, leadership also part of the very significant aspect in term

of managing the branding (Kerr & Balakrishnan, 2012). It could be seen on the managerial skill of leader of tourism in Indonesia when Joko Widodo reshuffled Wishnutama (Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy 2019-2020) with, Sandiaga Uno – new selected of minister amidst of COVID. Joko Widodo shows the positioning strategy in the national leadership. In other side, Marijan argues that pandemic Covid could be one of battle to proof the leadership to prepare the 2024 (Chaterine, 2020). Furthermore, during this pandemic, the new Minister of Indonesia Tourism, Sandiaga Uno, strengthens at least three aspects of managing tourism such as innovation, adaptation, and collaboration (Kadarisman, 2021). Based on the intensive policy made, researchers foresee the aggressiveness of policy to rebuild tourism sector new Minister of Tourism and Creative Industry.

Those three challenges will be momentous to be maintained in the branding of tourism in Indonesia. Government should run and choose strategies that accelerate the mission to rebranding, so the tourism sector could be recovered.

Conclusion

In the midst of global turbulence because of COVID is impacted to many sectors such as tourism. For Indonesia, tourism is one of significant factor for economic growth; 12,7 million people absorbed in tourism industries. During COVID many policies have been implemented to mitigate the snowball effect of COVID effect for economic growth. In this paper, the researchers outline the shift of tourism branding using nation branding theory. The significant signal of the branding sift Indonesia tourism is about the changing logo of tourism branding from Wonderful Indonesia to Thoughtful Indonesia. It has goal to achieve the goal to communicate on global level the Indonesia's empathy and soft promotion. It is also targeted to support/justify the program of recovering the tourism effect. The effort to rebuild the tourism industry is also supported by public such as in the social media and celebrities.

The Government launches national policies; in addition the collaboration between Ministerial specifically Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy and Foreign Affairs hold a Workshop to restart national tourism with UNWTO, highlighting the outlook policy to engage and ensure to effort of national policies. Moreover, for initial shifting branding, researchers categorize progressive moving for instance to enforce the collaboration between the public and private sectors and capitalizing the CHSE certification in tourism area. However, nation brand has a challenge to create the integrated architecture development and minimizing the politicized of tourism branding as nation branding. The last is tourism branding challenges related coordination of nation-brand touchpoint, the need of nation-branding architecture development, and the nature of nation branding which highly politicized.

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RACIALIZED BEAUTY: ANALYZING INCLUSIVITY IN THE BEAUTY INDUSTRY

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Abstract

Race and gender are two prominent issues that persistently plague American society. They are often interrelated, particularly in the life experience of black women, as apparent in the construction of feminine beauty standards. The dominant beauty ideals create and perpetuate the perceived superiority of whiteness while labelling blackness as inferior. Currently, the rise of racial awareness in America has influenced the beauty industry as it seeks ways to face racial discrimination. This research aims to highlight the shifts and the persistence of racial bias in the beauty industry. This paper employs qualitative research methodology and uses case study approaches to examine how beauty industry works towards racial inclusion through several notable beauty brands such as Fenty Beauty, Colourpop, and KKW Beauty. The research examines advertising campaigns and social media contents, in light of scholarships on inclusivity of black women in the beauty industry. This research finds that the beauty industry has made headway for more inclusion in recent years. American beauty brands have made conscious efforts to embrace blackness

and black women in their products and campaigns to answered the demand from the increasingly race-conscious masses. Yet, this study finds that inclusion is only at the level of infancy, and that despite the relatively significant development in the beauty industry, more still needs to be done to implement inclusivity.

Keywords: *beauty industry, black women, inclusivity*

Introduction

In 2020, the Black Lives Matter movement has revived black activism in America and serves as momentum to propelled discussion on race and discrimination as significant issues in society. Women's issues have also come under the spotlight with the #MeToo movement in 2017. These social movements have contributed to raising awareness on the long-rooted racial and gender issues. In the realm of beauty, these translate into the rising demand to address the lack of representation for black women. Previously, beauty products in the market only have options for light skin tone. Black women have to buy and mix more products to have the right shade of foundation, and even then, the results rarely match their skin tones (Penrose, 2018). In addition, media tend to present the white body as the beautiful and ideal woman. According to research on American fashion magazines, there is a significant over-representation of white women in beauty advertisements compared to women from other racial groups (Sengupta, 2016). As society becomes increasingly socially aware, these racial biases are no longer tolerated. Now, players in the beauty industry are faced with demands from their increasingly race-conscious consumers to be more inclusive.

This study will answer the research question of how beauty brands contribute to the demand for better inclusion of black women in beauty industry. This study aims to understand how the practice in American beauty industry contribute to racial discrimination in the U.S., and how this industry that is often overlooked and dismissed as trivial is playing an active part to contest whiteness. This research will examine Fenty Beauty, Colourpop, and KKW Beauty

– three beauty brands established during the last ten years – through the form of text and promotional content released since their launch. The collected data will be analyzed using the concepts of intersectionality, beauty ideals, and beauty industry to understand how brands responded to the rising demand of inclusivity for black women. Further examination of this issue will provide an overview of current developments regarding racial issues in America.

Literature review

The issue of racial inclusion in beauty products was raised by Cynthia M. Frisby (2019). In quantitative research conducted on 1,374 foundation products from 49 brands, she finds that light-colored products far outnumbered dark-colored products. In practice, this makes it difficult for dark-skinned women to find products that match their skin tone. This research illustrates that the lack of products for dark-skinned women is a common condition among American companies. Frisby identifies colorism, or the racial bias that favors light or fair skin, as the prime reason of this problem. Lighter skin has become synonymous with the concept of beauty itself, and women use makeup to achieve this objective. By neglecting to produce range of suitable products for dark skin, beauty companies are teaching women to lighten their skin color and reach ideas of beauty through this manner.

The racially-conscious consumers no longer tolerate this discriminatory practice, as the lack of consideration for black women has resulted in public backlash. Dominica J. Jedinak (2019) explored this issue in her analysis on the controversy of Tarte Shape Tape Foundation and its limited color choices. The lack of inclusivity came as a surprise as Tarte was previously known as a socially and environmentally aware brand. The disappointed consumers took to social media to voiced their outrage. Criticism is extended to the lack of representation of women of color in Tarte's promotional content throughout the years.

Tarte made several damage control efforts to address this issue, but most consumers are still reluctant to return to the brand.

Jedinak's work reveals how racial inclusivity has served as the new standard in the beauty industry. Tarte serves as a lesson on the importance of acknowledging racial bias and for beauty industry to be inclusive to people of color. Companies have begun to address the needs of women of color through their products and include them in their campaigns. Even so, the increasing visibility of women of color does not always indicate positive progress. In her research, Margaret L. Hunter (2005) identifies a trend that she calls the 'illusion of inclusion', where cosmetic companies use inclusivity only to promote products towards women of color without leaving the white-centric beauty standard. She argues that even though companies have begun to feature more models of color, the majority of women displayed are light-skinned with Anglo features. Instead of contributing positively to eradicating racial bias in the beauty industry, Hunter believes this practice is perpetuating the dominant beauty standards of white body supremacy.

With the rising prominence of inclusivity in the beauty industry, caution against the illusion of inclusion by brands is required. Extensive studies are needed to assess whether a brand implements inclusivity solely to attract public interest or whether it is aiming to embrace non-white women whom the beauty industry has neglected. This research aims to contribute to existing researches by further exploring the work of makeup brands in addressing racial bias in the beauty industry.

Theoretical Framework

Intersectionality

Intersectionality was first coined by black feminist Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989) to highlight the discrimination towards black women in the legal context. Crenshaw believes that black women are subjected to multilayered discrimination, namely discrimination against their race and their gender. She argues that race and gender must be understood as factors that influenced one another in the life

experience of black women. Subsequently, intersectionality has become relevant in interpreting other social phenomena. It provides a tool to understand and analyse the various complexities of human life (Collins & Bilge, 2016). In this study, intersectionality becomes a framework to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the complex discrimination faced by black women in the realm of cosmetics and beauty.

The Concept of Beauty

The dominant group generally dictates the concept of beauty in modern society, therefore American beauty standards tend to lean towards white bodies (Patton, 2006). Idea of the beautiful and ideal woman in American society is synonymous with light skin, straight hair, and Anglo facial features. This idea is then projected as a general guideline for all women, regardless of their race, ethnicity, or culture (Jackson-Lowman, 2013). This gives rise to what Wolf (1991) calls the beauty myth, an idea about the ideal appearance of women disseminated by the media. In actuality, the concept of beauty constantly changes, is constructed, and therefore unachievable. When it comes to America, the existing beauty myth is highly unattainable for black women (Eley, 2017). As the ideal beautiful body is oriented towards the physical characteristics of white people, black women must alter their physique permanently to achieve it, such as by performing skin bleaching, changing the texture of their hair, and changing their facial features. In addition, the white beauty standard alienates black women and their distinctive physical characteristics. Their skin, hair, and facial features are constantly perceived as less feminine and less beautiful by the dominant concept of beauty (Jha, 2016). As a result, black women are frequently regarded as inferior women, while the supremacy of white bodies is idealized (Hill, 2002). This reveals how racial and gender repressions operate and affect black American women.

Beauty Industry

The beauty industry plays a significant role in shaping the perception of beauty in society while simultaneously operates under the beauty

ideals created by society. The industry perpetuates and maintains the concept of beauty through beauty products and advertising. In doing so, the beauty industry negatively influences women's perception of their bodies (Trampe et al., 2011). Idealization of light skin and white bodies has contributed to shaping and normalizing a beauty industry prejudiced against black skin (Jones, 2013). Racial bias operates in the beauty industry, and it adversely affects the way black women perceived themselves. Studies have suggested that black women, especially those with darker skin tone, are more vulnerable to the negative portrayals of black women in advertisements and mass media (Bryant, 2013). The experience of shopping for beauty products also has negative impacts on black women, as difficulty finding products for their skin tone further emphasizes that the beauty industry is ignoring them (Davis, 2013). This is amplified by the rampant white-washing of black women in advertisements. Their skins are often digitally edited to appear lighter to fit the white beauty standards, resulting in the severe lack of inclusivity in the beauty industry (Greenfield, 2018).

Methodology

This research uses qualitative research methods and a case study approach. The research follows Cresswell's (2012) definition of case study approach as a research model with an in-depth exploration of a limited phenomenon through extensive data collection. This research looks into the cosmetic brands Fenty Beauty, Colourpop, and KKW Beauty, and seeks to understand how the brands answered the call for better inclusion of black women. The primary data used are product advertisements and promotional content obtained through the brands' official websites and social media. The secondary data used are written sources relevant to the topic, including books, journals, and news articles. The data are interpreted and analyzed to understand how each brand implements racial inclusivity.

Result And Discussions

The Case of Fenty Beauty

Fenty Beauty is a makeup company launched in September 2017 by musician and actress Rihanna. The brand quickly rose to popularity, hitting USD 100 million in sales forty days after its release, and was reported to generate USD 570 million in its first year alone (Robehmed, 2019). Drawing inspiration from Rihanna's own difficulty finding suitable products for her skin tone, Fenty was launched with the tagline "Beauty for All" thus affirming their pledge to create makeup products for women of all skin tones (Fenty Beauty, 2021). This commitment to inclusivity differentiates Fenty from other beauty brands at the time and contributes to its success. Soon after its launch, Fenty was listed as one of Time Magazine's 25 Best Inventions of 2017 (Fetto, 2020), further strengthening its position as one of the major players in the American beauty industry.

Fenty Beauty made a significant wave in the beauty industry for its message on diversity and its wide range of complexion products. Pro Filt'r Soft Matte Longwear Foundation is the product that garnered them the most attention. This line offered 40 different colors, now expanded into 50 shades of foundation. It has colors ranging from light, light-medium, medium, medium-deep, to deep. Every color category is available in 10 shades each, making it a well-balanced complexion line between light and dark colors. Foundations in each shade range are created to include a wide array of undertones such as yellow, pink, olive, peach, and golden, ensuring that women of all skin tones are more likely to find a well-matched foundation. The line was expanded further by releasing hydrating foundation, powder foundation, and concealer with all variants available in the same 50 shades with colors that all correspond, making it easier to find a match (Fenty Beauty, 2021). Fenty's product seems to resonate with black women. They share stories and emotional responses on finally getting a foundation that matched their skin for the first time in their lives. Fenty was said to make black women feel seen and no longer excluded, as the product

gives the impression of being made with black women in mind (Obiora, 2019). Nowadays, Fenty has become a brand renowned for the extensive shade ranges of their complexion line.

Fenty Beauty also gained public's attention through their promotional content. Their campaigns consistently feature women of all races and ethnicity, including the underrepresented black women with deeper skin tones (Saputo, 2019). Fenty's official Instagram also frequently showcased black content creators (Fenty, 2021), allowing black women to see people like them represented and acknowledged as beautiful. This attitude towards inclusivity played a significant role in the success of the brand. Before Fenty, beauty brands tend to only favour black women that fit the white beauty ideals for their advertisements. The industry had a preference for light-skinned models, and digitally lightening black models' skin was the norm (Mitchell, 2020). Now, Fenty put blackness front and center without the burden to conform to white beauty ideals. Black women featured in their ads and social media page often embodies physical features naturally associated with black people, and they are celebrated. Fenty often uses the tagline "The New Generation of Beauty" in their advertisements and social media posts, which suggests the aim to distance themselves from the old beauty standard of non-inclusivity. According to Rihanna, Fenty was created so everyone can find their color and be included in this new generation (Fenty, 2021). The brand also wants to move away from the notion that makeup acts as a pressure and forces uniformity. Fenty's products are also framed as instruments for self-expression and enhancing women's natural beauty, as Rihanna stated that their product is for people to play and have fun with (Fenty Beauty, 2021).

Fenty's success created a ripple effect in the beauty industry. The brand was hailed as a trailblazer, initiating the long-overdue conversation around the lack of inclusivity. Since then, other brands have followed suit in releasing more shades to include dark-skinned women. They also seem to follow Fenty's practice by featuring dark-skinned women in promotional content. These initiatives from Fenty

have become normalized to the extent that it is now the standard that every makeup brand is held up against. This growing demand for inclusivity in the beauty industry is known as the Fenty Effect (Panych, 2017). It was a call for makeup companies to fight against racial bias and the lack of inclusion in the beauty industry. Due to the Fenty Effect, having 40-plus foundation shades became the new normal, and makeup brands are scrambling to catch up with what Fenty has done. For example, CoverGirl and Lush extended their foundations to 40 shades, while NYX upped their ranges to 45 shades. Luxury brand Dior also increased their number to 40, while Estée Lauder now offers their foundation in 56 shades. However, it soon became apparent that having a broad range of shades does not equal having inclusive products. When Beautyblender released its foundation line in 32 shades, the brand was met with heavy criticism for having only four shades suitable for darker skin tones (Greaves, 2018). Under this new awareness of racial inclusivity in the beauty industry, brands are under constant scrutiny from their consumers who are not shy to speak up when they see a brand not making enough effort to address their needs.

The Case of Colourpop

Founded in 2014, Colourpop is one of the first makeup brands marketed primarily on the internet and social media. The brand is said to adopt the fast fashion model, a term referring to rapid production of low-cost clothing in high volumes. Colourpop implements this model by mass-producing low-cost makeup products, which has contributed to the acceleration of the brand, making it the most popular online brand in 2019 (Wischhover, 2018). In terms of advertisement, Colourpop opts for mainly showcasing their products and rarely feature a model. It relies heavily on social media content, amassing engagement through giveaways and posts highlighting their consumers' makeup creation. Colourpop has no face associated with the brand, but it is known for frequent collaboration with beauty influencers and pop culture brands.

Colourpop started releasing complexion lines in 2017, beginning with the No Filter Concealer offered in 15 shades. Initially met with

criticism for the lack of dark shades, Colourpop soon extended their range to 30. This line was further expanded with several other foundations, with shades ranging from fair, light, medium, medium-dark, dark, to deep colors and undertones in neutral, warm, and cool tones. In 2019, Colourpop extended its complexion products by releasing the Pretty Fresh line, which includes concealer, foundation, and tinted moisturizer. This line is available in 24 to 42 shades, all in a wide array of colors and undertone, catering to dark skin in its various depth (Colourpop, 2021). In general, both of their complexion lines have been well received. Consumers praised their wide shade ranges, excellent quality, and accessible price point (Kai, 2018). Seven years after its launch, Colourpop has become a household name as the internet-savvy brand with accessible and quality products.

Colourpop has a complicated history of racial issues. In 2016, the brand was under fire for their insensitivity in naming three darkest shades of their Contour Stix with negative words such as Yikes, Typo, and Dume, while the lighter shades have names like Venice and Castle (Terrell, 2016). In 2017, Colourpop received backlash for allegedly darkening their model's arm instead of hiring a dark-skinned model (Frazer-Carroll, 2020). This practice is similar to doing blackface, which is the act of imitating the appearance of black person. In history, blackface was created to ridicule black people, thus it is deemed as racially offensive in today's world. In 2020, black creators have begun the hashtag #colourpopmeblack on Twitter to highlight the absence of inclusivity within the brand, as black creators were rarely showcased on their Instagram posts or included in their PR list (Rearick, 2020). In two days, the hashtag garnered more than 33,000 impressions worldwide as black creators used this opportunity to share their makeup looks using Colourpop's products (Meisner, 2020). Racial bias within Colourpop was also visible in their collection. Colourpop released collaborations with only three black female influencers, and this stands as a stark contrast to numerous collaborations they have with non-black influencers. They often released more than 30 collections per year, but

their non-complexion products are rarely available in colors for dark skin. These past mistakes contributed to the perception of Colourpop as an unfriendly brand for black women. The brand has made several attempts to become more inclusive. Colourpop is working with the people behind the #colourpopmeblack, as the hashtag is now used to find black creators to be featured on their platforms. They also released two collections suitable for dark skin this year, Wild Child and Make It Black. The latter was created in partnership with Pull Up for Change, an online movement combating the racial bias of beauty industry. Colourpop's newer products also no longer used inappropriate names and are now equipped with swatches for dark skin. These changes indicate that Colourpop listened to their consumers and taking the steps to be more inclusive.

The Case of KKW Beauty

KKW Beauty is a makeup brand launched in June 2017 by media personality Kim Kardashian. In recent years, Kardashian is influential in setting the beauty trends. She is known for promoting the contoured makeup look, which is a technique to sculpt the face using makeup products to create the illusion of shadow and light. While she is not the inventor of this look, contouring has become synonymous with her public persona and the contour kit became the flagship product of KKW Beauty's first launch. The brand was reported selling out the contour kit in 3 hours, bringing in USD 14,4 million in sales on the first day alone (Galfas, 2017). In terms of complexion, KKW Beauty only has one concealer product and two contour and highlighting products. It has no foundation product for the face, but it has a body makeup line that includes a body foundation product. Its complexion products are available in limited shades ranging from six to twenty.

New release from KKW Beauty often gains several controversies. During the first launch, Kardashian was accused of doing blackface after posting promotional content where her skin appeared artificially darkened. She denied the accusation by saying she was really tan during the photoshoot (McDermott, 2017). Kardashian herself is of American-

Armenian descent, and though she is mixed-race, her actual skin tone passes as light to medium. The newly launched contour kit also faced backlash because its limited four shades failed to accommodate darker skin (McDermott, 2017). The release of a concealer line in 2018 was criticized as the initial offering of 16 shades only work for light to medium skin. Its campaign was also under fire for featuring models with dark skin tones while the product itself has no shades dark enough for their skin (Petter, 2018). Kardashian responded to the backlash by calling the product pretty inclusive, as she argued that people generally use concealer in shades lighter than their actual skin (Allen, 2018). In 2019, the body foundation product also received backlash for promoting a message that women's natural skin is flawed (Lim, 2019). The public criticism towards KKW Beauty seems to indicate that the brand is still limited in their effort to be inclusive.

It is perhaps necessary to note that public opinion on KKW Beauty has become inseparable from public opinion on Kardashian herself. One of the reasons being that she has a more prominent role as the face of the brand, even when compared to Rihanna for Fenty, as her photos are heavily featured in the brand's official website and social media. Kardashian herself has been frequently accused of appropriating blackness. On many occasions, she received criticism for appearing with darkened skin and hairstyles traditionally associated with black women. Neyra (2020) argued that Kardashian has built her media success by commodifying blackness for mass consumption and propagating the appropriation of black culture. Regardless of the accusations, it is undeniable that the limited color options from KKW Beauty are still unable to accommodate black women. Furthermore, the brand also does not provide swatches on dark skin for some of their product, making it harder for black women to shop for makeup because there are no references on how the product will look on their skin.

Inclusivity in the Beauty Industry

American beauty industry is shaped and shaping the racialized beauty ideals. Compliance with these ideals has influenced the beauty

industry, where they operate under white body supremacy. As a result, the beauty industry consistently dismisses black women through their limited products and lack of representation. This phenomenon illustrates the intersection of race and gender in the life of black women. The white-centric beauty standard perpetuates the notion of black women's inherent inferiority and unattractiveness. This notion translates into the lack of products for dark skin tones, as the industry assumes that women wear makeup to appear whiter and lighter to conform to the dominant white beauty ideals. The intersection of race and gender is also apparent in the industry's preferences toward light-skinned black women. As they are closer to the white beauty standard, these are the only kind of black women deemed worthy of being catered to by the industry.

Inclusion is necessary to negate the long-standing harm from the persistent exclusion of black women from the beauty world. In line with this understanding, Fenty's campaign moves away from beauty ideals unattainable for black women, choosing to embrace blackness through their products and advertisement. The brand recognized the need to start including deeper and darker shades that have been consistently overlooked, giving acknowledgment to black women that have been persistently dismissed by the industry (Fetto, 2020). In a move that further distanced Fenty from other beauty brands at the time, they launched the brand by releasing promotional content that featured women of darker tones. Since then, they have consistently champion inclusivity by featuring diverse women in their official social media. This decision is in line with their tagline, which seems to indicate that inclusivity has been at the forefront of product and content creation since the beginning (Saputo, 2019). In other words, inclusivity in Fenty is realized not through superficial means but was a foundation to the company's establishment in the market.

Following the example of Fenty Beauty, Colourpop has taken the initiative to address the issue of inclusivity. They acknowledged the lack of representation by utilizing the #colourpopmeblack hashtag to

discover more black creators. However, there has been no announcement regarding future collaboration with black creators, and their social media is still saturated with light-skinned imagery. Dark-skinned black creators are featured less frequently ever since the momentum created by the hashtag fades away (Colourpop, 2021). In terms of addressing inclusivity within their product, Colourpop's initiatives in releasing two black-friendly collections must be appreciated. However, inclusivity should not be limited to several collections specifically targeted for black women. Practice like this will only heighten the exclusion of black women from the beauty industry because they are treated as an exception from the norm. Instead, awareness of black women must be present during the creation process of every collection so all future releases can be inclusive for black skin. One way to ensure this is to actively work with black women behind the scene, both as collaborators and decision makers, so their distinct experience can be integrated to generate a fully realized inclusion effort. In June 2020, Colourpop admitted that black people make up only 3% of their employees, which seems to contribute to the lack of inclusivity in their past products (Louzado, 2020). Despite their shortcomings, Colourpop has taken full accountability for their lack of inclusivity, and their efforts in rectifying this issue within the brand are steps in the right direction.

It is becoming more important for brands to answer the consumers' demand for more inclusion. However, surface-level inclusion has detrimental effect of hindering inclusion effort and inciting backlash from the racially conscious masses. Real inclusion cannot come from merely featuring black women in advertisements. By having dark-skinned models to promote a product without dark shades, what KKW Beauty did in their campaign falls closely in line with tokenism, or the symbolic effort to show a small number of minorities to give the illusion of racial or gender equality (Newman, 2017). By doing so, the brand was giving a false sense of tackling racial discrimination while, in actuality, it has taken no tangible action. This is also exacerbated by the allegations of black cultural appropriation surrounding the

brand and Kardashian herself. Contrary to Colourpop, KKW Beauty has been rather defensive in responding to criticism on their lack of inclusivity. Through Kardashian, the brand denied the blackface allegation and claimed to be pretty inclusive, even though their product and advertisement said otherwise. The brand still needs to demonstrate more genuine effort to include black women or cater to the needs of black women.

As awareness for the lack of inclusivity in the beauty industry grows, brands face more demand and have more power to change the status quo. The real impact of increased inclusivity can be seen in how black women responded to the launch of the Fenty foundation line. Receptions on social media displayed an overwhelmingly positive reaction, garnering public response similar to a social movement (Italie, 2017). This illustrates the importance of inclusion and why it is now the social responsibility of every beauty brand to fight for this cause. The beauty industry sent a message of acceptance when they embraced black women through their products and advertisement.

The cases of Fenty Beauty, Colourpop, and KKW Beauty illustrate the contribution of American beauty brands in answering the demand for better inclusion in the beauty industry. Fenty tackled the issue by embodying the commitment to inclusivity from the beginning. It was the Fenty Effect that catalyzed change, as their success prompted other brands to be more inclusive of black women. Colourpop was one of the brands that followed suit. With history of racial issues, the brand contributes to inclusion of black women by acknowledging their oversight and listening to criticism from their consumers. Their efforts toward inclusion still lack in some aspects, but Colourpop demonstrates accountability and willingness to change. In contrast, KKW Beauty still struggles to adopt inclusivity in their practices. Denying their lack of inclusion makes the brand seem unwilling to adapt. Compared to Fenty and Colourpop, KKW Beauty has done the least to answer the demand for better inclusion from the increasingly race-conscious society. As inclusivity becomes the new norm in the beauty industry, it is in the

best interest of every beauty brand to champion this issue. Inclusion in the beauty industry is long overdue, and the rising trend of inclusivity, though still flawed in its implementation by brands, is a progression towards the right direction.

Conclusion

This research concludes that inclusivity in the beauty industry is still in the state of infancy. The three beauty brands studied in this research are progressing in different states towards inclusion. Fenty Beauty has made the conscious effort to embrace blackness through its product and content, while Colourpop is moving from past oversight by addressing and rectifying its lack of inclusivity. Meanwhile, KKW Beauty is navigating to move beyond the tokenism of black women and answer the demand for inclusivity. As America is now at the height of the black rights movement's resurgence, it is more urgent than ever to maintain what progress has been made, improve areas that are still lacking, and abandon practices that might hinder the move towards inclusion. Highlighting the issue of inclusivity in the beauty industry serves as a reminder that more still needs to be done to tackle the multilayered discrimination against black women in every facet of life.

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