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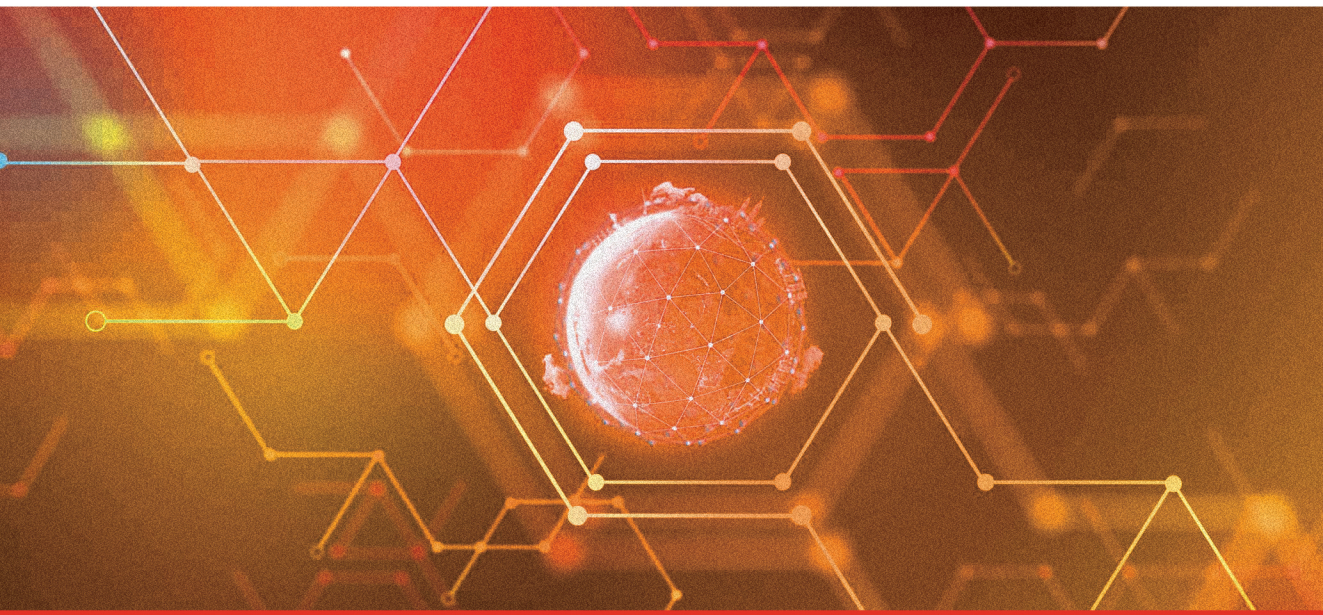
ICPSH 2020

The 1st International Conference on Political, Social & Humanities Sciences

NAVIGATING GLOBAL SOCIETY

in the Disruptive Era

November, 25th-26th, 2020



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©UNSOED PRESS
ISBN: 978-623-6783-36-8
ISBN: 978-623-6783-37-5 (PDF)
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The First International Conference on Political, Social and Humanities Sciences (ICPSH 2020)

Navigating Global Society in the Disruptive Era

November 25th-26th, 2020, Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia

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Published by

UNIVERSITAS JENDERAL SOEDIRMAN PRESS

Gd. UNSOED *Press*

Jalan Prof. Dr. H.R. Boenyamin 708 Purwokerto

Kodepos 53122 Kotak Pos 115

Telepon (0281) 626070

Email: unsoedpress@unsoed.ac.id

Number of Page:
Xiv + 508 pages

Foreword

Navigating Global Society in the Disruptive Era is the main theme of the first International Conference on Political, Social and Humanities Sciences (ICPSH). This theme is adopted since we live in an age of transformation in which strong global forces change the way we live and function. The rise of new emerging economies such as China, India, and other countries in the global south; the rapid proliferation of digital technologies; the rising challenges of globalization; and the global pandemic; all that issues above have impacted global society. Simultaneously, the resurfacing of old international rivalries, the breaking of conventional alignments, and the emergence of new powers are changing the international structure of the 21st century, if not the methodology and analytical methods used by scholars to understand it.

Although power politics is shifting, non-traditional challenges are also on the rise: seemingly never-ending wars in Africa and the Middle East, global migration, environmental problems, and the possibility of transnational terrorism are unavoidable factors that must be taken into account in any possible future scenario. Industrial Revolution 4.0 has had transformative impacts on all lines of society, and the global society must be prepared to face up to new developments that are evolving to the core. Such and other global developments bring substantial new opportunities to global society, nations, industries, businesses, and individuals that have successfully adopted them— but the risk for those who can not keep up has also risen dramatically.

In responding strategic issues relevant to the main theme, the conference has three main topics to be discussed: First, the conference discusses the challenge of current global transformations towards global society, states, market, international engagement, and foreign relations. With the advent of a disruptive era, there is a change in the system of interaction between state actors and non-state actors in the global stage. Second, it discusses the impacts and effects of the disruptive era on international relations and diplomacy at large. Third, it discusses the response of local society, local government, and public administration to the challenge and opportunities bought by the new transformation.

This proceedings explores and develops the central theme from a range of perspectives and backgrounds, school of thought, and interdisciplinary fields of intellectual discourses. Papers in this proceeding are based on theoretical or

observational case studies from any country and area of the world. Some of the problems addressed include the following subtopics: Global Society and emerging technologies, International Relations & Foreign Policy in the Disruptive Era, Peace, human right and security in the era of digital technology, Global health, environmental issues, and global disaster management, Politics, governance, and democracy in the disruptive era, New challenge and opportunity for social movement and global justice, People mobility and international migration, Political communication and new media in the era of Industry 4.0, Challenge to public administration in the disruptive era, Building a resilient society in the disruptive era, New transformation in the global economy, A challenge to the sustainable development goals in the disruptive era, and A challenge and opportunities for education and culture in the era of Industry 4.0. The first ICPSH was trully international perspective and thought.

Report From Organizing Committee

Assalamualaikum Warohmatullohi Wabarokatuh,

On behalf of the organizing committee, it gives me an immense pleasure to welcome all participants and presenters to the 1st International Conference on Political, Social and Humanities Sciences (ICPSH) that will be held on 25th – 26th November 2020 in Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, with the main theme is "Navigating Global Society in Disruptive Era".

It is my pleasure to welcome all the eminent and honorable speakers, Prof Christian Reus-Smit from University of Queensland, Australia; Prof Mohtar Mas'oed from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Prof Miriam Estrada-Castillo from Universidad Casa Grande, Ecuador, Prof Zhang Zhenjiang from Jinan University, China and Luthfi Makhasin, Ph.D from Universitas Jenderal Soedirman. It's an honor for us that you can join our conference, and able to share your knowledge and vast experience with the scholars and students in Indonesia, especially in Universitas Jenderal Soedirman.

This event is the first virtual conference in the history of our faculty which is completely conducted on a digital platform in line with the social distancing norms due to COVID-19 pandemic, and organized by Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman. I believe that this conference will provide excellent opportunity to discuss and learn about recent issues and research related with the main theme of the conference.

As a chairperson of organizing committee, I would like to end this welcome with a round of thanks for everyone who has made ICPSH 2020 possible. I would like to start by thanking my fellow members of the Organizing Committee, fellow colleagues in the Faculty, and administration staff that made what initially seemed like the daunting task of organizing a major international conference appear simple.

I would specially like to extend our gratitude to our University and Faculty management; Rector of Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Dean of Faculty of Social & Political Sciences, and all head of departments in this Faculty for support this conference. Also for all presenters and participants that willing to join and share their thoughts and research.

Thank you. *Wassalamualaikum Warohmarullahi Wabarokatuh*

Arif Darmawan
ICPSH 2020 Conference Chair

Welcoming Remark from Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Assalamualaikum Warohmatullohi Wabarokatuh,

On Behalf of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Jenderal Soedirman University, I would like to say Welcome or "Selamat Datang " to the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Jenderal Soedirman University. It is a true pleasure for me to welcome you all to the first "International Conference on Political, Social & Humanities Sciences" or ICPSH 2020.

The Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Jenderal Soedirman University or FISIP UNSOED, was founded on May 17, 1984. Currently, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Jenderal Soedirman University, has five departments for undergraduate programs, namely Sociology, Public Administration, Communication Studies, Political Science and International Relations. The Faculty of Social and Political Sciences also has three master's programs; they are Masters in Public Administration, Masters in Sociology, and Masters in Communication Sciences.

Following the university's vision, which is "recognized by the world as a center for developing rural resources and local wisdom," the curriculum currently implemented and developed is directed towards achieving that vision. To achieve this vision, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences also continues to improve adequate infrastructure and facilities in accordance with the National Higher Education Standards and is preparing to become a world-class campus through cooperation with foreign partners.

Since its establishment in 1984, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences has produced graduates with excellent character and has contributed professionally in many government and private institutions, both on a national and international level in the social and political fields. We continue to be committed to creating graduates who have analytical and innovative abilities, offering out of the box solutions, thinking critically, and having emotional intelligence. With these abilities, graduates of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences are expected to be able to answer the challenges of today's globalization and develop a curriculum based on local wisdom.

To improve the quality and academic atmosphere in the faculty of social and political science, we hold an international conference this year with the theme "Navigating Global Society in the Disruptive Era."

On behalf of the social and political sciences faculty, I would like to thank all speakers, committee members, presenters, and participants who have participated in the first "International Conference on Political, Social & Humanities Sciences 2020." We hope that similar academic activities will be held again in the coming years with various topics in the field of social and political sciences.

Wassalamualaikum Warohmarullahi Wabarokatuh

Dr. Jarot Santoso, MS
Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Jenderal Soedirman

Welcoming Remark from Rector of Universitas Jenderal Soedirman

The honorable,

- Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Jenderal Soedirman University
- Keynote Speakers,
  - Prof. Mochtar Mas'oed (Gadjah Mada University)
  - Luthfi Makhasin, Ph.D. (Jenderal Soedirman University)
  - Prof. Miriam Estrada-Castillo (Universidad Casa Grande)
  - Prof. Zhenjiang Zhang (Jinan University)
- Participants
- Distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen

Assalamualaikum warrahmatullahi wabarakatuh

Best wishes to all of us

On behalf of Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, I would like to welcome all of the keynote speakers, invited speakers and all participants who attend the The 1st "International Conference on Political, Social & Humanities Sciences" (ICPSH 2020) organized by the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman.

Now we are facing a new disruption era that occurred pushed by the Industrial Revolution 4.0. The world community will begin to recognize that a human-centered society and technology will change the way humans live, work and communicate, which is called Society 5.0.

The concept of a human-centered and technology-based society brings enormous changes in the education system, health services, commerce, government systems, and every aspect of life.

This era requires disruptive regulation, disruptive culture, disruptive mindset, and disruptive marketing that revolutionizes the old lifestyle. Disruption is continuous innovation. Then, the question is, what about our education model, which will later be disruptive to replace the entire old learning system with new ways.

The academic community's task is to provide solutions in organizing life and its harmony with other humans to achieve society's welfare. Therefore, this conference will bridge the scientific role and become an interdisciplinary dialectical study of

social, political, and humanities. We hope that ideas, plans, and actions will emerge in this forum to overcome problems in this disruptive era.

Therefore, we appreciate the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, for this beneficial program. I expect this conference to produce useful outputs.

Last but not least, I congratulate all delegates on participating in this online international conference.

With the name of Allah swt "**Bismillahirahman nirrahim**", The 1st "International Conference on Political, Social & Humanities Sciences 2020" officially open.

Wassalammualaikum Warrahmatullah Wabarakatuh

Prof. Dr. Ir. Suwarto, M.S
Rector

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Communication Patterns and Cultural Adaptation of foreign students at Universitas Prima Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the communication pattern and culture adaptation of foreign students who are currently studying in Universitas Prima Indonesia. The communication pattern and culture adaptation is viewed from the adjustment of communication process that occurs during each interaction between foreign students and adaptation process with new people, environment and groups that they interact with. Since this is a qualitative descriptive study, the determination of research subject uses purposive sampling technique with foreign students from Vietnam and South Korea who are currently (academic year 2019/2020) studying in Universitas Prima Indonesia, head of related working unit, and other relevant parties as the informants. The data used are primary data and secondary data. Data collection techniques used are observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. This study uses thematic analysis, and the coding used in data analysis process is open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. The results of the study conclude that the communication pattern of foreign students with their surrounding experience difficulties despite the limited period for them to interact causing problems in adaptation process, for example relating to food, lifestyle, friendship and climate. Different behavior in communication, either verbal or non-verbal, such as body gesture, tone of voice, taste, etc., is observed during the interaction of foreign students in campus environment, and religious social events. Generally, the students try to adapt themselves to the local environment and culture. Process is required to obtain good adaptation in terms of communication and habits. Each informant needs different period of time, which ranges between one to three months to be able to adapt and acculturate with Medan culture.

Keywords : *Cultural adaptation, communication, foreign students*

I. INTRODUCTION

Communication will always be available in the society in order to build a relationship. With communication, we will learn various things between one another. As a social being, human cannot live by himself. Human will always connect with other human being, which might come from different races. Through communication, we can fulfill our emotional and intellectual needs. To connect with other people, communication is needed, both verbal and non-verbal. Indonesia, as a nation and country, is very open in its international role and relations, plays many roles in peace, economy, politics, culture and other issues, including in the field of education. The Indonesian government opens opportunities and cooperation for foreign students who wish to study in Indonesia. In studying on campus, students cannot be on their own, they always need other people to explore and develop their potential. Intercultural communication is not just a process of relationship and interaction between an Indonesian individual and other person from another nationality. More than that, intercultural communication also requires effort and the ability to capture, particularly nonverbal symbols as the part of the each individual's culture. Any person undergoing a process of communication with different cultures will inevitably experience a culture shock that is different from the culture of origin. These signs or symptoms cover the various ways conducted in controlling ourselves to deal with everyday situations. This is also experienced by foreign students who are currently studying at Prima Indonesia University. They come from several countries, such as Vietnam and South Korea. They study like other regular students, so they have a lot to align with. Specifically, in the learning process, students from South Korea are currently studying in the Indonesian Language and Literature Education Study Program and they are included in regular classes along with other students. In the handling and adaptation process, communication skill is one of the supporting factors for foreign students in their learning process. Based on these problems, this study wants to describe:

1) Is there any communication barrier in the process of culture adaptation to the current environment?
2) What is the communication pattern of foreign students in communicating in the classroom learning process and within the surrounding environment?

II. Literature Review

2.1 Communication

Communication pattern is the representation of a communication event that can be used to see the elements

involved in it. Communication pattern is also commonly referred to as a model of communication process, so that with the various types of communication models and parts of the communication process, the suitable and easy-to-use communication pattern can be found. In general, communication pattern can be interpreted as a model of information delivery process.

This study aims to describe the intercultural communication patterns formed by foreign students in their learning environment. In its stages, this communication pattern is explored through typical and repetitive communication behaviors that occur in every interaction between foreign students, specifically when they come into and adapt to the new people, environment, and groups that they encounter. Language is one of the things that facilitate communication. Different languages from different backgrounds become an obstacle for some people to communicate with people from other countries that speaks in different language with their mother tongue. According to Owen in Setiawan (2006: 1), "language is a socially accepted code or a conventional system to convey concepts through the use of desired symbols and combinations of symbols regulated by provisions".

2.2 Cultural Adaptation

Adaptation is a bridge that needs to be crossed so that individuals or groups of people can communicate with other parties of different cultures. Adaptation in the study of intercultural communication is generally associated with changes from the society or parts of the society (Utami, 2015). People who quickly adapt tend to have awareness and sensitivity towards their environment, so they can immediately be ready to change and alter their behavior. There are many things that motivate people to adapt. Brent D. Ruben and Lea P. Stewart (2013: 375) quoted Young Yun Kim and elaborated then described the steps in the process of adapting a culture. In general, there are four phases (honeymoon phase, frustration phase, readjustment phase, and resolution phase) plus the planning phase. Planning phase is the phase where a person is still in the original condition and prepare everything.

a. Honeymoon phase is the phase where a person experiences joy as the initial reaction of admiration, is full of enthusiasm for new things, is enthusiastic, friendly, and has good relationships with local people.
b. Frustration Phase is the phase in which a person's attraction to new things gradually starts to turn into frustration.

c. Readjustment phase is the phase where a person begins to solve the crisis experienced in the frustrating phase.
d. Resolution phase is the last phase of the cultural adaptation process, which is the final way that a person takes as the way out of the discomfort feeling. In this phase there are several things that can be chosen, namely: Flight (deciding to leave the environment), Fight (deciding to stay and try to face everything), Accommodation (compromise), and Full Participation (enjoy).

III. Method

This study uses the constructivism paradigm. The constructivism paradigm is using qualitative data analysis techniques. Data analysis is discussed within the framework of the cultural adaptation process by Gudykunt & Kim (2003) in the communication process that occurs among foreign students at Prima Indonesia University.

IV. Result and Discussion

4.1 The Characteristics of Foreign Students in Prima Indonesia University.

Foreign students that become the informants in this study are students from Vietnam and South Korea who are currently studying in the Undergraduate Study Program of Dentistry and Indonesian Language and Literature Education at Prima Indonesia University. This study is expected to obtain an overview of different communication patterns among foreign students when they adapt to the new environment both inside and outside of their classroom.

Table 1
Adaptation Phase of the Informants

Informant (s)	Planning Phase	Honeymoon Phase	Frustration Phase	Readjustment Phase	Resolution Phase
Kim Somang, from South Korea. 4th Semester Student of Indonesian Language and Literature Program	Prepare the documents. Previously, he learned Indonesian language for three months at the church where he served.	Feel normal but confused in the beginning due to different information that he received.	Frustrated because of the difficulty in communication due to language limitation that often causing miss-communication.	Learn Indonesian language more intensively and get help from friends that understand English and repeat the sentences.	Accommoda-tion

Kim Heeji from South Korea. 4th Semester Student of Indonesian Language and Literature Program	Prepare the documents. Learn Indonesian language with friends. Looking for information regarding the university that has Indonesian Language Program.	Feel excited because eager to learn the language he has been longing to learn for long.	Frustrated because of extreme culture difference from his country. Particularly the long administrati on process.	Accept that each country has different administration process and learn to adapt with the condition.	Fight
Phan minh Quang from Vietnam. 4th Semester Dentistry Program	Learn English. Prepare the documents. Looking for information about Indonesia from the seniors that came to study in Indonesia before him.	Feel excited because from friend's information the culture is not too different and it is easy to find food that matches with their taste.	Frustrated because of different communication pattern. Different intonation and way of speaking.	Understand the way of communication and adapt to the local culture. Feel that the staffs of the Study Program are helpful in their adjustment process. Learn Indonesian language for daily conversation.	Full Participation
Traan Thuy Duong from Vietnam. 4th Semester Dentistry Program	Prepare the documents and learn English intensively. Only gather few information on the Campus from the internet.	Want to learn the local culture and try their culinary.	Frustrated because of the curiosity from the surrounding society and difficulty in communicating in local language.	Overlook these conditions and try to remain friendly with the surrounding society.	

4.2. Process of Cultural Adaptation

This study aims to find out the communication and adaptation patterns of foreign students at Prima Indonesia University. The results of observations and interviews with these students were explored through their actions and behaviors during classes, interaction with lecturers, education staff and their classmates, as well as their daily communications. Unfortunately, this study was carried out when Covid-19 pandemic strike so that the field observations cannot be carried out to the optimum level. The study was conducted via WhatsApp or Zoom application.

Foreign students who come from various countries require a process of adaptation or adjustment to a new socio-cultural environment during their daily life while completing their education at Prima Indonesia University. This adaptation can be seen from the language, place of residence, environment, and cultural conditions which are quite different. It requires them to resolve any cultural issues properly so that they do not interfere and causing failure in adapting with their environment.

Based on the accounts of the informants, the adaptation process is carried out by following the daily habit patterns of their current surrounding environment. The informants chose to adapt to the local people and culture as their way of adaptation. Students who come from Vietnam currently live in a dormitory on campus, while students who come from Korea rent a house near the campus.

In the communication pattern between foreign students and other Indonesian students, they can follow interactions with fellow classmates. The communication pattern used by the foreign students is to use interpersonal communication, which starts with culture introduction before coming to Indonesia, after arriving in Indonesia they experience culture shock and they overcome it by asking for advice from fellow foreign students or with local students on how to adapt to a new culture and country.

The use of Indonesian language that is not in accordance with the grammar rules causes obstruction in communication, because most foreign students learn Indonesian according to the grammar rules. They have a little difficulty in interpreting the intonation because of differences in dialect or behavior when communicating both verbally and nonverbally. There are differences in voice tone, speech speed, and facial expressions that are observed when the foreign students greet, acquaint, discuss or make presentation in class, but they can overcome problems

in these communication patterns as they interact more often with their surroundings. Students feel that the staffs at the study program have helped a lot in adapting to their surroundings. They have even dared to try to buy local food around the dormitory.

Some students from Vietnam even try to learn Indonesian language although they only need it for daily communication with their surroundings. Some problems during introduction process until friendship are faced by the foreign students with local students. It can be said that they have gone through several stages in adjusting to the social conditions. Their social relationship develops from being unfamiliar to making friends. First, the communication relationship between one person to the other begins at the superficial stage and moves on a continuum towards a more intimate stage (West and Lynn, 2008: 197). And it is not uncommon for them to come out together just to understand better about the local culture and principles. The student from South Korea said that at the start of his study he was a little surprised by the different conditions from his home country. And also the problem in language because Indonesian is the language used in class.

V. Conclusion

Foreign students at Prima Indonesia University find issues in communicating in daily life, but each of them tries various ways in adapting to the new cultural environment. The limited time for them to interact creates problems in the adaptation process, for example relating to food, lifestyle, friendship and climate. Generally, they try to adapt themselves to the local environment and culture. Some of them choose their self-concept in overcoming problems during the process of cultural adaptation, where they compromise with the new culture, but still have boundaries in choosing which Indonesian cultures they can follow and cannot. Some choose to ask fellow local students as their informants about local culture, some also find out from the staff on campus as well as their lecturers.

Likewise, for daily communication with the surrounding environment around they choose the principle of openness. With classmates or lecturers, they start early to communicate. However, with the people they live in, they still choose to be careful in communicating. Differences in how to behave when communicating both verbally and nonverbally, such as gestures, tone of voice, differences in tastes and others are observed when

foreign students interact in the campus environment and socio-religious activities. Generally, they try to adapt to the local environment and culture.

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Potential Threats of Transnational Crimes in The Indonesia-Malaysia Border Area

Case Study: The Border Area Of North Kalimantan-Sabah

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Abstract

Indonesia is a country directly adjacent to Malayisia. The border area between Indonesia and Malaysia, which is directly bordered by North Kalimantan. North Kalimantan is a province resulting from regional autonomy in the province of East Kalimantan. Transnational crime is a crime that always occurs in border areas which has the potential to become a threat to Indonesia and Malaysia. North Kalimantan as a new province can have a special strategy to be able to minimize the potential arising from transnational crimes that threaten the border between Indonesia and Malaysia in the provinces of North Kalimantan and Malaysia's Sabah. The purpose of this study is to provide knowledge and understanding of the potential threats of transnational crime in border areas. The method used in this research is a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The data collection method used was literature study. The research analysis technique uses an interactive model. The expected result in this study is to find out how much the potential threat of transnational crime and the real efforts of the two countries.

Keyword: *Indonesia-Malaysia border, Transnational crime, North Kalimantan-Sabah*

I. INTRODUCTION

The border area is like the backyard of a country which is often not a priority for the country in terms of regional development. We often find that in almost various border areas, every country in the world has various problems related to border problems which, if examined, have emerged for a long time and have always been developing from year to year. At first, state borders were a geographical space that was contested by two countries to expand boundaries between countries (Bangun, 2017).

State border areas are the main manifestation of a country's territorial sovereignty. The border area of a country has an important role in determining the boundaries of sovereign territory, the use of natural resources, as well as security and territorial integrity. The border problem has complex dimensions. There are a number of crucial factors involved in it, such as jurisdiction and state sovereignty, politics, socio-economy, and defense and security(Bangun, 2017).

At first the RI-Malaysia border area which is currently recognized is essentially a colonial product. In this case, the seizure of territory between the Dutch and British in Kalimantan resulted in agreements contained in three Treaties, namely the Treaty of The Boundary Convention between the Netherlands and England signed in London, 20 June 1891, The Boundary Agreement between the Netherlands and England signed in London, September 28, 1915, and The Boundary Convention between the Netherlands and England signed in the Hague, March 26, 1928.

As a colonial product, Indonesia and Malaysia each inherited the Dutch and British agreement on the division of sovereignty on the border between the two countries, until now, still inherits the problem of the division of the territory which has not been resolved. A number of issues related to the determination of maritime and land boundaries between RI-Malaysia indicate this reality (Wangke, 2018).

There are three provinces directly adjacent to Malaysia, namely West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan , and North Kalimantan which is directly adjacent to Sabah. North Kalimantan Province was previously an area of East Kalimantan Province. Since 1999, this district has been divided into three districts and one city each of Bulungan Regency, Malinau Regency, Nunukan Regency and Tarakan City and one additional autonomous region, namely Tana Tidung Regency(Pengabdian & Masyarakat, 2014).

Table 1.
The Number of province bordering

Number	Name of province	Bordering
1	West Kalimantan	Serawak
2	East Kalimantan	Mahakam Ulu
3	North Kalimantan	Sabah

In 2013 North Kalimantan officially separated from East Kalimantan and became the province of North Kalimantan. The aim of the formation of this province is to encourage increased services in the fields of government, development and society, shortening the span of control of government, especially in border areas which are prone to potential threats of transnational crime.

II. LITERATURE RIVIEW

Many researchers found research on transnational crime both in general and directed at related objects about transnational crime in border areas. As for some literature that discusses transnational crimes in the border area, one of which was researched by Simela Victor Muhamad (2015) entitled Transnational crimes of Drug smuggling from Malaysia to Indonesia: Cases in the provinces of Riau and West Kalimantan. The results of this study indicate that there is a form of transnational crime, organized drug smuggling by international syndicates that enter from Malaysia to Indonesia through the borders of the provinces of Riau and West Kaliamantan (Muhamad, 2015).

In addition, other research was also conducted by Nikodemus Niko (2017) entitled the phenomenon of trafficking in person in the West Kalimantan border area. The results of this study indicate that there is a transnational crime phenomenon that emerges, namely human trafficking, especially trafficking of women in the border area of West Kalimantan and Sarawak, Malaysia (Niko & Niko, 2017).

Here the researcher saw a difference in the results of research that had been studied by previous researchers. Researchers have found new findings or novelty which researchers focus on the potential threat of transnational crime in the border area of North Kalimantan with Sabah Malaysia which has varied potential threats because North Kalimantan province is a province whose regional development is still relatively new and lack of basic research. related to transnational crime in the region. In addition, researchers also highlighted the attitudes and roles of the two countries in facing the threat of transnational crime.

III. METHOD

This study used qualitative research methods. Qualitative research focuses on individual meanings and problem complexity. The type of approach used is case studies. A case study is a research about a unified system in the form of programs, activities, events related to a certain place, time and bond, understanding a case study as

research that investigates a program, event, activity, process or a group of individuals.

The uniqueness and uniqueness of the research object are the main considerations using this type of approach. Qualitative research that becomes an instrument or research tool is the researcher himself (Sugiyono, 2015). There are characteristics of its own in the focus of the study that differentiate it from other cases. This approach is intended to dig deeper into a phenomenon from the initial process to the end of the research and research to data on the potential threat of transnational crime in the Indonesia-Malaysia border region in the Kaltara region with Sabah.

The results of this document research will later be used as a reference to see the potential threat of transnational crime in the border area of Kaltara and Sabah, which is the border of the two countries of Indonesia and Malaysia. Data analysis in this study was carried out interactively. According to Sugiyono, activities in qualitative data analysis are carried out interactively and take place continuously until completion. Interactive model data analysis consists of three main things, namely data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions (verification) (Sugiyono, 2015)

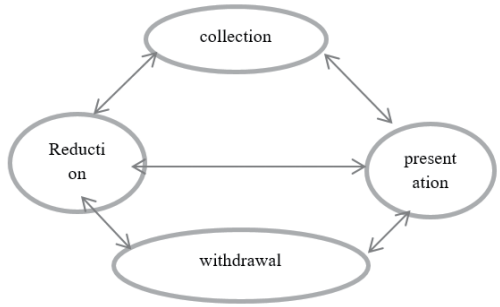

Figure 1: Interactive model

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Threats of Transnational Crime that Could Potentially Threaten the Kaltara-Sabah Border Area

Potential transnational threats involving internal elements already occurs frequently, in fact in cases of transnational crime almost always involving the security apparatus, civil apparatus and elements of the community. and unscrupulous Public. Based on the analysis of the Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS) and the Agency State Intelligence (BIN), activities related to organizations / syndicates originating from abroad, are involved in various cases of transnational crimes, such as terrorism, trafficking, smuggling of illegal goods and drugs.

Transnational crime is an organized crime, whose operational area includes several countries, which has an impact

on the political, governmental, socio-cultural and economic interests of a country and is global in nature. Conceptually, transnational crime means a crime or crime that crosses national borders (Hukum & Indonesia, 2018). For the context of North Kalimantan, the issue of border development that has received the most attention by many circles is the problem of transportation infrastructure services.

Factual conditions in the land border area of North Kalimantan (such as those in Malinau Regency: Long Nawang District, Long Ampung District, and in Nunukan District: Krayan District, Krayan Selatan District, Lumbis Ogong District, Simanggaris District, Tulin Onsoi District) are still dominated by poor road network conditions. In general, the road network conditions in the land border area are still found in the form of dirt and rocky roads. Apart from infrastructure, another problem is the lack of access to basic residential facilities and infrastructure, such as the electricity network and telecommunications networks (Sudiar, 2015). From the characteristics of the development of border areas that are still minimal, there are gaps that could potentially lead to transnational crimes such as cases of smuggling, for example timber smuggling and also illegal trade.

4.2 Attitudes and Efforts of the Two Countries in Responding to Transnational Crime Threats

The threats that arise due to transnational crime, both countries have an attitude in responding to it. The attitude shown by the Indonesian government can be seen from how Indonesia holds talks at the bilateral level which is the responsibility of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the spearhead in engaging with the Malaysian side (Irewati, 2005).

Malaysia and Indonesia have also started planning a new working group, namely the Sosek Malindo which was previously quite optimal in overcoming all problems in the border areas of West Kalimantan and Sarawak. Sosek Malindo, which is a form of international regime formed based on an agreement between the two countries in order to develop and prosper the border areas of each country (Fahrozi et al., 2019)

Sosek Malindo has three core discussions in the form of socio-cultural cooperation, second, the economic sector, trade and transportation, third, the security sector and border management .With the plan to create a new social and social work group for Malindo in the Kaltara-Sabah border area, new hopes are emerging for the two countries in facing the threats that arise from transnational crimes.

V. CONCLUSSION

Transnational crime is a threat that needs to be watched out for, especially since this crime has the potential to occur in border areas. Indonesia and Malaysia are directly adjacent countries, many of the border areas of the two countries are the mobility for transnational crimes to occur.

The provinces of North Kalimantan and Sabah are both areas that are vulnerable to the threat of transnational crime because the province of North Kalimantan is a new province and the development of the border area is still very minimal, both infrastructure and communication networks that make it easier for foreign syndicates to commit transnational crimes such as timber smuggling and illegal trade.

Real efforts were made by the two countries by planning a Malindo social security working group that focuses on handling security in border areas.

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Forest And Land Fire Reporting In South Sumatra: From Local To National Media Frames

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Abstract

Forest and land fires (Karhutla) become a serious problem that requires a commitment to resolve and anticipate in the future. South Sumatra is one of the regions that experience problems of Karhutla every year. In reporting an issue, each mass media has a different frame that directs the attention and opinion of its readers. This study used a qualitative research design with Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis method. This study analyzed Karhutla coverage in 2019 from online news portals, Tribun Sumsel, Sumatera Ekspres, Okezone.com, and Kompas.com. The results showed that the news frames of Okezone.com and Tribun Sumsel had the same tendency, both presented the Karhutla Task Force and police officers as heroes to overcome Karhutla. Sumatera Ekspres framed the corporations more positively by highlighting their contribution, while the fact that the company's operational practices can trigger Karhutla were excluded. Kompas.com's frames emphasized three things, including the impact, government efforts, and corporate involvement. It appears that Kompas.com applied objectivity by including the facts about the corporation's involvement in causing Karhutla by covering these cases carefully through the euphemism of the phrase "blamed" to "negligent".

Keywords: Framing, Karhutla, Objectivity

I. INTRODUCTION

Forest and land fires (Karhutla) are causing serious problems such as smoke which pollutes the air and causes respiratory diseases and disrupts visibility. The impact of Karhutla is not only felt by the people around the fires but is also widespread—it is triggering global warming and climate change,

reducing clean water sources, causing drought, landslides, and floods (Dewi/ Inggried Dwi Wedhaswary/ Kompas.com, 2018).

In South Sumatra, in August 2019, forest and land fires burned 361,857 hectares of land. Areas in South Sumatra with the worst forest and land fires such as Ogan Komering Ilir (OKI) Regency, Penukal Abab Lematang Ilir (PALI) Regency, Banyuasin, and Lubuklinggau. This forest and land fire incidents were covered by many mass media.

One of the roles and functions of the mass media is to convey information. Through its news products, the mass media convey crucial issues to society (Nadie, 2018: 38-39). Mass media is not only capable of making information literate society, it can also direct public opinion through *news* frames. The frame is a storyline or main idea which is used to interpret ongoing events and links a relationship between them (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987 in Brewer and Gross, 2009: 159). Entman (1993) (Brewer dan Gross, 2009: 159) explained that framing is a selection of several aspects of reality then makes these aspects more prominent in the text (news) to direct the definition of a problem, interpretation, moral evaluation, and problem-solving recommendations in some way.

Frames help readers understand reality in an abstract world into something meaningful, orderly, and easy to understand (Durham in Eriyanto, 2002:77). Through news frames, it is easier for the public to understand complex social problems or issues. Nevertheless, society cannot fully rely on claims of neutrality and objectivity in the mass media because news is not a reflection of reality but a construction result of reality. Journalists, editors, resource persons, and people who have power over mass media become actors who construct journalistic products (news). Mass media workers always do framing in conducting their duties. Starting from determining the issue, the reporting process in which the selection of facts/reality occurs to news writing where journalists will choose their angles and emphasize (Eriyanto, 2002: 81). The attitude of journalists towards an issue can be seen from the emphasis they put on: how they place the headlines, choose sources and diction, use graphics and certain labels, repeat words or sentences.

Each mass media has different framing in raising an issue. It is not only the policies and ideology of the mass media which determine how an issue is framed in the news. Individual ideology (journalists and editors), internal pressures from media owners, demands of media executives to meet market tastes, and external pressures also influence the framing of the news (Entman, 2009: 340).

Forest and land fires are a very serious problem given the wide impact they caused. By this time, the incident of forest and land fires has been repeated every year with solutions that have not touched the root of the problem. Therefore, it is crucial to review how much attention the local and national mass media have had in raising the issue of forest and land fires and to see how much emphasis has been made on the coverage. This paper sought to review how the framing of local and national online media is in reporting the forest and land fires which occurred in South Sumatra.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 From mass media to online media

Talking about the mass media means that the message the communicator wants to convey is addressed to a large number of audiences (McQuail, 2010:183). We are familiar with the mass media around us, such as television, radio, and newspapers. Along with the times, the mass media are now also adapting to technological developments, namely the emergence of online media.

McQuail (2010) classified this online media as the new media. New media has main characteristics such as connectedness, reciprocal access between the audience and the message sender, interactive, multiple uses, and accessible at any time (McQuail, 2010). Technically, online media is media based on telecommunication and multimedia, which are computers and the internet. Romli (2012:30) explained that the categories of online media include news portals, webpages, online radio, online television, and e-mail.

However, not all online media are mass media. Several conventional mass media have converged into online media to keep up with the rapid current development. In this paper, the online media to be studied is an institutionalized online news portal and/or registered in the press council.

2.2 News Framing

In a news portal, the news is the heart or core of the content which to be conveyed to the public. Charnley (in Romli, 2014:5) defined news as the fastest report of an event or incident which is factual, important, and interesting for most readers and concerns their interests. Every news has the main elements with the formula of 5W+1H (What, Who, When, Where, Why + How) to be able to make an event newsworthy.

When writing a story, a journalist will not necessarily have the same point of view as other journalists. Not a single journalist can escape from subjectivity even though they have been

as professional as possible (Ishwara, 2011:66). A journalist's point of view is still reflected in the news they write. The way journalists, or in general the media, highlight an event into news will be described in the following discussion which is framing.

Framing is seen as placing information in a specific context so that certain issues receive a bigger allocation than other issues (Eriyanto, 2002:220). Framing allows information to be displayed more prominently so that it is easy to receive and remember.

Robert N. Entman (1993:53) explained that framing makes information more prominent by placing and repeating words with symbols which are known culturally. Moreover, words that have nothing to do with the main idea of the news issue can stand out if they fit into the message recipient's belief system scheme. There are two big dimensions in viewing a framing (Entman, in Eriyanto, 2002:221), including a selection of issues and highlighting or emphasizing aspects. Issue selection means selecting facts that will be presented in the news text. Highlighting or emphasizing aspects is how these facts are presented in the news text. The choice of words used in the news text is not only technical journalism but also language politics.

III. METHOD

This paper utilized a constructionist approach (paradigm) in which reality is something that is formed and constructed (Berger and Luckmann, in Eriyanto, 2002:15). The news text is not a reflection of objective reality because in the news production process there are values, moral and ethical choices, and the alignments of the journalists involved (Eriyanto, 2002: 32-37).

The data used in this research was secondary data which was news articles in local (sumsel.tribunnews.com and sumeks.co) and national (kompas.com dan okezone.com) online media portals. News articles regarding forest and land fires were collected and then read, examined, and analyzed using framing analysis from Gerald M. Kosicki. Gerald M. Kosicki's framing analysis model emphasizing four framing devices, including syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures (Eriyanto, 2002:256). The first structure, the syntax looks at how journalists organize statements, opinions, quotes, and observations on an event into a general structure of news. Second, the script structure observes how journalists tell an event in the form of news. Third, the thematic structure is related to how journalists express their views on a problem or event into sentence propositions or relationships between sentences which then form the whole

text. Fourth, a rhetorical structure that reveals how journalists emphasize certain meanings in the minds of readers through their choice of words, idioms, graphics, and certain images (Eriyanto, 2002: 294).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the constructionism paradigm, the news is not understood as something objective and neutral. A news product is inseparable from the framing process, starting from the coverage stage to the presentation. News framing is a practice that cannot be avoided because the reality of a complex world needs to be simplified so that reality becomes meaningful and easily understood by the public.

To find out how the attitude of the local and national online media in framing the news about the Forest and Land Fires (Karhutla) which occurred in South Sumatra, the authors utilized Pan and Kosicki's model framing analysis. This model analyzed the news through four framing devices of syntactic, scripts, thematic, and rhetorical structures (Eriyanto, 2002: 256-265).

The 38 headlines published by Okezone could be classified into four major themes which were the occurrence of forest and land fires (6 news), the government's efforts to solve the Karhutla (14 news), the impacts of Karhutla (12 news), and other themes which consist of the president's statement, the government's anticipation of preventing forest and land fires, the distribution of hotspots, and community efforts to solve the forest and land fires (6 news).

Tribun Sumsel had 62 news during 2019 which could be classified into six major themes which were the government's anticipation of preventing forest and land fires (19 news), the occurrence of forest and land fires (13 news), distribution of hotspots, and the area of burned land (4 news), the government efforts to solve the forest and land fires (14 news), community efforts to solve Karhutla (2 news), and the impact of forest and land fires (10 news).

Of the 44 news published by Sumeks, there were five major themes which were corporations related to forest and land fires (2 news), government's efforts to handle forest and land fires (20 news), events in the middle of forest and land fires (14 news), the contribution of NGOs in handling forest and land fires (1 news), and arson actions by residents (4 news).

Emphasizing the urgency of handling and the serious impact of forest and land fires was conducted by Kompas.com in reporting the problem of Karhutla. This can be seen from the selection of news headlines and the frequency of news reporting which

mostly promoted information updates about the development of forest and land fires and how it has been handled. Kompas described officers from government agencies including the BNPB (Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management), the Forest and Land Fire Task Force, the Forest Service, and Indonesian National Armed Forces as heroes. While presenting government agencies as heroes, Kompas still criticized the Governor of South Sumatra and the local government for not having enough role in overcoming the forest and land fires. This critical frame was inserted through disharmony between the title and photo elements. In the news entitled "The Governor of South Sumatra Goes to Malaysia in the Middle of Land Fires", the photo shown was not a photo of the Governor visiting activities but of students on a boat crossing the Musi River which was covered in thick smoke. Kompas disclosed the involvement of corporations carefully through the lexicon "negligent" and "allegedly burning the land" when explaining the company's fault. In the news, Kompas quoted the head of the company as applying the journalistic principle of cover both sides but the portion given was less than the quotation from government sources.

Sumeks.co's framing tended to highlight the government's positive image. Sumeks.co focused more on the government's role in handling forest and land fires with 20 headlines out of a total of 44 forest and land fires news. From all the news about the forest and land fires, Sumeks.co never raised any criticism of the central or regional governments contrary to Kompas.com which raised criticism for the lack of support from the Regional Head. Moreover, Sumeks.co also displayed a positive image of the company, especially its partner APP Sinarmas. Information about companies involved in the Karhutla incident had been excluded and replaced with news about companies that assist in handling the forest and land fires. When reporting the residents who burned the land, these individuals were displayed as the ones to blame for the forest and land fires problem.

In framing the forest and land fires problem, Okezone.com emphasized the impacts of it quite intensely. Okezone.com tried to dramatize the conditions caused by Karhutla through a metaphor that appears in the title "Dense Haze of Jalintim Smoke is Like Walking on Clouds". In the rhetorical element (photo) of one of the news, Okezone.com displayed a baby who allegedly died due to smog. This dramatization aimed to inspire empathy for readers and all parties (government and corporations) involved not to ignore the forest and land fires problem. Kompas.com also did the same thing by showing photos of fire-

fighting actions by young children with makeshift tools such as coconut branches. Okezone.com published a short story entitled "The Police Determines 185 Suspects and 4 Corporations in the Forest and Land Fires Case" related to corporate involvement which disclosed the number of companies but did not mention the names of the corporations. Regarding the depiction of government agencies, Okezone.com featured the Ministry of Environment and Forestry as a firm figure seen through the lead.

The media framing of Tribunsumsel.com was almost similar to Sumeks.co which was very favorable to the government. Tribunsumsel.com presented 33 headlines from a total of 62 news stories which not only covered efforts to handle the fires but also the government's anticipation of forest and land fires. Meanwhile, news about the impact of forest and land fires received a smaller portion. Tribunsumsel.com also described government agencies as heroes who were highlighted through rhetorical elements such as photo selection, captions, and the lexicon of "struggle". Regarding the involvement of corporations in the forest and land fire issues, Tribunsumsel.com did not come up with a single headline discussing this matter. Regarding the selection of citation sources, official government sources were more prominent than company sources. The dominance of this government source can also be seen in the frame of Okezone.com, Kompas.com, and Sumeks.co.

V. CONCLUSION

Users of online news portals who continue to grow and now, online news portals as the main consumption for the majority of the public, demand that the media play a better role in framing the news they load. The framing of this news will have a big influence on public opinion which will be framed in society.

During this study, the most felt news frame raised by the media is how big the role of the relevant governments both local and central in dealing with the forest and land fire problem. How the performance of the government and the positive sides of the government in handling the forest and land fires are highly highlighted in the news.

The news framing between one media and another looks different when reporting on corporate involvement. Kompas.com disclosed in detail the companies involved but tended to be careful in reporting it. Okezone.com also inserted news about the corporations involved but in a very small portion and not in detail, while Sumeks.co and Tribunsumsel.com seemed to eliminate the issue of corporate involvement.

Regarding the portion of the coverage, the corporations involved in the forest and land fires incident received

a smaller portion compared to the news from the government's portion of news. Moreover, the impact and updates on the forest and land fires incident were not missed. This portion was packaged as an important issue by the media.

News framing may lead readers to certain conclusions on an issue or problem. Regarding environmental conditions that are increasingly threatened globally, journalists should be able to apply an environmental journalism approach in their news frame so that the public, government, and corporations see the urgency of protecting the earth from forest and land fires and other environmental threats as a shared responsibility.

Further research may examine in-depth media routines by conducting media ethnographic research to reveal how the gatekeeping process in the newsroom determines how an issue is selected and framed into a news product.

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Haul Habib Ali Al-Habsyi in Solo The Emergence of A New Tradition Amidst The Thick of Javanese Traditions

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Abstract

This study analyzes causes of increase in pilgrims to the tomb of Habib Alwi bin Ali Al-Habsyi and cause of the existence of haul Habib Ali in Solo. This event is able to bring in thousands of pilgrims from various regions in Indonesia and abroad. It is interesting that Habib Alwi's tomb is located in the city of Solo, which is a city that is very thick with Javanese culture, but this event can exist and be held regularly. This research uses an interpretative qualitative research model. Data analysis uses interpretative. The main theory used is identity and commodification. The results of this research are that the increase in the number of pilgrims to Habib Alwi's tomb is caused by 2 factors, namely (1) the factor are identity of Habib Alwi and his social identity; (2) the existence of haul Habib Ali which made the existence of Habib Alwi's tomb even more popular. In addition, haul Habib Ali shows that it is not just Javanese culture that can coexist with the traditions of haul Habib Ali but moreover it can be a counter issue. Haul Habib Ali is on tourism agenda in Solo, that cannot be separated from the commodification.

Keywords: *Pilgrimage, Solo Religious Tourism, Javanese Traditions, and Haul Habib Ali.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Pilgrimage has become a habit of Javanese society. Every year before the month of *Ramadhan* is usually the peak of the pilgrimage. They have a habit of making pilgrimages to the tomb of family and relatives. However, outside of this custom, they also made pilgrimages to the tombs of certain people who were considered to be figures or clerics.

Pilgrimage to the tombs of a figure or cleric can be done at any time, but usually the most crowded is Thursday night.

The people of Solo are still doing pilgrimages. Solo as the center of Javanese culture knows the *nyadran* tradition. In the week before the fasting month, people visit the tombs (Koentjaraningrat, 1994). *Nyadran* tradition is a term used in pilgrimage activities to the tombs of family or relatives before the month of *Ramadhan*. *Nyadran* is carried out in various versions according to their respective beliefs and religions. For Javanese people who are muslims, *nyadran* is an ordinary pilgrimage to pray for the dead. For other Javanese people who are muslim but are still influenced by syncritism, *nyadran* is carried out by means of pilgrimage and also organizing salvation events or *selametan*. However, in general nyadran in Solo is usually done by pilgrimage only.

Apart from the *nyadran* tradition, pilgrimages in the city of Solo also aim at the tombs of figures or clerics. In Solo and its surroundings there are various sacred tombs. There are tombs of historical figures, tombs of palace figures, and tombs of great clerics. One of the tombs of the great cleric who is buried in the city of Solo is the tomb of Habib Alwi bin Ali Al-Habsyi. This tomb is located in Gurawan, Pasar Kliwon. Geographically, it is located near the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace, to the east of Baluwarti to be precise. This tomb is located in a settlement complex for Arab descendants who live in Solo.

Habib Alwi bin Ali Al-Habsyi is son of Habib Ali bin Muhammad bin Husein Al-Habsyi who wrote the book *Maulid Simtuddurar*. Habib Alwi preached in Indonesia and founded the Riyadh Mosque in Solo. Next to the mosque there are 3 tombs, namely the tomb of Habib Alwi and two tombs of Habib Alwi's son, namely the tomb of Habib Ahmad and Habib Anis while the tomb of Habib Ali is located in Yemen. Every day the tomb is always crowded with pilgrims and is open 24 hours. Especially on Thursday and Friday the number of pilgrims increases. Pilgrims come in large groups and some come individually with their families. Pilgrims to Habib Alwi's tomb are increasing at the *haul* Habib Ali event.

Haul Habib Ali is a commemoration every one year of Habib Ali's death and is held every 19, 20, and 21 of the month of *Rabi'ul-Akhir* Hijri calendar. Habib Alwi was the first to hold the *haul* Habib Ali which is now being celebrated. Initially this *haul* was only held for families but gradually the number of people who followed it increased. People who came not only from Indonesia but also abroad came to follow *haul* Habib Ali. This annual activity is very interesting because it can attract attention in the

center of Javanese culture.

Solo is a city that is considered the center of Javanese culture. The slogan of Solo is "Solo the spirit of Java". This slogan certainly has a deep meaning. In Solo there is Kasunanan Surakarta palace which is a fraction of the Mataram kingdom. Kasunanan Surakarta palace is a Javanese Islamic kingdom that still exists today, although it does not have any governmental power anymore. However, this did not diminish the spirit and traditions of the surrounding Javanese culture. There are still many great activities or daily activities of the people of Solo that are thick with Javanese culture. Starting from the small community to officials who still preserve Javanese traditions.

This is the background of the writing of this paper. The Javanese tradition that is thick in the city of Solo can provide space for other traditions to live and exist in it. The question is what has caused Habib Alwi's tomb pilgrims to increase and how can the *Haul* Habib Ali tradition live and exist in the middle of Javanese culture?

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Pilgrims come to the tomb with various motivations. The motivation of pilgrims varies, but in general, they seek blessings (Mashar, 2018; Nafiah, 2018; Sauqi and Miftah, 2018; Suriani, 2017). However, the expected blessings vary depending on the pilgrim. For pilgrims to the tomb of Habib Anis, the motivation of pilgrims in seeking blessings is related to the unique series of charisma, guardianship and blessings of Habib Anis (Mashar, 2018). Habib Anis' tomb is located in the Habib Alwi tomb complex. A pilgrim's motivation can determine the number of visits to the tomb. The stronger motivation can make often pilgrimage. Until the pilgrims come in groups and come regularly. This also shows the strength of the Habib Alwi figure in the minds of pilgrims. Habib Alwi's identity is a special attraction for pilgrims. This identity represents something that can eventually become a magnet. Identity theory becomes a surgery to get answers to the first question. Identity is important because it represents something that represents a certain thing. Identity is self-articulation (Abdullah, 2015). Identity can be associated with subjectivity which refers to the condition as a person and the process by which we become a person. Identity related to the person as a subject tied to social processes is divided into two, namely self-identity and social identity. Self-identity is a person related to the social process that creates us as a subject for ourselves, while social identity is a person related to a social process that creates us as a subject for others. Individual identity in social interaction is fundamental

in every social interaction (Suyanto & Sutinah, 2015).

The increase in the number of pilgrims in Habib Alwi's tomb cannot be separated from the influence of the surrounding community. The local people who live near Habib Alwi's tomb get their own benefits. They can take advantage of the arrival of pilgrims to get fortune. They usually trade food, beverages, and rent hotels or offer transportation services. Pilgrimage to Habib Alwi's tomb becomes religious tourism and encourages the community's economy. Especially when *haul* Habib Ali the number of pilgrims increased many times. This is dissected using the commodification theory. Commodification is a broad concept, not only concerning the problem of commodity production in the very narrow economic sense of traded goods. The problem also concerns the distribution of these goods and the goods are consumed. According to Adorno, commodification does not only refer to goods needed by consumerism, but has spread to the arts and culture in general (Piliang, 2003). The formation of a consumer society that leads to popular culture has at least three powers that influence it, namely: the power of capital, producers, and the mass media (Piliang, 1999). The existence of the pilgrimage tradition in the tomb complex of Habib Alwi does not only coexist with Javanese culture. This is because when viewed from the point of view of cultural studies it can be seen that the acceptance of the surrounding community is not just an adjoining culture but more because of interests. These interests are economic interests. The theory of commodification can show that sacred things turn into profane.

3 METHOD

The research model used a qualitative interpretation. In qualitative research, nothing in the form of a sign system should be underestimated because all of them are important and have an interrelated influence (Sutopo, 2002). Moleong defines qualitative research as research that has the aim of understanding the phenomena experienced by research subjects (2015). Data is qualitative from the results of non-participant observations. The results of the observations were analyzed by interpreting the existing events. The activities in the *Haul* Habib Ali series that many people participated in were interesting to observe. Apart from pilgrims who come from various places, the surrounding community as traders or transportation service providers are also objects of observation. Observations were also carried out digitally by utilizing video recordings and writing of the pilgrims' experiences.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Pilgrimage to The Tomb of Habib Alwi

The tomb of Habib Alwi bin Ali Al-Habsyi is located in Gurawan, Pasar Kliwon Solo. Precisely on the south side of Riyadh Mosque. Habib Alwi was born in Hadramaut, Yemen and then migrated to Indonesia. He is one of the sons of Habib Ali who wrote the book *maulid Simtuddurar* and is a descendant of Rasulullah from his lineage Ali Zainal Abidin bin Hussein bin Fatimah az-Zahro bint Muhammad bin Abdillah. In Indonesia he did preacher and settled in Solo. After settle in Solo, he built the Riyadh mosque in Gurawan, Pasar Kliwon.

Habib Alwi died on 20 *Rabi'ul Awal* 1373 H coinciding with 27 November 1953 in Palembang. His funeral was held in Solo. His tomb in besides Riyadh mosque so that pilgrims can make a pilgrimage to the tomb and worship in the mosque. The surrounding area is crowded with residents' houses and shops. Although there is a tomb in the middle of the settlement, the surrounding community feels familiar. Even they get benefits when many pilgrims come. They opened shops to sell various kinds of merchandise. Some sell food, beverages, Middle Eastern specialties, or accommodation and transportation service providers. The sellers are also diverse not only Arabs in Pasar Kliwon but also the people around Javanese descent. They can live in harmony and respect each other.

Pilgrims come every day, but the most crowded day is Thursday night. However, before *Legi* Friday became even more crowded because there was a reading of the book *maulid Simtuddurar*. The tomb is very well maintained and clean. Many NU people come to make regular pilgrimages to the tomb of Habib Alwi. They usually entourage with their students. They make a pilgrimage by reciting *tahlil* to pray.

The number of pilgrims is increasing every year. Habib Alwi used haul Habib Ali to gather his students, listen to the example of the clerics, especially Habib Ali, and pray for Habib Ali. Initially, *haul* Habib Ali was not as large as it is now. The local community also don't know *haul* Habib Ali but later they knew because more people were coming.

After Habib Alwi died, Habib Ali's haul was still performed. The number of participants following *Haul* Habib Ali is increasing. This indirectly has a significant impact on the number of pilgrims who come to the tomb of Habib Alwi. Although not in the Haul Habib Ali event, Habib Alwi's tomb is not deserted by pilgrims. Automatically people who have come to follow Haul Habib Ali can come another day and

because of Haul can be makes this tomb more popular. In addition, there are pilgrims who come regularly by bringing their students so this tomb is always crowded.

In addition, identity of Habib Alwi is the main trigger for the increase in the number of pilgrims. It is not possible for pilgrims to come again when they do not know the figure of him. Apart from being the son of Habib Ali, he also has a noble and memorable self-identity until his death. His identity is that he is a preacher and a son of Habib Ali, a descendant of the Rasulullah. He also has a good social identity. He as a friendly preacher and open hand received everyone from all walks of life regardless of origin. The virtues of his life and the knowledge he taught became memorable. This shows that the social identity formed during Habib Alwi's life is so good that it can be remembered.

4.2 *Haul* Habib Ali Event

Haul Habib Ali held every 19, 20, and 21 *Rabi'ul Akhir* every Hijri year. The participants came from various regions and some from abroad. *Haul* Habib Ali in 2019 was held with 3 series of events over 3 days. The first day of *rauhah*, the second day of *haul*, and the third day of the *maulid*. On the first day was read advice from Habib Ali was read and after that ate together with the performance of the Hajir Marawis dance. The second day of carrying out *haul* and then lunch together. On the third day, the participants were invited to *subuh* and then read the *Maulid Simtuddurar* book and closed with ate together.

The majority of *haul* participants come from East Java. In one of the speech from Habib Muhammad explained that once upon a time many participants came from Pasuruan and Madura. Then gradually more participants took part in *haul* from various regions in the archipelago. The number of participants increased so rapidly that the streets around the Riyadh mosque had to be closed in order to accommodate the participants. Hundreds of thousands of people packed the Riyadh mosque and its surroundings for the haul. The development of technology has also colored *haul* Habib Ali. This *haul* event is broadcast and recorded in video format on youtube. Apart from being a documentation, the existence of this video can show how enthusiastic the haul participants are every year which is increasing and can be witnessed by people who are unable to participate in *haul*.

4.3 First Section Javanese and Islamic Traditions: *Khol-Kholan* and *Haul*

The Javanese have a series of traditions in the phase of death. Starting

from the day the person died until 1000 days after death (Geertz, 1983; Koentjaraningrat: 1994). The influence of Islam on the lives of Javanese people has changed the way of their pray. Prayers are offered in Arabic. At the memorial service of someone's death, it is usually accompanied by the presence of *tahlilan* as a form of prayer for the dead.

People who die will be prayed for on the day of their death with *slametan* and *tahlilan*. The first is done for seven consecutive days and on the seventh day it is called *pitung dinanan*. After that, another tahlilan and *slametan* are performed on the fortieth day called *patang puluhan*. Then on the hundredth day it is called *nyatusan* and then after one year it is called *pendhak pisan*. After two years called *pendhak pindho*. Then the last one after being counted a thousand days from death is called *nyewu*. After a thousand days, when he is going to pray specifically, the date of his death is called *khol-kholan*. *Khol-kholan* is not held like the anniversary of the previous death but only commemorated by the family itself. If there is a *slametan*, it is also done simply.

Islam has had a lot of influence on Javanese tradition. *Khol-kholan* also received Islamic influence. If in Arabic it is called *haul*. So it is not surprising that *haul* Habib Ali can be accepted by the people of Solo and receive a warm welcome. Indeed, Islam in Java is well accepted. Based on its history, Islam entered Java subtly so that many people sympathized and embraced Islam voluntarily without coercion. Historically Java and Islam can coexist in one unit.

In an era like today, there have been many different Islamic sects developing in Indonesia. There are also extremist groups that are members of ISIS. Terrorism incidents are also associated with the existence of this group. This has an effect on the view of the general non-Muslim community towards Muslims. Not all Muslims are like this group, but they are also affected. However, this social unrest did not really affect the implementation of *haul* Habib Ali. The local community still welcomes this event with joy, even though Solo is also known as a plural city.

When observed critically, this phenomenon can indicate importance. This interest can become a counter issue against the cynical view of Muslims. This interest becomes a symbiosis of mutually beneficial mutualism. In addition, the *haul* Habib Ali event has been used as one of the tourist agendas for the city of Solo. This interest includes various parties including the perpetrators of *haul* Habib Ali who have spiritual interests, the surrounding community has an interest in being able to participate as well as trade, and the city government

can make it a tourist agenda for the city of Solo. Habib Ali's haul event besides having spiritual value but also ultimately has economic value. Religious tourism can live in a fertile manner and is able to move the community's economy. In addition, entrepreneurs in the fields of hospitality and transportation also feel the positive impact directly from this haul. During the three days of holding *haul* Habib Ali in 2017, it is estimated that there will be a circulation of money of up to IDR 225 billion. Growth in the trade and services sector, such as hotels and transportation, is increasing. Star hotels in a number of Solo cities were fully booked for 3 days during the *haul* Habib Ali.

The state in which something of sacred value then turns into a profane is usually associated with commodification. Commodification is the thought of Karl Marx and George Simmel (Turner, 1992) who agree that the result of a money economy based on the spirit of creating as much profit as possible results in the emergence of symptoms of commodification in various sectors of life. Commodification gives rise to popular culture that originates from mass consumption, commodity society or consumer society as the cause. Religious tourism in Indonesia has become a commodity. Religion, like art goods, has been taken over by the market to be managed in such a way. The Muslim community has been formed into consumers for distribution (Abdullah, 2015). However, this is still different from what happened in *haul* Habib Ali. Its sacred value is still very visible to the participants even though they are the target of the market. This can be seen outside the Riyadh mosque, where the road has been turned into stalls like an impromptu market. All products are offered in the form of goods and services. Indeed, when a form of religious activity is included in tourism, it is not easy to be separated from the shackles of commodification.

5. CONCLUSSION

The increase in the number of pilgrims to Habib Alwi's tomb was caused by 2 factors. First, the factor of self-identity and social identity owned by Habib Alwi. The second factor is the existence of *haul* Habib Ali which makes the existence of Habib Alwi's tomb even more popular. In addition, *haul* Habib Ali shows that it is not just Javanese culture that can coexist with the traditions of *haul* Habib Ali but moreover it can be a counter issue. The issue counters the negative views of the general public towards muslims due to the emergence of an extremist movement. This is influenced by their interest of each actor. For *haul* participants who have spiritual interests, the surrounding community has an

interest in being able to participate as well as trade, and the city government can make it a tourist agenda for the city of Solo. When a religious activity becomes part of tourism activity, it cannot be separated from commodification.

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The International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC) Role in the Protection of Syrian Children in 2015-2018

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Abstract

The Syrian War puts children to all sorts of risks, that they may become child soldier, be separated from their families, end up in detention, etc. Pursuant to the mandate of the Geneva Convention, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) focuses on the operation of aiding victims in prevention from armed and internal violence throughout the world. Protecting children in Syria is one of its duties. The paper entitled 'the International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC) Role in the Protection of Syria Children in 2015-2018' will analyze the role of ICRC in helping children in Syria. The research identifies two forms of ICRC's activities to protect Syrian children, including direct activism and advocacy. The research was conducted by employing a qualitative method, took literature review as its instrument, andemployed an interactive analysis model.

Keywords: *Children, ICRC, Protection, Syria*

1. INTRODUCTION

Syria has had armed conflict since 2011, which means the conflict has lasted 7 years. The never ending conflict certainly poses many and big negative effects on Syrian domestic scope. One of the effects caused is humanity crisis on children. Children in Syria were forced to be armed force (Risnain, 2014: 365). According to*Save the Children*'s report, from 2011 to 2018, there were 2 million children recruited both by the opposition and the government as child soldier (Save the Children, 2018). They were assigned with tasks which should have been performed by adult, such as coolie, guardian, informant, and,the cause of concern, human shield. Syrian childrenhad also lost access to vital facilities. They were unable to go to school since their schools were destroyed, with limited hospitals and water facilities. Based on UNICEF's (United Nations Children's Fund) report, there were totally 5,8 million affected children, that Syrian children grew to adulthood with terrible conflict scene, full of violence (UNICEF, 2016). The other impact is that the children

became refugees since they had to leave their country for safety in other country. According to UNICEF's data, there were 2,500,000 Syrian children registered as refugees abroad (UNICEF, 2018).

The humanity crisis situation in Syria affects children, which is the reason of the International Committee of The Red Cross's (ICRC) involvement in Syria. ICRC has the responsibility to get involved in humanity crisis in conflict area as contained in the Convention (I) for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Filed, Geneva, 12 August 1949,

> "*An impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the Parties to the conflict*"

The International Committee of the Red Cross is an international non-governmental organization operating in humanity field which specifically gives aid and protection both physically and non-physically to the victims. Therefore, ICRC has a big role in maintaining the foundation and protection of civil groups, including children (Sefriani, 2010: 149). In the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, children are included in the civil group that must be protected in case of war. Child protection is re-discussed in the first international humanitarian law regulations concerning armed conflict not of an international character, article no 3,stating that children are included in the group of 'person taking no active part in the hostilities" (OCHR, 2019). Child protection and ICRC's role will be discussed in this paper, regarding how ICRC serves to realize child protection norm. This paper starts with the definition of child protection norm, ICRC's involvement inchild protection in the world and ICRC's role in Syria.

2. METHOD

This paper is the result of a research which employed a qualitative method. The data were in the form of document from primary and secondary sources. The data were collected using a library research. Triangulation was employed to process the data. The research subject was ICRC and the research period was from 2015 to 2018.

3. DISCUSISON

3.1 The Concept of Child Protection Norm

Child protection norm in international relation reflects actual behavior and raises hopes. On the other hand, normreflects certain type of behavioral pattern which raises normative hopes. Thus, normis defined as a behavior in a certain situation which makes a person feels that the norm must be followed or complied with (Chayes

andChayes, 1994 inCarlsnaes 2013). Therefore, normin international relation will become an international habit to be performed constantly. International habitis also acknowledged as a source of international law in article 38 (1)(b) (International Court of Justice: 26).

Norm is not only written or unwritten form of rules. Further, normmay be in the form of institution based on agreed rules. Through the existing values in the Geneva Conventions and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, normmay be realized with the existence of institution which performs various activities to actualize protection norms for children in Syria. Child protection normis a universal norm where countries as the main actor in international relation which agree on the international agreement must implement the results of agreement in convention on the rights of the child. Syria has ratified the convention on the rights of the child where Syria is obliged to protect children who are in that country. Unfortunately, Syria as a state actor did not successfully protect children in its country where the war occurred (Schmidt, and Rkoczy-Tomasello, 2012: 331) thus aid from other international organization is needed to realize the universal norm.

As an international organization operating in humanity field, ICRC plays a role in realizing child protection norm. Socialization of child protection norm for it to be acknowledged and ensured more widely (becoming international norm) in general is a process of giving positive value and action, thus it becomes a motive to act in lifeto protect children, both normatively and practically,such as through direct action in the field through protection and cooperation (Stanford, 2018). Some matters which may be taken as the indicators of socialization of child protection norm is protecting children from violent behavior which may cause physical injury, severe trauma, social disintegrationin their living environment such as loss of home (Furedi, 2009: 7).

3.2 International Committee of the Red Cross's Involvement in Children Protection in the World

ICRC is a humanity institution established by Henry Dunant in 1863 in Geneva, Switzerland. ICRC's involvement in child protection started from 1914 in World War 1 where ICRC gave aid to children in the Soviet Union region and other East Europe regions in the form of goat and livestock aid (ICRC Document, 2018).

The time after the First World Warwas certainly a difficult time for children. ICRC must work hard to restore children's condition both physically and non-physically. One of the physical aids from ICRC to children

after the First World War was the child immunization agenda in Belarus in 1919. ICRC also gave aid in the form of return of civilians who were captives at Holzminden camp and refugees covering men, women and children of totally 10,000 people from Poland, Russia, Belgium andFrance. In addition, ICRC also supported return of more than 425,000 prisoners of war of Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungarycovering men, women and children, and also aid in the form of food supply, clothing and temporary shelter (ICRC Blog, 2019).

In 1939, the world experienced occurrences which led to humanity crisis. The Second World War resulted in 45 million of civilian casualties, including children. Millions of lives were the victims of not only violence of war such as genocide and massacre, but also of out break and famine (National WWII Museum, t.t.). These big events made ICRC involved in various occurrences to save humankind. One of its activities related to child was that ICRC returned children who got separated from their familysince they got into the German camp and gave aid to children in Serbia (ICRC, 2018).

After the Second World War, ICRC kept involved in activities to save children. ICRCperformed activities to protect children by giving aid in the form of establishing schools to educate child refugees in Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir during Pakistan War, returning children sent to Yugoslavia during war to their respective family, distributing aid to children who were forced to leave their home during civil war in Laos, giving food aid to Nigerian children during Biafra war, etc. (ICRC Document, 2014).

3.4. International Committee of the Red Cross's Role inChild Protection in Syria in 2015-2018

ICRC's involvement in protecting children continues until now, such as in the Syrian conflict, in which ICRC shows that it continuously attempts to realize child protection norm. The activities performed by ICRC are as follows:

1. Direct Child Protection Activity in Syria

The humanity crisis involving Syrian children made ICRC directly participate in protecting Syrian children. Child's psychological factor which may be easily manipulated and the Syrian war situation made them prone to getting involved in the war as combatant. Based on this, ICRC performed accompaniment with children recruited ascombatant. The phases conducted by ICRC in implementing child accompaniment program in Syria from 2015-2018 were (1) ensuring children with the most prone risk of kidnapping

case, which may be identified through age, family background, social condition and child's environment (2) coordinating withparties involved in conflict so that the children will not be recruited as their armed force, (3) fulfilling their need for food, clothing, temporary shelter until the children's physical and psychological condition starts to be neutral and is ready to return to their respective family (ICRC Annual Report, 2017: 24-25). ICRC attempted to stop, remove or at least neutralize radicalism which has been instilled in the children's mind as the result of the war (Hikam, 2016: 81). The effort to remove ideological indoctrination by the parties involved in the war is very important considering that when they return to their respective family, each of the children will behavenormally. This is important to keep the children from rejoining as child soldier. In addition, this accompaniment will help children free from or at least remove their trauma gradually.

War has destroyed many facilities which support basic life needs such as water channel for child's drinking need and damaged houses. In 2015 5,600,000 children needed water channel and dwelling aid, ICRC made water facilities and dwelling for 15,700,000 people, which means that it had fulfilled a number of children's need in 2015(UNICEF Annual Report, 2016). ICRC provided aid for children's needs such as jacket, clothing, blanket, tarpaulin, jerry can, cleaning tool andkitchen set (ICRC Annual Report, 2018: 37).

In Syria, ICRC built hospitals and provided medicine to children with severe and light injury caused by conflict and disease. To fulfill the needed number of medics, ICRC provided trainings to medical workers and medical volunteers (ICRC Annual Report 2018: 34). These trainings were in the form of surgery technical training to improve doctor's capability and basic first aid kit training to volunteers covering training of giving cardiopulmonary resuscitation, handling skin infection and how to bring patient to safe shelter. In addition, ICRC organized disaster management training aiming to keep food security and preparation in case of disaster, communication management training aiming to facilitate health officers and volunteers to get information in the field related to identification of victim's complaint and victim's necessity and strategy planning in the field.

2. Advocacy of Child's Rights in Syrian Conflict

To increase the international community's awareness of child protection in Syria, ICRC performed a series of activities to advocate child's rights in conflict situation. First, ICRC published articlesrelated to children

through its website. This aimed to have the issue closer to the community with special interest in humanity issues. According to the visit data to the website, it was recorded that in 2015, 180,000 people visited the official website and in 2016 it increased to 355,600 people (ICRC Annual Report, 2015: 65). The distribution of information was expected to provide and distribute the knowledge of existing humanity eventsin the world where ICRC was involved. The visit data show that increasing number of people was interested in humanity cases, which also shows increasing concern of the global community about humanity case handling by ICRC.

Second, optimization of social media platform such as Twitter, Youtube and Facebook. Similarly to the purpose of publication at the official website, through this platform, ICRC shared humanity protection activities for Syrian children in various forms such as poster containing invitation to protect children, infographics or statistical info of Syrian children affected by the armed conflict, video of interview with conflict victims, photo an document such as annual report and article which may be accessed for free, to reach the community's attention more widely and easily. Pictures in the form of photo and video will show the real event occurring in the region. In addition, the public may be involved by donating to the activities which were being and will be performed by ICRC. The public's involvementintends to make each person empathetic and sympathetic and help each other for the goodness of humans who are experiencing disaster in war or conflict area.

Third, asking the United Nations Security Council to protect the activities of ICRC and humanity organization of UN's partner operating activities in Syria. As a state with its own authority, Syria must be respected as a state although it is in conflict. ICRC was aware that to enter and get involved in handling childvictims of war in Syria, ICRC needed the United Nations Security Council's role. With resolutionno 2449 (2018), the United Nations Security Council allowed ICRC and humanity organization of UN's partner to use four points of borders guarded by UN without informing the Syrian authority (Security Council, 2018). At UN, ICRC called outto make a resolutioncontaining the enforcement of truce in Syria although this resolution was vetoedby China and Russia (Mata MataPolitik, 2019). ICRC asked cease of bombing and air assault which claimed large numbers of civilians.

Fourth, establishing cooperation to handle child victims of war. The trauma healing for Syrian children needs the cooperation of various parties. One of the cooperation programswas

cooperation with UNICEF, Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) and local government to make a concept of rehabilitation forchild soldiers, which was called the psycho social program (Setiyono, 2017).

4. CONCLUSION

ICRC's involvement in Syrian conflict is a mandate of the Geneva Convention. ICRC realizes the norm socialization function of which realization is not only normative, but also through the implementation of Syrian children protection. The protection performed ICRC is an activity to directly protect the children and advocatechildren protection.

From the activities performed by ICRC, it is apparent that ICRC's role in protecting Syrian children is the effort to realize child protection normsand socialize child protection norms in the global community. This means that ICRC does not only provide normative written definition of the protection norms, but they may be actualized in various activities,although the efforts made by ICRC were constrained by some matters because of ICRC's limited authority. As an international humanity organization, its authority is not as extensive as that of UN or even the Security Council which is capable of intervening further in conflict prevention, such as issuinga resolution and imposing a sanctionto the parties involved in the armed conflict in Syria. Thus, to realize protection of child victims of war and minimize victims in Syria, ICRC needs cooperation with other parties such asthe Security Council and other international organizations.

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The Role of Social Networks in Utilizing Plastic Waste into Paving Blocks at "UD. Wong Cilik "Jetis Village, Kemangkon, Purbalingga

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Abstract

Social networks also need to be built by the community and government to improve and build social networks through social media and personal communication so that they can continue to grow. Therefore, what kind of social network was built in the business of making paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong ". This study aims to determine the role of social networks in the use of plastic waste paving blocks at "UD. Wong Cilik "Jetis Village, Kemangkon District, Purbalingga Regency. This research uses descriptive qualitative method. Research data as well as in-depth interviews, observation, namely non-participatory observation, and documentation. The research location was conducted in Jetis Village, Kemangkon District, Purbalingga Regency. The technique of taking informants is purposive sampling. The results of this study are the relationship and benefits that are built from social networks between suppliers and the government, getting many benefits, starting from adding friendships, increasing knowledge gained from the government and mentoring, and increasing marketing networks outside the city. . The marketing of this business has reached Lampung, Palembang, Makassar and in the city namely Kembaran District in Purbalingga.

Key words: *waste management, plastic waste and paving blocks.*

1. PRELIMINARY

Social networks are social networks that connect networks to each other through communication or social media. The social network that is formed is divided into three, namely social networks that are built between individuals and individuals, social networks that are built between

individuals by making paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong "and a social network built between paving block making businesses at" UD. Little Wong "with the government. Limited environmental carrying capacity. One of the functions of the environment is to support living things and humans in it. The carrying capacity of this environment is unlimited. Therefore, the use of natural resources must pay attention to its sustainability. So that future generations, humans and living things can continue to live like the previous generations (Muslihudin, Rosyadi, and Santoso,

The decline in paving block making business products without the existence of social networks will not increase or develop. This network is built by the community and government by involving two or more individuals to expand social networks. Social networks can also be built through kinship and friendship, so that the process of building a network starts from initial communication in the form of introductions which then continues to be improved with more intense communication. Through continuous communication which then opens up the possibility to build a network (Musahwi, 2018). Therefore, what kind of social network was built in the business of making paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong ''. The aim is to find out the relationships and benefits that are built by workers, suppliers and government,

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The realization of small businesses according to Ariana (2006) states that one of the factors that play a role in the sustainability or survival of small industries, especially those in rural areas, is the ability of small industries to utilize social networks. A social network is a special type of network, where the bonds that connect one point to another in the network are social relationships (Agusyanto, R, 2014).

There are two types of social networks. The first type is a network that connects individuals directly. The second type is a social network that connects a group of people with a group of other people. This group of people is usually called an organization (Budiarti S, 2016).

3. RESEARCH METHOD

Qualitative descriptive research method is a research method that aims to produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from the community and observe the behavior of the community itself, which is directed at the background and individual holistically and thoroughly (Moleong JL, 2000). This method was chosen to provide an overview of the phenomena that occurred in Jetis Village, Kemangkon District, Purbalingga Regency, namely the role of social

networks in the use of paving blocks from plastic waste. This research was conducted in Jetis Village, Kemangkon District, Purbalingga Regency. The main target of this research is the owner of a paving block making business in Jetis Village, Kemangkon District, Purbalingga Regency. While the target of supporting data in this study was the Head of Jetis Village, Environmental Service and UKM (Small and Medium Enterprises) Office in Purbalingga Regency, as well as workers and suppliers at "UD. Little Wong ".

The technique of determining informants using purposive sampling. According to Sugiono, purposive sampling technique is a technique of determining the sample with considerations or criteria (Sugiyono, 2007). Data collection techniques are in-depth interviews, non-participatory observation and documentation. Data sources are primary data and secondary data. The data analysis technique uses an interactive model according to Milles and Huberman (Miles, 1994), there are four stages, namely data collection, data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions. The data validity testing technique in this study uses data triangulation techniques as an effort to check from various data sources in various ways and at different times which are used as a comparison to the data that has been obtained (Moleong JL, 2000).

4. RESULTS AND RESEARCH DISCUSSION

The results of the social network graph at "UD. Little Wong ".

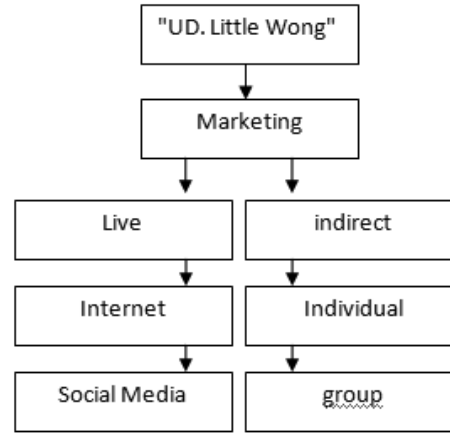

Figure 1. Social network at "UD. Little Wong ".

Based on the social network diagram image above that marketing in the business of making paving blocks at UD. Wong Cilik, namely direct and indirect marketing. Marketing that was issued from "UD. Before it was known, Wong Cilik was a social network built through individuals or individuals, such as relatives, neighbors or people who had bought paving blocks and social networks in groups through agencies or community groups in Jetis Village 2015, when the paving block making business became popular, many people displayed it on the internet media or social media social networks, the business of

making paving blocks began to increase on the internet. Social networks for making paving block businesses, these two actions are rational based on considerations for those who order.

4.1. Relationships and benefits are built by workers, suppliers and government

Social networks are networks that are built to see relationships between individuals which have subjective meanings that are connected and related to something as knots and bonds (Damsar, 2015). Building the KN network with citizens, workers and the government is included in the value rational action according to Max Weber, namely rational value action has the nature that the existing tools are only conscious consideration and calculation, while the goal is already in relation to individual values. are absolute (George & Douglas, modern sociological theory, 2010).

The network that was built with buyers through individuals before the paving block making business was widely known, when it was known through social media, many people bought through social media from various parties which made the paving block making business known, especially from among the government attracting people because managed plastic waste became a unique thing, namely paving blocks.

The social network formed by the government is in the form of a network between individuals and institutions, namely a network built through KN as the owner of the paving block at "UD. Wong Cilik with the government, namely the Environmental Service. KN sees the network built with the government as a rational value measure according to Max Weber.

Value rational action, namely the rational action of value, has the property that the existing tools are only conscious consideration and calculation, while the goal is in relation to the absolute values of the individual (George and Douglas, 2010). Owners of paving block making businesses feel that from various parties such as the Environmental Service and the SME Marketing Agency (Small and Medium Enterprises), only one agency is very helpful.

Environmental Service, a network built with the effort of making paving blocks, is included in rational instrumental action according to Max Weber, namely social action. a person is based on conscious considerations and choices related to the goal of action (George and Douglas, 2010).

That maintains good relations with residents, suppliers, not suppliers, village heads, the government and provides space for the paving block making business to continue to grow. The benefit in this relationship is the

concern of all parties, both the Village Head and the government, to increase the empowerment of citizens who are still unconcerned and to improve infrastructure and facilities policies. The Village Government collaborates with residents through the waste care movement to make trash cans independently, because inorganic waste is handled independently in Jetis Village (Dieningrum, Muslihudin, & Suyanto, 2020).

CD as the Village Head builds the role of social networks with KN including instrumental rational action according to Max Weber, namely social actions that a person takes based on consideration and conscious choice related to the goal of action (George and Douglas, 2010), KN as the owner of the paving block making business UD. Little Wong ". CD as the Head of Jetis Village also wants to expand social networks not only with the Environmental Agency, but with various parties, to increase spatial empowerment in infrastructure and facilities policies. Social networks have two types according to (Budiarti S, 2016), namely networks that are built directly with other individuals and individuals and networks that are built through a group of people. The social network that was built by KN as the owner of a paving block making business with workers is included in the network that was originally built through a group of residents carried out by socializing in Jetis Village about the existence of "UD. Little Wong "and until now there are still socialization activities so that people get to know" UD. Wong Cilik, a waste management facility in Jetis Village, where garbage collected from residents will be processed into paving blocks.

KN, as the owner of the paving block making business, also maintains good relations with the residents and the existence of this supplier. The residents who carry out their wishes as suppliers want a business to make paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong ". MI as a supplier is included in Max Weber's instrumental rational actions, namely social actions that a person takes based on considerations and conscious choices related to the goal of action (George and Douglas, 2010)

. Management can generate and benefit like the business of making paving blocks at "UD. Wong Cilik "There should be more sympathetic residents(Dieningrum, Muslihudin, & Suyanto, The process of managing plastic waste into paving blocks in Jetis Village, Kemangkon District, Purbalingga Regency, 2020). That the network built has an impact on community support for the paving block making business, even though this business still has many shortcomings, community support is very important so that the paving block making business can continue

and develop. by paving block making business actors at "UD. Little Wong ".

4.2. Marketing in the business of making paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong ".

Marketing according to Boyd is a social process that involves important activities that allow individuals and companies to get what they need and want through exchanges with other parties and develop exchange relationships (Boyd, 2000). The network built increases the relationship between various parties through marketing. Marketing is done in two ways, namely direct marketing and indirect marketing. The business of making paving blocks markets paving block products not only in Purbalingga Regency, but the business of making paving blocks has reached out of town.

Marketing action is more directed from outside the city, these buyers know about the paving block making business at "UD. Wong Cilik "through social media and information from residents in Purbalingga, including direct marketing via the internet (Kotler K., 2009). Having been in this business for 15 years, it is very necessary to maintain good relations so that buyers of paving blocks continue to grow. The head of "UD. Wong Cilik "marketing increased more and more outside the city.

US as workers. that the act of selling is included in the rational action of value according to Max Weber, namely the act of rational value, which is a means of conscious consideration and calculation, while the goal is in relation to the absolute values of the individual . (George and Douglas, 2010). In connection with the sale of this paving block making business, there are more orders from outside the city than in the city, so there is a need for assistance from UKM Service (small and medium enterprises).

A person as a buyer buys based on the desired considerations, here the marketing he does is more on marketing out of town. Another statement regarding the marketing of paving blocks has arrived outside the city and in Kembaran. SI sees that the marketing carried out by the paving block making business is included in the rational action of value according to Max Weber, namely the rational action of values whose tools are only conscious consideration and calculation, while goals are related to individual values. absolute (George and Douglas, 2010). It is necessary to build communication on the social networks of business actors making paving blocks to increase marketing so that it is first in demand in Purbalingga.

The business of making paving blocks so that marketing can continue to grow and be known in Purbalingga, it is necessary to have two-way

communication with the Environment Agency. Two-way communication to provide encouragement that although paving blocks made of plastic waste and paving blocks mixed with water, sand, gravel, and cement are very different in terms of price, they are still to overcome waste problems and increase the business of making paving blocks.

Support from the Village Head needs to be responsive to help as a facilitator. As stated on the CD. Village head. CD looks at the marketing conditions in the paving block making business, including the action. Rational value action has the nature that the existing tools are only conscious consideration and calculation, while the goal is already in relation to individual absolute values (George and Douglas, 2010). Regarding the results of the interview that if this business can be considered and developed properly, it will not only solve the problem of solid waste but also improve the economy.

Increased marketing in Purbalingga will also help the community to know more about the existence of paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong "in Jetis Village, Kemangkon District. Marketing does require support and assistance from other parties in the UKM (small and medium enterprises) Office, not only from the Environmental Agency.

So that marketing can increase in a balanced way between out of town and inside the city in Purbalingga, it starts with the awareness of residents in Purbalingga that the business of making paving blocks at "UD. Little Wong "." UD. "Little Wong" turns out to have many advantages that can overcome waste. The business of making paving blocks can be used as an economy in Jetis Village and if we pay attention to its location.

"UD. Wong Cilik "can also be used as an educational place for children to maintain a healthy environment that is free from rubbish and garbage can be managed in a unique way, namely by making paving blocks to educate children in order to increase awareness of their own environment .

5. CONCLUSION

Social network for paving block making business at UD. Wong Cilik "This is done through two types, namely direct and indirect networks. The network has been marketed directly to Purbalingga Regency, namely in Kembaran District. While the network is indirectly marketed via the internet because in 2015" UD. Wong Cilik "experienced a peak known to many people through social media which has been marketed to Lampung, Makassar, and Palembang. The network applied to the paving block making business at" UD. Wong Cilik is currently a social network built through social media.

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Prospect of Military Public Diplomacy by Indonesian Army in United Nations Peacekeeping Operation

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Abstract

The military as a coercive instrument is always positioned to use hard power in achieving the goals of the state. However, in the new age of warfare the military is required to carry out roles outside its coercive function, one of which is to carry out activities in order to exercise soft power to the civilians in overseas. This condition undelie the concept of military public diplomacy that was applied by the military, especially the United States, which placed the military as an instrument for carrying out public diplomacy against people in overseas in their operation. Even though in reality the implementation of military public diplomacy by the US faces major obstacles in its implementation in the field, especially in establishing closeness with civil society where the operation is carried out. In contrast to Indonesia, through the Indonesian Army, which has the ability to establish good relations with civil society in the domestic, it is seen as an asset in carrying out the function of public diplomacy for Indonesia through military public diplomacy. This paper use qualitative method to explore the understanding Indonesian Army military diplomacy by using primary and secondary data resources. Therefore this paper will look at the opportunities for Indonesian Army in particular in carrying out military public diplomacy in peace operations carried out under the mandate of the United Nations. This paper will elaborate on the opportunities based on the culture in territorial capability possessed by the Indonesian Army in the implementation of the UN peacekeeping operations mission based on the concept of military public diplomacy.

Keywords: *public diplomacy, soft power, peacekeeping, civilian population.*

1 INTRODUCTION

The development of the practice of public diplomacy has been growing very rapidly with the rise of various actors and instruments used. Military public diplomacy is an interesting phenomenon because of the presence of the military in the implementation of public diplomacy that emphasizes the use of soft power, even though the military is sometimes considered to be associated with the capability and the use of coercive actions (hard power). Even so, the position of the military in public diplomacy that typically prioritizes soft power gets its legitimacy by referring to Nye (2006, 2008, p. 106) which states that the military can be used as a platform of soft power for a country capable of carrying out public diplomacy both in the context of peacetime and even during wartime in order to influence the behavior of other countries.

The practice of military public diplomacy has carried out by the US and Germany (Duggan, 2012; Swistek, 2012; Wallin, 2015). Meanwhile, the form of public diplomacy carried out by the military personnel when carrying out military operations in the territories of other countries (Karadag, 2016; Kilbane, 2009). Although this was not particularly described in specific, researchconducted by Anker (2005) on Kanada and Singh (2011) on China shows how peacekeeping missions are used to carry out soft diplomacy in the context of establishing public opinion. Meanwhile, Rachmat (2016) has specifically provided a complete picture regarding the implementation of public diplomacy by the Indonesian contingent in the UNIFIL mission. Based on this explanation, there has been no research that addresses military public diplomacy activities carried out in the aspect of peacekeeping missions.

Based on its content, the purpose of this paper is substantially different from the existing writings. The researcher argues that from a practical and conceptual perspective, research related to military public diplomacy is still very limited. Practically speaking, most research on military public diplomacy only focuses on US military activities carried out after the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. In the conceptual context, previous research in military public diplomacy have not fully covered the discussion regarding peacekeeping operations as an important part of the issue.

Limitations, both from a practical and conceptual perspective regarding military public diplomacy, are the basis for this study to discuss more specific problems, by analyzing the opportunities for implementing military public diplomacy by the Indonesian Army in UN peacekeeping

missions. In the end, one can carefully decide whether the Indonesian Army can carry out military public diplomacy in peacekeeping operations or not. Therefore, this study provides a problem formulation of how the opportunities for implementing military public diplomacy by the Indonesian Army in the UN peacekeeping mission?. The researcher argues that the Indonesian Army through the method of empowering the defense area / territorial development has the opportunity to establish and maintain communication and build relationships with the public abroad and with fellow personnel in order to achieve Indonesia's foreign policy objectives in UN peacekeeping missions.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Efforts to carry out public diplomacy dominated by civilian actors began to be expanded with the presence of military actors. The existence of the military as an actor in public diplomacy cannot be denied. Based on existing studies, the military besides having a duty to defend and achieve the interests of the state through armed force has a function in order to attract sympathy from people in other countries, especially when they are on duty in other countries (Coppeland, 2008; Duggan, 2012; Wallin, 2015).

The development of public diplomacy has brought various actors who are positioned as agents in its implementation through various mechanisms. These actors are increasingly diverse along with the expansion of the objectives of public diplomacy carried out by each country. One of the actors who are important actors in research on public diplomacy is military personnel, who are gradually giving rise to new variants of public diplomacy, namely military public diplomacy (Wallin, 2015).

The presence of the military in implementing military public diplomacy is positioned to communicate and build relationships with the public abroad and with fellow personnel to achieve foreign policy goals (Wallin, 2015). The process of building communication and relations with the public in other countries is in line with the third stage of achieving public diplomacy related to building relationships with people in other countries in order to strengthen the closeness between the people of the two countries. In this case, the military will become a representative of the people from their country of origin.

Military actors have a place in diplomacy. This is evidenced by the concept of military diplomacy or defense diplomacy which is intended as the eyes and ears of other countries, which is represented by the appointment of a defense attaché, which is attached to the diplomatic mission of a country abroad

(Cottey & Foster, 2005; Swistek, 2012) . Even so, this pattern still refers to formal diplomacy and does not touch the public as an important element in public diplomacy itself. Thus, another mechanism will be needed in order to find the link between the military and the implementation of public diplomacy, where in this study the researcher will place the peacekeeping operation mission as a platform for military actors to carry out military public diplomacy by taking a study of the Indonesian Army.

Military public diplomacy is an activity that requires the military to build communication and relationships with people in other countries, or in other words the military must be in the territory of another country. Unlike civilian actors who can easily enter the territory of another country, the military is only limited to a few activities that allow them to be on the territory of another country. This is demonstrated by the activity of military public diplomacy by military personnel on duty (Duggan, 2012; Wallin, 2015). Both see the implementation of military public diplomacy as an activity carried out by the US Army after the invasion of Iraq. While other studies only provide a general explanation of activities that allow military involvement in public diplomacy, namely related to Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Management (HADR), military staff training programs and assistance with facilities and infrastructure in other countries (Karadag, 2016).

Military actors themselves, in the context of implementing military public diplomacy, which demands their presence in other countries, are not possible to invade other countries, while in the framework of the other three activities previously mentioned, these activities are still possible to be carried out by militaries of all countries. However, what should be noted is that peacekeeping operations under the UN flag are still one of the routine activities involving military from various countries to be deployed in various parts of the world (Karadag, 2016). Peacekeeping operations for military actors will be an opportunity in carrying out military public diplomacy, this will be related to their legitimate presence in the territory of other countries and can interact directly with people in other countries.

3 METHOD

This paper uses qualitative research methods, because qualitative research is a method that can be used to explore and understand what a number of individuals or groups of people consider as part of a social or humanitarian problem (Creswell, 2014, pp. 4–5). In this case, the researcher sees that the implementation of peacekeeping

operations is a social phenomenon in which several individuals or groups of people are involved. The qualitative research process involves important efforts such as asking questions and procedures, gathering specific data from participants, analyzing inductively from specific themes to general themes and interpreting the meaning of the data.

This research is a case study, therefore data is collected using in-depth interview techniques supported by secondary data collection through various literature, documents, articles in mass media and publications related to military public diplomacy and the implementation of peacekeeping missions by the Indonesian Army. Interviews were conducted with Indonesian Army personnel who had experience carrying out assignments in peacekeeping missions. The selection of informants was carried out using the snowball technique for the purpose of obtaining relevant and competent informants to obtain the data needed in research on the opportunities and challenges of military public diplomacy by the Indonesian Army in peacekeeping missions.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Military public diplomacy, like any other application of public diplomacy, makes the public the target of this activity. The Indonesian Army as a part of the Indonesian National Military, can make close contact with the community, so that it has a close relationship with the public. This condition cannot be separated from the history of the formation of the Indonesian Army itself which came from the people. Thus, the Indonesian Army has what is called territorial capability.

The implementation of military operations, both Military Operations (MO) and Military Operations Other than War (MOOTW), involves various components in it. In addition to the main components, backup components and supporting components are also needed. As the main component, the Indonesian Army in particular has the foremost concept, namely the Regional/ Territorial Command (Kowil) which has the main task of carrying out territorial development in its territory in order to support the main tasks of the units above it. There are five territorial capabilities that must be understood by Indonesian Army personnel, including: 1) Early detection capability, rapid reporting, and early prevention, 2) Ability to implement Territorial Management. 3) territorial mastery capability. 4) Ability to build people's resistance. 5) Social communication skills.

Based on the explanation above, one can see that so far, the Indonesian Army's territorial capabilities are still only being implemented in the domestic

sphere. However, this will be a great potential for the Indonesian National Military to carry out military public diplomacy if it is applied especially when carrying out operations abroad. The Indonesian Army's involvement in MOOTW which is carried out regularly abroad is through assignments in peacekeeping missions under the authority of the United Nations (UN). The peacekeeping mission will be a very effective arena for the Indonesian Army to carry out activities related to military public diplomacy. The existence of Indonesian National Military troops who are members of the Garuda Contingent in the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL) mission has carried out the function of public diplomacy in addition to the main tasks and functions mandated by the United Nations (Rachmat, 2016).

Unlike the US, which always carries out operations in the form of war on the territory of other countries, Indonesia adopts a different defense system. Indonesia applies an active defensive system which means that it will not be an aggressor against other countries. Thus, the deployment and use of the military in other countries will still be based on legitimacy and applicable international law. Peacekeeping missions under the United Nations are one of the mechanisms for deploying troops, especially the Indonesian Army abroad for a long time (the placement per period for each contingent is 1 year) and in a sizeable number of troops. This is different from the implementation of defense diplomacy which is still in an elite context and only brings together fellow armed forces personnel. In carrying out peacekeeping missions, Indonesian National Military personnel not only interact with contingents from other countries but also communities around the area who are part of their responsibilities.

Through UN peacekeeping missions as carried out in UNIFIL, Indonesia places a contingent with the strength of one Battalion (Indobatt) to oversee one area (Area of Responsibility) on the border of Lebanon and Israel. In managing the territory and its responsibilities, the Indonesian Battalion, which is a component of the Indonesian Army, always carries out several forms of territorial development as carried out by units from the regional/ territorial command in Indonesia. Every Indonesian Army soldier must be able to carry out a territorial attitude, so that the implementation of territorial development can be carried out by every individual in Indonesian Army. The target in implementing this territorial development is of course the local people who are in the responsibility of the Indonesian Battalion.

Based on an interview with a resource person who was once part of the Indonesian Battalion at UNIFIL, it was stated that "the presence of Indonesian personnel in the area for which they are responsible is very well welcomed by the local community there. This is due to the friendliness and effort of the personnel to get closer to the local community". This statement shows that the presence of Indonesian troops abroad has received a good reception from citizens who are in responsibility of the Indonesian Battalion in South Lebanon. The ability of the personnel to get closer to the community cannot be separated from the territorial attitude that is inherent in each soldier, especially the culture of the Indonesian Army itself which is always attached to the people. This ability makes Indonesian Army personnel able to establish good communication with the local community compared to contingents from other countries in their territory.

The results obtained from the implementation of territorial guidance were the recognition of Indonesia and the building of trust from the community after the presence of the Indonesian Battalion in their territory. Evidence of this is based on the interviews conducted, the source person said that "the community always greets personnel who are conducting patrols and even invites personnel to dine at their homes or during parties". Based on these facts, it shows that the presence of the Indonesian Battalion was not perceived as a threat or as a foreigner but was considered part of their society. This condition will certainly be very beneficial, both at the operational level of the mission implementation and as a potential for the implementation of public diplomacy to the people in the region.

Another effort made in the context of territorial development is to organize various activities aimed at introducing Indonesian culture. The target of this activity is both fellow UNIFIL contingents from other countries and communities located in the territory of South Lebanon. Based on the interview conducted it is known that "the implementation of cultural activities such as dance, cuisine or other exhibitions related to Indonesia is nothing but an attempt to introduce Indonesia to the international world". In territorial development, this is one part of social communication to build closeness to the community, but when viewed from the military public diplomacy side this is done not only to introduce Indonesia and its culture but also to get the hearts and minds of the surrounding community as well as UNIFIL contingent from other countries.

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that the existence of the concept of territorial development or which is currently in the country known as empowerment of the defense area (Wilhan) as part of the capabilities of TNI-AD personnel, has the same function and purpose with military public diplomacy applied in operations abroad. If other countries such as the US try to develop mechanisms and forms of military public diplomacy, Indonesia, especially the Indonesian Army has already perfected a form and mechanism, namely territorial development (Wilhan). However, in this case, the military public diplomacy carried out by Indonesia through the Indonesian Army is only carried out in involvement in UN peacekeeping missions. Although it is possible to do so if the Indonesian Army is involved in other missions abroad in MOOTW in accordance with the provisions contained in Law No. 34 of 2004.

5. CONCLUSSION

Based on the discussion that has been done previously regarding the ability of the Indonesian Army and its enormous potential in carrying out military public diplomacy in UN peacekeeping missions. This potential arises in line with the concept and territorial capabilities learnt by each Indonesian Army personnel. The concept of territorial capability has not been fully owned by military personnel from Western countries. This means that the army has a very promising potential in implementing military public diplomacy.

The Indonesian Army has territorial development or currently known as defence area development which has the same objective as military public diplomacy if it is carried out in other countries at MOOTW mission. The implementation of military public diplomacy by the Indonesian Army by prioritizing the ability to foster the defence / territorial development can be seen in peacekeeping missions that are run under the authority of the United Nations.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat (LPPM) of UNJANI for providing funding for this research.

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A Semiotic Analysis Of Counterpain Advertisement: The "Jatuh Dan Bangkit Lagi" Version

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Abstract

This study examines the creativity of advertising media in presenting messages and products. In the *Counterpain* ad, the "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version, the company intends to offer its products with a theme that is relatable to everyone when facing a sporting event as acted by several athletes in the ad. This study uses a qualitative approach with semiotic analysis according to Roland Barthes' theory. The unit of analysis in this research is the *Counterpain* advertisement, the version of "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi". The results of this study are that the meaning contained in the *Counterpain* advertisement version of "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" in 2016, which is reviewed from the denotation and connotation meaning, is to invite everyone to have the character of perseverance, the spirit of determination, and keep trying whatever obstacles they are facing, as shown by athletes in thead.

Keywords:*Semiotic Analysis, Roland Barthes'theory, Counterpain Ads, "Jatuh Bangkit Lagi" Version.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Public are being exposed to various kinds of advertisement on television, either public service ads or commercials for products and services. These advertisements persuade people to consume the information and impression they are presented. It is easier for the company to attract public's attention by using television media as a tool in advertising their products since it is accessible for every levels ofsociety.

According to Tjiptono (2005: 226), advertising is a form of indirect communication based on information

about the advantages and the excellence of a product, which is arranged in such a way as to cause a pleasant feeling that will change one's mind to make a purchase. With the aim of attracting the attention of the audience to buy marketed products, producers must put information that is interesting to the audience so that the ad can effectively attract the attention of the audience to see and consider about purchasing the products beingoffered.

Ads must also pay attention to the value and meaning that will be displayed. Therefore, producers must be able to concern on the ability of the advertisement to attract people's attention in term of its value as it is the main message of the ads that is usually interesting to the audience, in addition to explaining and introducing their commercial products.

The *Couterpain* ad, the "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version, is an advertisement for a medication product to relieve muscle pain. In the researcher's initial observation, the advertisement that was broadcasted was very inspiring and quite attractive to the audience because there were many shows that motivated and invited everyone to be thewinner.

Based on the explanation above, the problem formulation in this research is What are the meaning and messages contained in the *Counterpain* television advertisement, the "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version.

2. SEMIOTICS ACCORDING TO ROLANDBARTHES

Semiotics or semiology is a term that refers to the same science. The term semiology is more widely used in Europe while semiotics is commonly used by American scientists. The term which comes from the Greek word *semeion* which means "sign" in English is the study of sign systems such as language, codes, signals, and soon.

2.1 Roland Barthes' SemioticMarking

Signs are everywhere, words are signs, so are gestures, traffic lights, flags and so on. The structure of literary works, film structures, buildings and bird songs can be considered as signs. Great literary works, for example, are the product of the structur in gof collective subjects (Faruk,1999:17).

One of Ferdinand De Saussure's followers, Roland Barthes, created a systematic model for analyzing meanings and signs. Barthes's focus is more on the idea of two-order signification. One of the ways that experts discuss the larger scope of meaning is to distinguish denotative meaning from connotative meaning.

The Barthes' two orders of signification consist of first orders of

signification, namely denotation, and second orders of signification, namely connotation. The first order includes markers and markers in the form of signs. This sign is called denotationmeaning.

Figure. 2.1. Barthes Sign Map (Source. Paul Cobley & Litza Jansz. 1999. In Sobur, 2003: 69)

From the Barthes map above, it can be seen that the denotative sign (3) consists of a marker (1) and a marker (2). In addition, at the same time, denotative sign (4). In other words, it is a material element: only when you recognize the sign of the "lion" will connotations such as pride, ferocity, and courage become possible. The connotation stage is divided into 2. The first stage has 3 parts, namely: imitation effect, attitude (pose), and object. Meanwhile, the last 3 stages are: photogenic, aesthetic, and syntax. So, in the Barthes concept, the connotative sign does not only have an additional meaning but also contains two parts of the denotative sign that underlies itsexistence.

2.2 Roland Barthes' Connotations and Denotations

In Barthes' observation, the relationship between myth and language also exists in the relationship between the use of literary and aesthetic language with ordinary language. In this function, what is prioritized is connotation, namely the use of language to express something other than what is said. For him, the first layer is the level of denotation, and the second layer is the level of connotation: connotative markers occur from signs of the denotation system. Thus, connotation and literature in general is one of the second layer marking systems that are placed on top of the first layer system of language (Sobur, 2006:19-20).

Denotation is the same true meaning as the straightforward meaning to convey something factual, the meaning of the denotative sentence does not change. Conotative is a meaning that is not true, which is generally independent and is a denotative meaning thatchanges.

So in Barthes' concept, the connotative sign does not only have an additional meaning but also contains two parts of the denotative sign which underlies its existence. In fact, this is Barthes' significant contribution to the perfection of Saussure's semiology, which stops at denotative designation and order. Connotations and denotations are often described in terms of levels

of representation or levels of names. In summary, denotation and connotation can be explained as follows:

a. Denotation is the interaction between the signifier in the sign, and between the sign and the referent (object) in externalreality.
b. The connotation is the interaction that occurs when the sign meets the feelings or emotions of the reader or user and their cultural values. Meaning becomes subjective or interactive. Signs are more open in their interpretation to connotations thandenotations.

3. ADVERTISEMENT

Advertising is a form of communication consisting of information and ideas about a product, both simultaneously presented to the public/audience in order to get a good reception. Advertising tries to provide information, persuade and convince people (Sudiana, 1986: 1). Basically, advertising is the process of delivering messages, where the message contains information about a product, both goods and services.

The definition of advertising according to Fandy Tjiptono (2005: 226):

> "*Advertising is a form of indirect communication based on information about the advantages or advantages of a product, which is arranged in such a way as to create a pleasant feeling that will change one's mind to make a purchase*".

4. METHOD

The research used is a qualitative research method, and the approach for the semiotic analysis used in this study is Roland Barthes' semiotics. The technique used is observation which is done through watching the *Counterpain* advertisement version of "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" as a unit of analysis of this study.

4.1 Technique of DataAnalysis

The data analysis technique used in this research is semiotics with the Barthes approach. In this study the data will be analysed using the Barthes marking order,namely:

1. Denotation: an understanding of what is in the image.
2. Connotation: looking at the meaning behind an image.

This advertisement will be disclosed based on its image units using Roland Barthes' semiotic method. With the method offered by Barthes, the researcher will uncover the contents of messages in advertisements, namely linguistic messages, encoded iconic messages and uncoded iconic messages.

5. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The ad started with a man who was climbing a very steep rock and a cyclist doing a trick and was followed by a man who was riding a dirt bike and fell and then the ad continued to the boxing athlete who was competing and the floor gymnast who fell/failed while riding in the competition. Then proceed with several impressions that depict the failures and hard work of several athletes in facing the competition and the tough training process faced by these athletes to achieve victory.

Figure. 5.1. Background of Counterpain Ad, the "Jatuh Bangkit Lagi" version

Ad Profile

Table 1: Counterpain Advertisement "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version

Product	Counterpain
Theme	Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi
Duration	70 seconds
Production House	Lynx Film
Date of Production	21 June 2016
Director	Bona Palma
Editor/ Producer	David, Dimas, Jake, Ari, Nino/ Vera

5.1 The Denotation meaning in the *Counterpain* advertisement "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version

Laskey et al (in Indrianto, 2006) state that good advertising depends on whether consumers remember the message, understand the message, are influenced by the message and, end up buying the product advertised. The *Counterpain* ad, the "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version also tries to present the concept of success of the athletes obtained after facing the hardships of training and being defeated in the arena of competition. The possibility of sudden cramping and pain that can occur when doing strenuous exercise is the purpose of advertising. Trying to describe the use of *Counterpains* that can relieve pain and muscle cramps so as not to hinder the training process until the competition is held. The storyline on the *Counterpain* ad featured several athletes who failed during a match due to joint pain and muscle cramps the athletehad.

In the first and second scene, it can be seen that the boxing athlete who is competing feels a very heavy cramps when locked by his opponent that he cannot endure which indicates that cramps and joint pain are serious

obstacles faced by boxing athletes during training. In Figure. 5.2 and 5.3, it can be seen that a woman is experiencing cramps in her legs due to joint pain when climbing, and is helped to walk by her friends until she gets to the Inn. However, the painpersists.

Table 2. First Scene of the Ad

Signifier	Signified
Figure 5.2 Voice : "Life is always challenging" Figure 5.3	Figure 5.2 depicts a boxer who is being locked up by his opponent in a match. Figure 5.3 shows a woman who is in pain and being helped by he friend while climbing themountain.
Denotative Signs	
The challenges faced by the two actors in the advertisement cause pain for them to face.	
Conotative Signifier	Conotative Signified
Challenges and pain are things that often arise when doing an activity.	The model who feels pain, as an example tothe Indonesian people, is always ready to face all the possibilities that mightoccur.
Conotative Signs	
Indonesians are forced to believe that pain is something that always comes when trying toachieve success.	

From the third scene to the sixth scene, the ad illustrates the efforts to rise after experiencing failure. The athletes want to achieve success and are doing training that is hard and with high consistency. However, during the training they are feeling severe

Table 3. Third Scene of the Ad

Signifier	Signified
Figure 5.4 cyclist who fell	Figure 5.4 shows a man who is trying to get up from a fallen bicycle with an expression of having difficulties trying to get up and not falling.
Figure 5.5 A rock climber is hanging from a rope Audio: Rise Again	In Figure 5.5, you can see a rock climber trying to reach the rocks with the help of a rope for him to dependon.
Denotative Signs	
Figure 5.4 A cyclist trying to get up when falling Figure 5.5 A rock climber hanging from a rope	
Conotative Signifier	Conotative Signified

In Figure 5.4, facial expressions and gestures of the man who is trying to get up from thebicycle that has fallen with an expression that is difficult for the man to try. In Figure 5.5 the body movementsof the rock climber trying to reach the rocks are assisted by a rope for him to depend on	The effort to get up is seen from the faceand body movements Figures 5.4 and 5.5 depicts the rise from failure that the youth want to achieve even though they have to face very difficult times tha produce greatpain
Conotative Signs	
The concept of never giving up when getting up and trying again to maintain the goal and intention to win	

The seventh and eighth scenes describe the muscle pain as shown in Figures 5.4 and 5.5. It also shows the weight of the load that must be shouldered when doing training physically before competing. In this process, pain often comes and disturbs the training process. competitive effort and the improvement felt by athletes after going through such hard training that the process of the match that took place was better than in the previous match. As in Figures 5.6 to 5.7, the ad illustrates a good improvement in competition made by athletes after doing training and data prevention efforts for cramps and joint pain by using Counterpains before competing.

Table 4. The Seventh Scene of the Ad

The ninth scene describes the victory of a boxing athlete who has previously failed and continued to make efforts with strenuous training until he wins the next match, which are depicted as the result of the hard training that has been done. This advertisement tries to convey the message that with hard training and great effort, people can achieve theirgoals.

Table 5. The Ninth Scene of the Ad

Signifier	Signified
Figure 5.8 Victory Voice : even further	Figure 5.8 shows a boxer who has just won a match and was appointed by his supporters in the arena.

5.2 Conotation Meaning in the *Counterpain* Ad, "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" Version

The *Counterpain* ad, the "Jatuh dan Bangkit lagi" version, tries to present the concept of the athletes' determination when facing tough challenges of training and defeat in the arena. The concept of strong recklessness is characterized by the facial expressions and body movements of athletes when facing adversity such as in scene 1, 2 and 6 which show a strong determination to win the competition and pass the tough training process because they remember the goals to beachieved.

In Table 2. the third scene, the concepts presented in this ad are the concept of never giving up that the athletes have even though they lost a match, and how they pass a tough training process that in the end motivate them to push themselves to the limits. These are shown through the seriousness they show both from their facial expressions and body movements during the training. In the fourth and fifth scenes, the concept presented is the concept of persistence which describes a strong intention to win the competition and the tough training process because they remember the goals they want to achieve and the efforts they put in will not be in vain. And the concepts presented in the seventh and eighth scenes are the concepts of confidence that athletes have after facing such tough training and failures that have become experiences for these athletes, making their self-confidence increase and being able to perform optimally and become better thanbefore.

The last concept that is presented is the concept of a proud attitude that is owned by the result which is the result of the hard work they have gone through and the harshness of the challenges they have faced makes the targeted goals have been achieved until a sense of pride emerges.

CONCLUSSION

Based on the research that has been done, the researcher draws the conclusion that the *Counterpain* advertisement "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version conveys a strong meaning of the process of achieving goals as shown by the athletes through the advertisement. After conducting a literature review and data analysis on the *Counterpain* ad "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" version, the result shows that this advertisement conveys the meaning of the process achieving a goal. *Counterpain* advertisement tries to describe the effectiveness of its product in relieving pain and muscle cramps so that it does not hinder the training process until the competition is held. The storyline in the *Counterpain* advertisement features several athletes who fail during the match due to joint pain and muscle cramps causing the athlete to fail, and then get up again to undergo a tough training process towin.

The meaning of the connotation in the *Counterpain,* the version of "Jatuh dan Bangkit Lagi" is the concept of determination that is carried out by athletes in the training process. This process shows how determined the athletes are. Even though they have faced failure, they are still struggling to get up and try again to maintain their purpose and intentions to gain victory in the form of an unyielding, persevering, confident and pride owned

by athletes. The ad conveys the meaning of the efforts in the form of an implicit message to the public to remain strong in trying to achieve goals and when facing a problem because efforts will never betray the results. If you fall, be determined and persistent, then you will riseagain.

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The Impact of One Belt One Road (OBOR) for Asia Pacific Countries

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Abstract

The rise of China in the economy has shocked many. Under the rule of Xi Jinping, China often adopts policies involving multiple countries in order to develop further and sustain China's economy. One Belt One Road (OBOR) is one of China's well-known economic policies or strategies that involves several countries. OBOR is a global development program initiated by China and implemented by infrastructure development and investment in Asia, Africa, and Europe, which first started and announced by Xi Jinping in Indonesia and Kazakhstan on 2013. The development carried out has an impact on countries that are part of the OBOR, including countries in the Asia Pacific region. The Asia Pacific is a strategic region for world economic activities, such as trade, investment, and other economic activities, so the impact of the OBOR in the region is interesting to study. This study focuses on the impact of the OBOR, both positive and negative impacts for countries in the Asia Pacific region. The perspective of Neoliberalism will be used in this research to explain the positive impact of OBOR on countries in the Asia Pacific region, and also the perspective of Neo-marxism to explain its negative impact. This research uses descriptive methods and qualitative data collection techniques obtained from several journals and related articles. The results show the positive impact of OBOR on countries in Asia Pacific in the form of accelerating infrastructure development, increasing foreign direct investment (FDI) and gross domestic product (GDP) of its member countries. Meanwhile, the negative impact is, debt problems resulting in the creation of debt trap for some memberStates.

Keywords: *One Belt One Road (OBOR), Impact, Asia Pacific.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The One Belt One Road program or Belt and Road Initiative owned by China envision to be a collaboration that will unite countries in the Asian region, especially in the Asia Pacific region, with countries in the African and European regions. This integration certainly does not cost a small amount of money, but of course, hoping that these costs can pay back when the program is successful, such as cutting trade costs, improving connectivity, and reducing poverty in most developing countries in the region. However, there are several obstacles faced by small countries or developing countries that take part in this program, one of which is the debt trap provided by China to developing countries that have signed China's BRI contracts.

Eight countries have registered, including Sri Lanka, Djibouti, Pakistan, Mongolia, Laos, and others who have been affected by the risk of defaulting on the loans provided by China. China funds expensive programs but underperforms even as recipient countries, mostly developing, struggle to repay the loans, so China is accused of undertaking Debt-Trap Diplomacy.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The first source of literature that we use is the journal published by The Asian Institute of Research, entitled The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in South and Southeast Asia by Vasiliki Papatheologou (2019). The journal discusses new forms of global governance in a multipolar world, the Belt and Road Initiative in Asia, the Belt and Road Initiative and Southeast Asia, the Belt and Road Initiative and South Asia, and its challenges implementing the Belt and Road Initiative. Although the journal does not explain the impact of OBOR for all countries in the Asia Pacific region, this journal provides a clear picture of the positive impact of OBOR in several areas, including parts of the Asia Pacific, and challenges in implementing OBOR in thefuture.

The second source of literature that we use is the journal entitled Examining the Debt Implication of the Belt and Road Initiative from a Policy Perspective by John Hurley, Scott Morris, and Gailyn Portelance (2019). In this journal, we can see the significant negative impact of the Belt and Road Initiative Program on debts arising in countries involved in this program. Of course, this journal's weakness is because it only focuses on one negative impact, namely the debt problem. However, this journal has very detailed information starting from the number of countries participating in this program to countries that have been negatively impacted by China's debt trap in implementing this program. This

journal also provides detailed research on why countries such as Djibouti, Laos, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Maldives, Mongolia, Montenegro, Pakistan, and Tajikistan have difficulty overcoming this problem of money loans that lead to thisdebt.

3. METHOD

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method. The data used in the preparation of this research paper comes from various literature related to "The Impact of OBOR Program for Asia Pacific Countries." The literature used is books, journals, and online editions of scientific articles. The data obtained were then analyzed with the perspective of Neoliberalism andNeo-marxism.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

One Belt, One Road (OBOR) or now known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is an initiative or program that connects China with 70 countries and international organizations in Asia, Europe and Africa, through the construction of land infrastructure networks and route expansion maritime, which can increase trade and economic growth (Cox, 2018). The OBOR program has five main focuses: policy coordination, facilitating connectivity, trade without barriers, financial integration, and building new bonds between countries (Cox, 2018). China's President Xi Jinping created OBOR in 2013. He got inspiration from the concept of an ancient Silk Road founded in the Han Dynasty, which for centuries, connected China to the Mediterranean via Eurasia. Thus, President Xi finally established the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century. OBOR aims to eradicate poverty, create jobs, overcome the international financial crisis's consequences, promote sustainable development, and advance market-based industrial transformation and economic diversification (Cox, 2018).

OBOR covers approximately 70 countries with more than 4.8 billion people, covering economies totaling the US $ 21 trillion, accounting for 62% of world GDP, and about 65% and 30% of the world's land-based and maritime economic production, respectively (Cox, 2018). One Belt in the OBOR consists of six land roads, or economic corridors, namely the New Eurasia Land Bridge economic corridor, the China-Central Asia-West Asia economic corridor, the China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor, the China-Indochina Peninsula economic corridor, the China economic corridor. - Pakistan, Bangladesh Economic Corridor, China, India, Myanmar (Cox, 2018). Meanwhile, One Road aims to intensify maritime

trade between Chinese and European ports. The program involves cooperation and investment agreements in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Arabian peninsula, the Mediterranean Sea, and the East African coastline (Cox, 2018).

4.1 Positive Impact of the OBOR Program for Asia Pacific Countries

The OBOR program has had many impacts on the Asia Pacific region, both from geoeconomics and geopolitics. In carrying out its political affairs, China has always been seen to refrain from interfering in other countries domestic affairs. This policy priority has been reaffirmed concerning OBOR. OBOR follows the principles of globalization throughinternational cooperation and interdependence. In the words of Xi Jinping(2018):

> *"In response to the call of the times, China is ready to promote the Belt and Road Initiative with international partners jointly. We hope to create new drivers to strengthen joint development through this new platform for international cooperation. We hope to turn them into a road of peace, prosperity, openness, green growth and innovation, and a road that unites civilizations."(Polemis & Karlis, 2019)*

The statement from the President of China shows that OBOR is a straightforward program of globalization priorities. The OBOR aims to enhance cooperation between countries and the integration of transportation policies among program partners (Cox, 2018). For countries in Southeast Asia, the OBOR program can be said to strengthen economic connections between China and Southeast Asian countries. The OBOR program improves infrastructure and supports industrial development. OBOR also includes a railway network development program to deliver technology and services regionally. This Program has seen its achievements in rail development in Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, and Indonesia (Vasiliki Papatheologou, 2019). The OBOR program has the potential to provide long- term economic growth in SoutheastAsia.

South Asia, has also positively impacted the OBOR program. As stated earlier, OBOR can serve as a platform for enhancing China's relations with neighboring Asian countries while encouraging the development of a high-speed rail network as a means of exporting high-end technology and services. Countries in South Asia have a common interest with China in developing their economies and improving their people's livelihoods (Vasiliki Papatheologou, 2019). In fact, South Asia countries view that development with OBOR is not a zero-sum game but cooperation

that produces a 'win-win' or mutual benefit (Vasiliki Papatheologou,2019).

Research on OBOR that focuses on economic aspects shows the strong positive impact of OBOR. Soyres, (2018) estimates an increase of between 2.6% to 3.9% in the GDP of participating countries originating from East Asia Pacific (Polemis & Karlis, 2019). Chen and Lin (2018) estimate GDP growth of 9% due to the attractiveness of FDI by participating countries, and a further 13% increase in GDP in non-OBOR Sub-Saharan African countries due to the spillover effect (Polemis & Karlis, 2019).

From the above explanation, OBOR under Neoliberalism's perspective produces several positive impacts in the Asia Pacific, namely increasing good relations between China and Asia Pacific countries and generating economic benefits for China and Asia Pacific partner countries (Polemis & Karlis, 2019). OBOR effectively improves countries' infrastructure along the Belt and Road, promotes trade and investment facilities, and enhances industrial competitiveness in the Asia Pacific region. The progress of the OBOR clearly shows that Chinese investment brings benefits to China and provides income, employment, and multifunctional infrastructure benefits for recipient countries, including participating countries in the Asia Pacific region. This is following the theory of complex interdependence, which is one of the theories in Neoliberalism that emphasizes that countries are willing to cooperate because it is for their common interest. They know that cooperation produces prosperity and stability in the international system. OBOR can bring many positive impacts for countries that are bound in this cooperation. These developing countries are the target of China in developing this bilateral cooperation model benefit in funding to build infrastructure. Lending capital to developing countries for infrastructure development will impact the economy so that there is hope for a country involved in this cooperation for a better economy.

4.2 Negative Impacts of the OBOR Program for Asia PacificCountries

Of the positive impacts, the One Belt One Road Program or the Belt and Road Initiative has had a negative impact on several countries that have entered into this Program. This impact does not only affect small countries but also developing countries as well. According to the CIMB Southeast Asia Research, several things are the most detrimental to this Program, including:

1. Debt Problems, where the Belt and Road Initiative Program creates a Risk of Debt Difficulty or a

condition in which the country which is lent the money finds it difficult to repay itsdebt.

2. Program Delays and Compensation Problems, where program delays often occur, which are not caused by market conditions but only because of internal politics within thecountry.

From these two problems, we see that the most crucial problem of this Belt and Road Initiative Program is the "Debt Trap" that China is doing, which attacks several small countries. So that for countries that are planning to enter into the BRI program and the economically prospects are inchaos, the terms of the loan money from China must be considered carefully. Rising debt, and China's role in managing bilateral debt problems, have also exacerbated internal and bilateral tensions in some BRI countries, such as Sri Lanka, where citizens regularly clash with police over new industrial zones around the port of Hambantota, and Pakistan, where Chinese officials have publicly called on opposition politicians to embrace the construction of the China- Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), BRI's "flagship program" to improve relations between Beijing and Islamabad. (Hurley et al.,2019)

68 countries are included in the scope of BRI based on reports from China's pseudo-official organizations and BRI geographical representatives (Hurley et al., 2019). Of the 68 countries, it was researched again that 8 countries were seriously threatened with difficulties in dealing with this debt trap problem. The countries are Djibouti, Kyrgyzstan Republic (Kyrgyzstan), Lao People's Democratic Republic (Laos), Maldives, Mongolia, Montenegro, Pakistan, and Tajikistan. (Hurley et al., 2019).

From this case of debt, we can see several cases of debt held in Asia Pacific countries, which are also exposed to several debt traps or debt-trap diplomacy by China, especially in the One Belt One Road Program. Tajikistan has surrendered land on the border, disputed with China in 2011 as a substitute for paying debts.. The most severe case in this program is Sri Lanka, where Sri Lanka was trapped in the loan money provided by China to the construction of the Hambantota port and continued to end up owing more than $ 5 billion to China, which caused Sri Lanka to hand over the port and 15,000. Acres of land around it to China throughout the 99 years. While there are still and will be many countries hit by this trap, many countries, such as Sri Lanka, are beginning to break free and stay away from the charm of Chinese loans in solving it. Nepal and Pakistan decided and canceled several of their OBOR infrastructure programs in 2017 (Olivia, 2018).

We can see from these cases, the countries involved in the OBOR program depended on china. According to the dependency theory, this is the dependency of weak states on a strong one. In this case, we can see China's power in its economy can provide loan money to many countries in the Asia Pacific. And the dependency of countries in need of economics help, where the country has weak economic, becomes quite dependent on borrowed money from China, causing them to be unable to repay the debt and causes China's control of the agreement that is not fulfilled, as the case that is above. If we see this, only China is benefited by playing Debt Trap Diplomacy to countries that need loans, but that it will be difficult to return it so that China will benefit from the agreement as a strong country itself.

5. CONCLUSION

We can conclude from the discussion above that the One Belt One Road (OBOR) Program or the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has both positive and negative impacts. This impact arises from various aspects, such as the positive impact seen that OBOR can provide a path of cooperation for the countries involved, many of which are countries in the Asia Pacific. Not only that, OBOR also paves the way for economic cooperation in the countries involved, which, if this OBOR is carried out and completed, will also provide many benefits and conveniences for the countries involved in this program because of the opening of roads that distribute between these countries efficiently. This positive impact is according to Neoliberalism's existing theory, where cooperation makes interdependence between various countries.

Besides, this program also has a negative impact, which is quite a problem for the countries involved, especially in developing and small countries. These countries that involved in the OBOR program and gotten loans from China to build the country's infrastructure must return the loans on time. This is where many countries get caught in the Debt Trap Diplomacy carried out by China to attract these small and developing countries to enter into this program, and China gets more benefits from the Traps they have done in some of thesecountries.

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Indonesia's Digital Society: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

The development of a digital society in Indonesia, on the one hand, is supported by the fast adoption of technology in society, but on the other hand, there are still many obstacles such as the infrastructure gap that hinders the development of a digital society. Based on this understanding, this paper is intended to describe the problems and prospects of the digital society in Indonesia. The method in this paper is a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. The data used are secondary data obtained from literature reviews of books, journal articles and other relevant references. The results of the analysis revealed the challenges that should be faced in building a digital society include disparities in technology infrastructure between one region and another, the existence of some societies that have not fully accepted technology based on local values and culture, the different utility of technology among societies, and social structures. The description above constructs the demand for consistency to build Indonesia's digital society considering that the prospects of a digital society will have a positive impact including reinforcing the nation's identity as an archipelago that connects one region to another based on technology, bridging the development gap and underpinning the smart city.

Keywords: *Digital Society, Development, Technology.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Technology is not something new to the Indonesian, technology adoption has been implemented for more than three decades (Wahyudi & Sukmasari, 2014). Technology has become part of the development of Indonesian society, which provides many people with ease in carrying out their daily activities. The utility of technology in Indonesian society today occurs in almost all aspects of life, from communication to mobility.

Based on history, Indonesia adopted technology when radio was used as a broadcasting tool by the Dutch East

Indies government, after Indonesian independence, television was part of the development of technology, even though at that time television broadcast was dominated by the government. The internet began to be used in the early 1990s when Indonet as an ISP (internet service provider) provided internet services for companies in accessing communication via email, since then internet access has grown rapidly and is not only used by companies, but by the wider community up to now (Herdyanto, 2020; Wardiana, 2002).

The utility of technology, which has become a demand and needs today, constructs the understanding that Indonesian society has entered a digital society where technology is not only used as a tool to facilitate various social activities, but technology encourages new values for society, existing values acculturated with new values based on technology.

The construction of the understanding that states Indonesia has entered a digital society empirically do not run that simple, various dimensions are part of the dynamics of the development of a digital society which has implications for the not yet realizing of a digital society in Indonesia. Two variables become the indicators, namely rejection of technology development and the gap in the infrastructure of technology development.

The contradiction of some social groups stating that technology is something that can eliminate the original values, culture and identity of Indonesia cannot be avoided (Wahyudi & Sukmasari, 2014), on the one hand, this understanding is acceptable, this is empirically based on the fact that technology development is accompanied by the adoption of western values and culture, which in some aspects is not in line with existing values, cultures and identities.

The disparity in infrastructure development as an implication of Indonesia as an archipelagic nation in which citizens live spread across Indonesia. In addition, the development policy that was previously oriented towards development on the island of Java had implications for regional development gap outside the island of Java (Mukhijab, 2017).

The problems mentioned above are a challenge in how to build the equal distribution of technology infrastructure in all regions of Indonesia, synergized by building an understanding of the thoughts and attitudes of society on the urgency of building a digital-based society, so as to create harmony in values, culture, technology and social relations.

Based on these descriptions, this paper tries to elaborate the various problems that have arisen so far in efforts to build a digital society in Indonesia, so

that the description of these problems will result in an understanding of the problems regarding the digital society. In addition, this paper also tries to build prospects from the development of a digital society, so it is hoped that it will become a research study that will encourage understanding of the importance of digital society in the context of Indonesia today.

2 METHOD

The method in this paper is a descriptive method with a qualitative approach in which the description and analysis of the digital society both on problems and prospects are described in a narrative, in the form of words and not in the form of statistical calculations, this is in line with the understanding from Sugiyono (2013) which states that in qualitative research, the research results are described in a narrative form in words so that the results of the analysis are in the form of narrative arguments based on the data used that are relevant to the study of the digital society.

The data in this study are secondary data obtained from literature reviews of books, journal articles and other relevant references. Data analysis was carried out through data triangulation which included the data collection, display and conclusion stages. With this triangulation, the data obtained are presented naturally as they are, which then results in a real and valid description of the facts.

3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The analysis in this paper is divided into 2 (two) focus studies, namely the challenges in building a digital society in Indonesia and the prospects of a digital society in Indonesia, a more detailed explanation of the two focus of the study is as follows:

3.1 Challenges of Building A Digital Society

Efforts to build a digital society in Indonesia are faced with various problems, these problems are challenges that should be faced by the government, the problems as the challenges in the development of a digital society can be explained as follows:

The first is the disparity of technology infrastructure. The unequal development carried out by the government, especially during the New Order era which was more development-oriented on the island of Java, had implications for many aspects, including infrastructure aspects in which areas on the island of Java had a much better infrastructure of technology compared to other islands (Reily, 2018; Wilonoyudho, 2009). Empirically, in some areas the society has not been able to access the electricity grid until

now, which is the main requirement in building the infrastructure of technology, the society live without electricity (Adam, 2016).

The disparities mentioned above are a challenge for the government to create the equality in development so that every society that lives in various regions of Indonesia can have the same rights and opportunities to be able to build a digital society.

The second is the difference in values and culture. Indonesia has various ethnic groups, including cultural diversity and local values (Ngafifi, 2014). These local values in some areas do not fully accept western culture in the acculturation process, including technology. In practice, the influence of western culture on the bad behaviour of some members of society such as hedonistic and individualistic behaviour forms the assumption that western culture can damage local culture. This has implications for the understanding of some societies who think that technology development is used as a medium for transferring western cultures.

This is a challenge for the government to convince the society to accept technology as an advancement that will provide positive benefits for society and will not damage local values and culture, efforts to provide technology literacy is one of the efforts that must be made by the government.

The third is the disparity in technology adoption and utility. Empirically there are some societies that really need technology in their daily lives, but on the other hand, there are some societies that don't really need technology in their daily lives (Arellano & Camara, 2017).

This condition is a challenge for the government in building a digital society, regarding how people are not only able to accept technology in their lives, but can also take advantage of technology as a medium that makes their lives easier so that society can adapt and use technology equally.

The fourth is an exclusive social structure, society in some areas has an exclusive social structure in which the presence of foreigners or foreign culture is taboo, a society that has this social structure basically inhabits traditional villages and/or remote villages.

The existence of a society that upholds local cultural values deserves to be respected, but on the other hand, it is a challenge for the government to present technology in their lives, this is not meant to interfere with existing local values but as an effort to optimize public services for society, so that every society has the same rights in accessing public services.

Building a digital society in a traditional village, for example, becomes

difficult and even impossible, so that even though the social structure is exclusive, the government must be able to accommodate their existence in the context of digital society development, as part of a society that has unique characteristics.

3.2 Prospects of the Digital Society

The digital society empirically has a positive impact on society in all aspects of life, various studies have shown that the digital society has been able to provide openness, effectiveness, efficiency and welfare (European Economic and Social Committee, 2017).

The digital society in the Indonesian context is not only oriented to be able to provide prospects for the aspects mentioned above, but it is more broadly oriented towards prospects in national development. The prospects for digital society can be described as follows:

3.2.1 Connecting Regions as An Archipelago

Indonesia is an archipelago that has thousands of islands (Tumonggor, Karafet, Hallmark, Lansing, & Sudoyo, 2013), This geographical condition must be addressed as a prospect for connecting various regions in Indonesia, not as an obstacle that will complicate development, one of which is the development of technology infrastructure, because the development of technology infrastructure will be the basis for building a technology-based society.

The condition of Indonesia, which has many islands, is a prospect for the government to build a digital society where the government not only builds the infrastructure of technology but also builds literacy of technology for the society so that people accept technology and use it as part of their daily lives.

The development of a digital society is expected to connect one region to another, including between remote islands, so that the flow of information, public services and business opportunities will be obtained without having to physically go to another area or go outside the island to get these services. The realization of a digital society will create connectivity between one region and another.

Building a digital society in various regions will eventually form a digital society nationally so that the digital society will become an identity where the intertwining of a technology-based society in various regions becomes a national identity for Indonesia.

3.2.2 Bridging the Development Gap

The disparity in development is a fact where development has been oriented towards development on the island of Java (Firdaus, 2013). Efforts to create a digital society are expected to be

able to bridge the existing development gap.

The process of bridging the development gap through a digital society can be realized through three ways namely: First, the development of a digital society requires the development of technology`s infrastructure, so that the government's commitment to be able to build a digital society will be accompanied by the development of technology`s infrastructure, so it is hoped that development in other aspects will also be carried out by the government, then the equality of development will be created between regions.

Second, if the digital society can be realized, then equality of information and opportunities in development will be obtained which is hoped that the digital community will encourage the realization of balanced development between regions. Third, justice and equality are part of the characteristics of a digital society, so that the society will seek to address the development gap to be resolved immediately, in the end, it is hoped that it will accelerate equitable development.

From the explanation above, it is hoped that the digital community will be able to become one of the actors who speak out for justice in development, this is because openness and equality among societies are part of the values of the digital society.

3.2.3 Underpinning the Smart City

The development of the smart city in Indonesia is currently being intensified, with the various infrastructure of technology being built as an effort to facilitate the realization of a smart city, in fact, some cities have declared themselves as smart cities (Prakoso, 2018; Utomo & Hariadi, 2016). One of the most important aspects in the successful implementation of smart city policy is how to build a digital society where a society smartly utilizes technology in its daily life (Arellano & Camara, 2017; Sasvari, 2012).

Efforts to build a smart city must also be balanced with building a digital society that supports the success of a smart city so that there will be a continuous correlation between society and other smart city elements.

The benefits of the digital society in the context of a smart city consist of at least three things, namely: First, society as an end customer of a smart city will directly benefit from the implementation of smart city policy, because it will connect society with other smart city elements such as smart government, smart economy and others.

Second, the success of building a smart society as the identity of a digital society will be able to encourage the success of other smart city elements, for example for the smart economy element, when a smart society requires access

to the economy, the economic model they want to obtain is not a traditional economy, but a smart economy, in the case that a smart economy has not been realized yet, the society will strive to realize a smart economy because it becomes a necessity, so that the smart society will accelerate the development of the smart economy. This also applies in other elements, so that the success of realizing the elements in a smart city will be largely determined by how successful the development of a smart society has been made.

Third, the digital society will always be a smart city element that encourages the sustainability of smart city policy so that various innovations aimed at the success of smart city policy will be supported by society, this support will provide opportunities for the government to implement the various innovative policy of smart city in the future.

From the explanation above, building a digital society will not only have a positive impact on the society itself but will also have a positive impact on all aspects which comprehensively play a role in the development of a nation, even the adoption and utility of technology that is part of the digital society will be able to characterize the nation.

4 CONCLUSION

Empirically, technology has been widely adopted by Indonesian, even technology has become part of society's life, it is not automatically referred to as the Indonesian digital society due to problematic problems that have implications for disparities in the technology utilities.

Various problems become challenges that must be faced which include disparities in technology infrastructure between one region and another, the existence of some societies that have not fully accepted technology based on local values and culture, different adoption and utility of technology among societies, and social structures that in some regions are still exclusive and reject external cultures, including technology.

The description above constructs the demand for consistency to build Indonesia's digital society considering that the prospects of a digital society will have a positive impact on all aspects, including reinforcing the nation's identity as an archipelago that connects one region to another with technology, bridging the development gap and underpinning the smart city.

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Ethics of Bureaucracy in Social Media Between Freedom of Expression and Impartiality

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Abstract

The State Civil Apparatus (ASN) Act confirms that civil servants must uphold the principle of neutrality. The principle of neutrality indicated that every ASN employee is impartial from any form of influence and does not take the interests of anyone. On the other hand, the climate of democracy provided individuals with larger scope for expression in online media, and political actors who are intensely campaigning for themselves through social media. Civil servants must maintain their behavior on social media to maintain the principle of neutrality. Social media can be a new window in seeing ASN's professionalism seen from the aspect of upholding the principle of bureaucratic neutrality. ASN or civil servant a unifying agent of the nation, so that enforcing bureaucratic impartiality is one of the keys to the establishment of bureaucratic reform in the future.

Keywords:*political actors, bureaucracy, interests, social media, neutrality.*

1 INTRODUCTION

The bureaucracy is essentially a public servant as a state employee. Bureaucracy as a servant of the community demands that the bureaucracy must always open their ears, eyes, and conscience to read the aspirations of the people. On the other hand, the bureaucracy is a civil servant who must be loyal to the state. Bureaucratic loyalty thus refers to loyalty to the state and the public interest. This bureaucratic position is in fact not easy to implement in the fact.

New Order history shows that civil servants automatically became members of the Republic of Indonesia Civil Servants Corps were visibly loyal to Golkar as the sole ruler (Mas'oed, 1989 and 1994; Imawan, 1997; Dwiyanto, 2006; Thoha, 2012). The loyalty of civil servants to Golkar - which is a political party - is synonymous with loyalty to the state. Civil servants were thus successfully moved into the New Order's political engine to perpetuate and enlarge power. Civil servants in

the New Order then were unable to develop their responsiveness to public aspirations, because the central government was so strict in regulating community, national, and state life. Civil servants must be loyal to superiors and the central government. The only growing bureaucratic ethics is loyalty to the leadership, Golkar, and the central government. This loyalty then makes the bureaucracy truly stiff and submits obediently only to the leadership. The bureaucracy changed its orientation not as a public servant but only as a servant of leadership.

Along with the reform era, civil servants were encouraged to become impartial beings. Impartial means that civil servants are prohibited from joining political parties, and are prohibited from actively participating in practical politics. The practical politics that developed in the Reformation Era were like being a member of a successful team from the Presidential Candidates, and Candidates for Regional Heads. Civil Servants who then with Law Number 5 of 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatus (ASN Law) are more commonly called as State Civil Apparatuses (ASN) are withdrawn under conditions that must be neutral and independent of one particular political force.

The problem of bureaucratic impartiality in the Reformation Era is in line with the development of social media that is almost inevitable. Social Media users in Indonesia are among the largest in the world. The total number of social media users in Indonesia reaches 150 million people (Bangka Tribunnews, 2019).

ASN which amounts to 4,351,490 throughout Indonesia, of course, many become users of social media. Political actors also in fact make social media a means of their political campaign. This is interesting to be explored, on the one hand, social media is an ideal arena for citizens to channel aspirations, but on the other hand, netizens from ASN must also uphold the principle of impartiality of the bureaucracy. This paper will discuss how is the ideal position of ASN on social media?

2 THEORITICAL

The paradigm of Public Administration related to bureaucracy in practical politics is reflected in the paradigm of the political-administrative dichotomy and political-administrative integration. In the dichotomy of politics and administration, political actors are positioned as policymakers and administrators as implementers (Wilson, 1987; Goodnow, 1900; White, 1926; Taylor, 1912; Willoughby, 1918). Bureaucracy works when political actors are finished carrying out the task of designing policies. In this paradigm, the administrator becomes very a-political, so that the neutrality of the bureaucracy can be maintained.

The political-administrative integration paradigm instead encourages bureaucracy to be present to allocate the value. The presence of bureaucracy is precisely needed to help political officials to design policies (Waldo, 1952; Simon et al., 1952; and Harmon, 1989). When the relationship is only in designing policies that favor the public it does not cause problems. Problems began to arise when the bureaucracy was not only coupled in designing policies but more than that, was coupled to design and implement policies that benefit the ruling group.

The context of a democratic state certainly cannot avoid giving room for the bureaucracy to express itself following the development of science and technology. Dahl (1998: 85-86) reveals that 6 political institutions must exist in democracy, one of them is freedom of expression. On the other hand, the presence of bureaucracy must be above all parties, it must be neutral and not support one political contestant. Therefore, bureaucratic regulation in its relations with political actors in the digital era has become very rigid. Bureaucratic neutrality must be reflected in social media in Indonesia.

3 METHOD

The method in writing this article is by literature review. Researchers read policies that have been taken by the government to regulate bureaucratic ethics, bureaucratic neutrality, and the use of media that specifically regulate freedom of expression in Indonesia's democratic climate.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1. ASN and Impartiality

Based on Article 2 letter f of Law Number 5 Year 2014 Concerning State Civil Apparatus, it is stated that one of the principles of implementing ASN policy and management is "neutrality". The principle of neutrality means that each ASN employee does not take sides from any influence and interests of anyone. Bureaucratic impartiality was conceived since the birth of the Reformation Era. The bureaucracy which was originally a tool of the New Order ruler to maintain power, from the beginning of the reform, the bureaucracy was drawn into individuals who could not participate in any practical political activities. Bureaucracy is prohibited from becoming a member and administrator of a political party or being a successful team in all elections of national and local level political officials.

The neutrality of the bureaucracy is also emphasized by Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulation Number

1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors to Become Laws. This law provides at least the following norms: First, based on Article 70 paragraph (1) letter b, candidate pairs are prohibited from involving the Civil Apparatus of the member of the Indonesian National Police and members of the Indonesian National Army; secondly, based on Article 70 paragraph (1) letter c, the candidate pair is prohibited from involving the Village Head or other designation / Village Head and Village apparatus or other designation / Village unit; third, based on Article 71 paragraph (1), State Officials, Regional Officials, State Civil Service Officials, members of the TNI / POLRI, and Village Heads or other designations / Lurahs are prohibited from making decisions and/or actions that benefit or harm one of the candidate pairs.

4.2. ASN and Expression Freedom

In the Reformation Era, civil servants as well as other citizens have the same rights in expression. This right of expression can be realized in the form of expressing opinions and association. This is important because the main ideas of reform are to provide citizens with human rights and protect every citizen who fulfills their human rights.

This freedom of expression is also in the right climate, namely the climate of the rapid development of social media. The rapid development of cyberspace provides a vast opportunity for anyone to express their expression on social media. Indonesian citizens also take advantage of this social media with an uproar. Based on the number of social media users, Indonesia is a country with 150 million social media users, and this figure includes civil servants in it.

Civil servants in expressing their expression in a democratic climate are indeed not easy to be strictly forbidden from taking sides. In this situation, two extreme points occur. The first extreme point is that civil servants with all their rights are allowed to express themselves in cyberspace (including practically charged politics); second, public servants are public servants who must be neutral and must not side with the political interests of any political actor. These two extreme points are in fact difficult to find a midpoint.

4.3. ASN, Practical Politics and Media

Public servants are prohibited from participating in practical political activities which are one of the main foundations of new governance in the Reformation Era. Prohibition to participate in practical politics has always been associated with participating in being administrators or members of a campaign team or success team in

the Presidential Election, Legislative Member Election, BPD Member Election, and Regional Head Election. The definition of practical politics is only based on the formal participation as a member/board of the campaign team or the success team, besides that proof of participation in practical politics is almost difficult to prove.

This gap then becomes the "toy item" incumbent political officials when utilizing bureaucratic political machinery to perpetuate power. Most civil servants involved in practical politics are not formally involved in the structure of the campaign team or the success team. The presence of civil servants in pro-incumbent practical politics is mostly done in the form of directives to elect incumbents in closed service meetings and internal bureaucratic meetings.

Amin and Sembiring (2018) stated that the results of his research showed that the bureaucratic network had been used massively as a political force to win. The bureaucratic structure - from top to low - was involved in the victory. Alignment of civil servants to candidates for political office is openly a form of an effort to perpetuate the power of political officials and perpetuate positions for the bureaucracy. Political officials who are in a "convincing" position will find it easy to get support from bureaucratic officials, and for bureaucratic officials, it is advantageous because this support is a "sign of being" an official in the next period (Yuwono, 2016). The meeting of these two interests then made the civil servants dare to openly support their political officials.

ASN, which has the right to express itself on social media, also has the right to vote in the electoral procession. However, as a public servant, he must not give partiality to political contestants. This is what according to Tamma (2016) as partial impartiality. Open and loose social media as a venue for expressing expression for ASN then experienced heated debate. Circular from the Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform on the Implementation of Neutrality for ASN in the Implementation of 2018 Simultaneous Local Elections, Legislative Elections in 2019, and 2019 Presidential and Vice President Elections turned out to be straightforwardly regulating how an ASN should behave during the democratic events in Indonesia. Matters related to bureaucracy, social media, and practical politics are first, bureaucracy is prohibited from uploading, responding (such as likes, comments, and the like) or disseminating pictures/photos of prospective candidates/prospective candidates for Regional Head, vision, and mission of prospective candidates/ future candidates Regional Head candidate pairs, as well as other links

with prospective Regional Head candidates through online or social media. Second, the bureaucracy is prohibited from taking photos with prospective Regional Head/Deputy Regional Head by following the symbol of the hand/movement that is used as a form of alignments.

5. CONCLUSSION

ASN or civil servants as government officials must be neutral and must not side with any party. Therefore, the freedom of expression in using social media by ASN cannot indeed be an argument for its neutrality in democratic events in Indonesia. ASN as the upholder of democracy has the right to vote, but it must not provide support to either political party, legislative, DPD, or presidential candidates. The sanctions must be enforced fairly to anyone regardless of the incumbent or the opposition.

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Indonesian Youth's: Envisaging Indonesian Youth's Perspectives Towards the Prospect of Free Sex in Indonesia

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Abstract

Promiscuity is a manifestation of deviant conduct which breaches established norms' boundaries. In Indonesia, promiscuity is becoming a prevalent problem as well as "free sex" is the main topic. Free sex is one of the Imperialism Repercussions. Free sex is growing to become a contentious issue in Indonesia. This would be demonstrated by the amount of women dropping out of school for becoming pregnant before marriage. With this concern in mind, the aims of this research are to ascertain the prospect of free sex for Indonesian youth. This research will also encourage the parents and teachers in delivering the comprehensive and proper sex education. Descriptive qualitative method is used for this study and made by using a structured questionnaire as the instrument of this research. The study method used a questionnaire, by spreading to the Indonesian youth with the total of 12 questions. In this sample, there are amount of respondents which are 179 young Indonesian respondents were from diverse backgrounds with the age of 15-26 years. The finding of this study has indicated that there are 6.7% participants think that free sex are not bring the negative effect and 93.3% argue that free sex may bring the negative effect.

Keywords: *Free sex, Globalization, Indonesian' youths*

1 INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, people inter-communicate without any limitations of time or place. They can exchange information, cultural viewpoint, thought, or others. Globalization has ensured that everyone has a chance of making interaction with others to construct a connection. This process will proffer them the benefit of getting income, social relationship, knowledge

or others. Ritzer (2008) stated that globalization means an expediting collection of processes embroiling flows which include more numbers of the world's area and that preside to intensify integration and interconnectivity between those areas. Robertson and White (2008) claimed that it is based on four primary aspects of human life which are the cultural, social, political and economic. Hence, people may have a chance to associate with different culture background. Thus, people can engage with a new notion from a particular place through globalization

Globalization has a positive and negative impact. However, free sex is one of the negative impacts of the globalization phenomenon. The notion of free sex spreads in the wider area because of this phenomenon. According to Wardhani (2008), globalization is the causes of free sex emergence from teenagers because of the easement in the field of information and communication. Based on Desmita (2005) that cited by Surtini (2019), any means of whereby to express and discharge sexual urges which attain from the ripeness of sexual organs include intimate dating, flirting, sexual intercourse though the action is valued not in fitting with the norm because teenagers don't have a sexual experience is called free sex.

Moreover, free sex refers to sexual intercourse without a legal relationship which is married. There are several factors of free sex. It can be a lack of knowledge, religious, attention from parents, etc. According to Vundule et al (2001) that cited by Indriyani (2020), other elements of free sex come from the biological drive, inability to control the biological drive, the lack of knowledge about reproductive health, and the opportunity to have sex free. Furthermore, it can be influenced by self-factor, social life, and school (Johan et al., 2018)sometimes a lot of irregularities that can occur among teenagers when sexual desire is not channeled. One of the factors that can affect is the type of parenting pattern. Type of this research is observational analytic research with cross-sectional method. Total samples fulfilling the inclusion and exclusion criteria were 197 respondents. Sampling technique is probability sampling technique, with cluster random sampling method. Data collection using questionnaires. Free variables are parenting type and free sex behavior as dependent variable. Performed a validity test using Person Product Moment correlation for each questionnaire, while the reliability test questionnaire using Cronbach's Alpha. Analysis of research data using Kruskal Walls test. The results showed that from 122 respondents who received Authoritarian parenting pattern, they performed free sex behavior as much as

38 respondents (19.3%. Satriana et al. (2020) and Tasnim (2019) agreed that In Indonesia the phenomenon of free sex is worrying. Thus, this phenomenon needs to be concerned.

Subsequently, this paper is aimed to examine the Indonesian' youth perception about free sex. Since this phenomenon is a serious matter to be concerned. Because of the negative effect of free sex can be prevented by increasing the awareness of the impact. On the other hand, this paper was conducted by using descriptive qualitative research and a questionnaire method. Descriptive qualitative is utilized to examine hypotheses or to respond questions related to the status of the research subject (Gay, 1990)sometimes a lot of irregularities that can occur among teenagers when sexual desire is not channeled. One of the factors that can affect is the type of parenting pattern. Type of this research is observational analytic research with cross-sectional method. Total samples fulfilling the inclusion and exclusion criteria were 197 respondents. Sampling technique is probability sampling technique, with cluster random sampling method. Data collection using questionnaires. Free variables are parenting type and free sex behavior as dependent variable. Performed a validity test using Person Product Moment correlation for each questionnaire, while the reliability test questionnaire using Cronbach's Alpha. Analysis of research data using Kruskal Walls test. The results showed that from 122 respondents who received Authoritarian parenting pattern, they performed free sex behavior as much as 38 respondents (19.3%. Baker (2003) claimed that collecting data survey of a designated population or sample is the primary role of questionnaire. The collection data of Indonesian' youth perception about free sex from the questionnaire would be described in the term of descriptive qualitative.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

People have a desire to do sex as biological needs. However, it needs any process such as legal marriage before doing sexual intercourse. However, the globalization has given impact in the fastest of exchange information. Thus, the notion of free sex can spread easily. Subsequently, several factors can cause free sex. Therefore, people need to concern in preventing the phenomenon of free sex. Since, it becomes an interesting topic to be discussed in this situation. Thus, several researchers also conduct research about free sex. Novitasari and Nikmah (2017) conducted research about perception from adolescent of ninth grade toward free sex behavior in vocational high School of Muhammadiyah 1 Moyudan, Sleman regency, Yogyakarta. The study

found that free sex is sexual behavior which seems like a violation of religious teachings and wanders from the value and moral norms because of internal and external factors. Subsequently, the drive for sexual behavior is predisposed by oneself and the development of technology, science, communication and friends are the factors of free sex based on Doloksaribu et al. (2017) on perceptions of high school teenagers about free sex in Medan ethical schools in 2019.

3 METHOD

The researchers' used qualitative approach on this study. Quinn & Cochran (2007) deduced that qualitative research is distinguished by its goals of recognizing other facets of social existence, and by its techniques of producing terms rather than statistics, as evidence for examination. Qualitative research is fully understands the social trend on the grounds of the participant's point of view. The data are collected by giving questionnaires to participants who are the Indonesia Youths. The data collection procedures of this study were started by giving the questionnaire, asking the participants to fill in the questionnaire, and finally, the researcher compiled the questionnaire that had been answered. This method is influenced by (Cam & Tran, 2017). After the data have collected, it will be analysed and recognized. Like what Riadil (2020) distinguished that the questionnaire is quite a useful collection method because researchers can reach many participants and respondents in a short time, and it does not need cost so much.

Also, there are twelve questions for the questionnaires, those questions were prepared and asked the 179 Indonesian youths are the participants of this study. To investigate the Indonesian youths, in order to achieve the study's goals and objectives. As for this research method, the authors carried out the following steps:

The arrangement of this study consists of:

1. Research subject the research subjects were Indonesian youths, in Indonesia with 179 people.
2. Research place the research was conducted in Indonesia.
3. Research time this research was conducted in the year 2020.

The data collection of this research, first, the researcher creates questions for the questionnaires. Second, the researcher makes questionnaires on Google form and share the link to the respondents. Next, the researcher collects all of the data. Finally, the researcher analysed one by one of the data and put it on the article specifically in results and discussions section.

Besides that, the questions which given are in the English language. Even though it does not impact the research, besides, they could express their feeling easily and free (Riadil, 2020b). Not only that, but the questionnaire also does not let the respondents write their real names. They could write the gender. Then the researcher will name them as respondents one, two, so on (Riadil, 2020c). Furthermore, it does not impact the data collected. Eventually, analysis findings of questionnaires were a culmination of the study that was intended to help the population, and the government to help absorb the development of sex education in Indonesia.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

In this study, the researchers will find out about the perceptions of the Indonesian youths generation about free sex. Nowadays, free sex is a phenomenon that is being discussed by many people. This research is useful to find out the response of participants using a questionnaire distributed and disseminated by the youth generation of Indonesia. The questionnaire contains several questions related to the acceptance or perception of the Indonesian youth generation of free sex. Besides that, the questionnaire also asked participants about their opinions, whether they could accept or reject the existence of free sex in their life.

In this section consists of the results of research and how they are discussed;

Table 1: Data of the respondents

Variable	Age	Sample %
Gender	Male	28.5%
	Female	71.5%

In the table 1, it is used to identify the number and gender of participants who have filled out the questionnaire of this research. The table shows that 28.5% are male or equivalent to 51 participants. Meanwhile, female participants occupy 71.5% with a percentage of 128 participants who have filled out the questionnaire. From this explanation, it can be concluded that the largest number of participants were women with a percentage of 71.5% or the equivalent of 128 participants.

Table 2: Data percentage of age

Variable	Age	Sample %
Age	15	2.8%
	16	0%
	17	11.7%
	18	21.2%
	19	19%
	20	24.6%
	21	7.3%
	22	3.9%
	23	3.9%
	24	1.1%
	25	2.2%
	26	2.2%

In this table above, show about the percentage of the range of age that participant must fill the questionnaire. This table have shown that the respondent who has participated in filling questionnaires about their perception of free sex is between 15-26 years old. There are 2.8% of total participant in 15 years old or 5 participant who have fill the questionnaire. Then, there is no participant of 16 years old. Furthermore, there are 21 participants or 11.2% who was filling the questionnaire, 21.2% or 38 participants for 18 years old.

Subsequently, for the 19 years old there are 19% means 34 participants has fill this questionnaire. Besides, 20 years old respondents are 24.6% or 44 participant and for 21 years old there are 7.3% or 13 participants. Next, 22 years old with 3.9% or 7 participants has fill the questionnaire, 23 years old with 3.9% or 7 participants. Afterwards, there are 1.1% or 2 participants for 24 years old. Last, there are 2.2% or 4 participants for 25 and 26 years old.

Table 3: Data of response token

NO	Question	Response (%)	
		Yes	No
1.	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth generation, what do you know and think about free sex?	Brief Answers	Brief Answers
2.	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth generation, do you think places of prostitution should be legalized?	35.3%	64.8%
3.	Please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly.	Brief Answers	Brief Answers
4.	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth generation, can you accept the phenomenon of free sex?	12.8%	87.2%
5.	Please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly.	Brief Answers	Brief Answers
6.	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth generation, what if your friends or your environment changes and follows the free sex trend, do you agree?	5%	95%
7.	Please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly.	Brief Answers	Brief Answers

8.	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth generation, do you think free sex will bring negativity to Indonesian generations and the individual itself?	93.3%	6.7%
9.	Please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly.	Brief Answers	Brief Answers
10.	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, how would you respond if your boyfriend or friend asked you to have sex or have an intimate date (free sex)? Give your reasons!	Brief Answers	Brief Answers
11.	What are you afraid of about free sex?	Brief Answers	Brief Answers
12	According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, what do you think about the current generation's understanding of free sex?	Brief Answers	Brief Answers

In the third table, show about the response token from the participant about the questions given. The researchers give 12 questions that participants must answer. First question is according to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, what do you know and think about free sex. Second, the question is "According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, do you think places of prostitution should be legalized?" and "Please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly" for the third questions. Then, for the fourth question is about youth perspectives, can they accept the phenomenon of free sex.

Subsequently, "Please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly" and "According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, what if your friends or your environment changes and follows the free sex trend, do you agree?" for the fifth and sixth questions. Besides, seventh question is please gives a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly. Furthermore, for the eighth question is according to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, do you think free sex will bring negativity to Indonesia and the individual itself? Also please give a reason briefly if you agree. Then, if not, give a reason briefly for ninth questions.

Furthermore, in the number tan is according to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, how would you respond if your boyfriend or friend asked you to have sex or have an intimate date (free sex)? Give your reasons. What are you afraid of about free sex is question number

eleventh. Last question is according to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, what do you think about the current generation's understanding of free sex?

DISCUSSION

In this research the researcher found that Indonesian youth are closely with free sex. In other words, they understand about the issue of free sex in the society. In this research, the Indonesian youth also have different perspective of free sex. There are positive and negative perspectives. Like this statement "In my opinion, free sex is a deviant action where the size of the deviant behaviour describes the decrepit behaviour of humans. In addition, if you look at it from a religious perspective, surely there is no religion that allows this bad thing. Furthermore, from a health perspective, free sex can increase the spread of the disease they can get HIV/AIDS. Because we know that the greatest value of spreading HIV is caused by free sex. Then, it will affect social norms, religious norms, humanitarian norms, legal norms and other norms. So that the perpetrator neglects or underestimates the existing norms and only cares for his desires".

Then the participants also argued that free sex was commonplace and was no stranger to be the main topic in juvenile delinquency. The statement is "I think things like this are very common, especially I often hear stories from my friends about this. As it is common knowledge among young Indonesians, I am not surprised by the discussion of free sex."

However, some of them are arguing that they can accept the phenomena of free sex. There are question about the acceptance to legalize of prostitution place. The question is "According to your perspectives as Indonesian youth, do you think places of prostitution should be legalized?" and there are 35.3% or 65 participants can deal with it.

Some of them think that legalizing prostitution places has a good effect. The government can control and provide sex education properly. The statement is "Prostitution is a business that has existed since ancient times, because it is part of human needs. Which is the problem, the prohibition actually makes it even more dangerous. Because it will appear in places we don't know. We can't control the spread of disease and so on. If there are no rules, it could be a child consumer. Legalized and made rules, they can be control by eh government. Consumers must be people of a certain age, and have a certain income. The workers are protected and educated about sexual health and sex education properly. There are routine health checks too."

Besides that, there is also a view of indifference among the younger

generation. According to them, if the phenomenon of free sex does not interfere with their business it is not a problem they can accept it. The statement is "Because if I close my eyes and dodge it is like telling me that this is so common, I don't want to shirk reality. No matter how bad, it's still a living reality in society. As long as it does not harm me, my family and my loved ones, then let someone else take care of their own affairs". In other words they also argue that free sex is common issue in youth perception, like "In my opinion, the current generation's understanding of free sex is increasingly wrong and declining, because in this day and age a lot of young people actually think that free sex is a common thing or that many young people actually enjoy free sex behavior without thinking about the many negative impacts from free sex."

Based on youth perspectives that have been given, it shows that the role of the environment is very important to control the development of free sex among the community. The role of sex educators in improving sexual health and literacy is very important (Shtarkshall, Santelli, & Hirsch, 2007). They are the main shield in providing an understanding of sex education.

First, the theory of adolescent development supports the idea that parents are the primary agents of socialization for most children (Muuss, 1988). Parents are not providers of factual information. However, the role of parents is needed in the development of children to think and adapt. A child begins to create a new identity, build or adapt social patterns through peers and social institutions, such as schools, to define their own social values (Smelser & Baltes, 2001).

Apart from parents, the school environment is also a window for children to learn sex education on the right path. In this case, the teacher is the second character after parents to provide sex education material which has been considered taboo by the community. Sex education in schools must treat social and family values with respect and professionalism. Then teachers must promote sex education by combining sexual values with parents, religious, cultural and social organizations then strengthened by providing skills training and factual information needed all teenagers (Shtarkshall, Santelli, & Hirsch, 2007).

Sex Education

Free sex is the impact of changing times that are increasingly developing. Free sex is one topic that cannot be separated for some people to discuss. In Indonesia, free sex is a topic that never ends to be discussed repeatedly. This is evidenced by the large number of reports that show many teenagers get pregnant

before marriage. Most of them are still in junior high school to university.

Research conducted by the non-governmental organization Synovate Research in four major cities in Indonesia with a survey that was attended by 450 people who reached the age range of 15-24 and most of them came from the middle to lower economy. This research, which was conducted in 2004, produced real evidence that most teenagers in Indonesia get information about various things about sex from their friends (65%), 35% from pornographic films and the remaining 5% they get the information from their parents. Besides that, the fact that can amaze researchers is about the free sex activity of Indonesian adolescents that has been carried out since the age of 16. Of the four cities surveyed directly by the research team, 44% of the women admitted that they were no longer virgins because they had experienced free sex (having sex) and what was worse was 16% of the respondents admitted that they did it around the age of 13 up to 15 years.

Based on this explanation, sex education is needed from an early age. This is useful for giving children's reasoning about free sex. Based on an international agreement in Cairo 1994 (The Cairo Consensus) about reproductive health which was signed by 184 countries including Indonesia, it was decided on the need for sex education for adolescents. In one of the consensus items emphasized on efforts to seek and formulate sexual and reproductive health care as well provide comprehensive information including for teenagers.

According to Diana (2018), there are two factors why sex education is very important for teenagers. The first factor is where children grow up to be teenagers, they don't understand with sex education, because parents still think that talking about sex is a taboo subject. So those from the lack of understanding the teens feel irresponsible with sex or health anatomy reproduction.

The second factor, from the adolescent's lack of understanding about sex and anatomical health their reproduction, in the social environment of society, this is offered only limited to commodities, such as media that present things that are of a nature pornography, among others, VCDs, magazines, the internet, and even television shows it has led to something like that. The impact of not understanding teenagers about sex education, many negative things happen, such as high sex outside of marriage, unwanted pregnancy, transmission of the HIV virus etc. their reproduction, in the social environment of society, this is offered only limited to commodities, such as media that present things that are of a nature pornography,

among others, VCDs, magazines, the internet, and even television shows it has led to something like that. The impact of not understanding teenagers about sex education, many negative things happen, such as high sex outside of marriage, unwanted pregnancy, transmission of the HIV virus etc.

By learning about sex education, it is hoped that teenagers can keep the reproductive organs in their bodies and not touch other people's organs reproduction, especially for young women. Adolescent reproductive organs are a right adolescents and it is the responsibility of the teenager himself to protect from things that are not desirable (Purnama, 2018). Education in sexuality includes the fields of ethics, morals, physiology, economics, and other knowledge needed so that a person can understand himself as a sexual individual, and have good interpersonal relationships. Sex instruction without education in sexuality can lead to promiscuity and deviant sexual relations.

The purpose of free sex in general according to the international agreement "Conference of Sex Education and Family Planning" in 1962, is to produce adult humans who can lead happy lives, because they can adapt to society and their environment, and are responsible for themselves and people.

The goals of sex education can be detailed as follows:

1. Establish an understanding of the sex differences between men and women in the family, work and all life, which are always changing and different in every society and life
2. Establish an understanding of the role of sex in human life and in the family; sexual relations and love, feelings of sex in marriage and so on.
3. Developing self-understanding regarding the function and needs of sex. In other words, sex education in a narrow sense (in context) is education about human sexuality.
4. Helping students in developing their personalities so that they are able to make responsible decisions, for example choosing a mate, whether or not they live in a family, divorce, sexual morals, and so on

Social Acceptance of Free Sex

In some countries, free sex is a natural thing for someone to do. Society accepts the existence of free sex and responds to it as normal. Different in Indonesia, free sex is against the norm and is included in juvenile delinquency. Then, there are still a few people who can accept this. Unfortunately, discussions related to free sex are considered taboo so that teenagers and children cannot understand sex education.

The view of sex education in Indonesia is still a matter of controversy in society. At present, there are still many

members of the community who do not agree that sex education is taught in social, family or school settings. Society's view of sex education is still considered a "taboo" thing to talk about. They assume that there are times when their children will understand themselves.

Sexual relations before marriage or free sex for the people of Indonesia are still seen as unacceptable actions both socially and culturally in other words, it is a violation of social norms (Widyastuti, 2009). According to Shaluhiyah (2007) argue that even though in the modern era like now, young people tend to be more tolerant or can accept the existence of free sex behaviour. The lack of understanding of society and the assumption that free sex is a taboo subject to discuss certainly has an impact on the understanding of adolescents and children about it.

The condition of society that considers sex education to be taboo actually makes teenagers or people engage in free sex. The cause of free sex among adolescents is environmental factors, both family environment and social environment. The family environment in question is whether or not the religious education provided by parents is sufficient for their children. Not enough love and attention that the child gets from his family. It is enough or not the example that the child receives from his parents, and so on, is the right of the child from the parent. This affects the children, they will look for a place to escape and seek information that actually brings them into promiscuity.

5 CONCLUSSION

Talking about free sex has a lot of perspectives and points of view for all parties. The younger generation is one of the main figures in the development of a country. This is because the younger generation has a broader and more modern point of view in evaluating things. In the results of research that has been done, it shows that the younger generation has different perspectives on free sex. Many of them think that free sex is a negative act or violates the norms in society.

Education is a deliberate and structured process to impart knowledge and skills, and to influence individual development (Kirby, 2001). Literacy is more than just learning facts and identifying symbols; literacy includes the skills needed to integrate knowledge, enable a person to express ideas or opinions, make decisions and solve problems correctly. By promoting sexual literacy, sex education can contribute to psychosocial development and well-being throughout adolescence and adulthood, in addition to this lack of sexual literacy is a source of many health and social hazards, including STDs and pregnancy before marriage.

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The Driving Factor Analysis of Same-Sex Marriage Legalization in Taiwan 2017-2019

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Abstract

This research attempts to analyze the factors that underlie Taiwan in legalizing same-sex marriage. The legalization of same-sex marriage in Taiwan that is individually regulated through Act for Implementation of JY Interpretation No. 748, is the outcome of various driving factors from domestic and non-domestic. As the first Asian country that allows same-sex marriage, Taiwan has obtained domestic and international numerous attentions. Same-sex marriage is a debatable issue in Asia since it is commonly legitimized by western countries, which has different values and norms with Asia. This argument's object was articulated by particular Taiwanese groups and become one of the obstacles of this legalization. This paper also addresses the influence of government cabinet structure and several international organizations on Taiwan. This research applied the policy-making process theory and queer theory. The findings of this research show that the LGBT activists' demand for marriage rights, Taiwan's government cabinet structure post-election 2016, and international affairs have contributed to the legalization of same-sex marriage in Taiwan 2017-2019.

Keywords: *Driving Factor, Legalization, Same-Sex Marriage, Taiwan*

INTRODUCTION

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) has become one of the prominent global political topics nowadays. The value within the increasing scale of democracy's existence in various countries affects many aspects that adhere to this concept. LGBT activists in Taiwan have struggled for the last three decades to have their rights. This problem, however, was not successfully gained government attention at first. Same-sex marriage equality has re-emerged in the presidential election period from 2014 to 2016 (Chang, 2019, pp. 148).

Taiwanese LGBT group attempted first in acquiring the legal status of same-sex marriage in 2009. Synergized with other women groups, LGBT activists formed the Taiwanese Alliance to Promote Civil Partnership Rights (TAPCPR) to produce and propose

Three Bills of Diverse Family to the government. This draft bills showed, the Civil Code provision on marriage potentially violated the LGBT, and thus, each point of this draft addressed Taiwan's government to review the applicable Civil Code. It was merely one of three points in total that agreed to be discussed by the Legislative Yuan in 2013 (Kuan in Cohen, Alford, & Lo, 2019, pp. 600).

The same-sex marriage case stays polemic, including for Taiwanese generally. When the public overheard the parliament's decision to review, religious groups as the majority protester and other conservative groups were against compromise. It remained uncertain the rights of LGBT in years before the presidential election 2016. The lack of legal recognition in healthcare as the cause of Jacques Picoux's suicide, a gay professor at National Taiwan University, stimulated the LGBT to reaffirm and scale-up their demand in 2016 (Chang, 2019, pp. 149).

The Judicial Yuan discussed the marriage equality respecting LGBT in 2016. As a result, the provision of Chapter II on Marriage of Part IV on Family of the Civil Code was unconstitutional and required an amendment that LGBT may not be discriminated. The Judicial Yuan also asked the Legislature to enact the relevant laws within two years. This Interpretation No. 748 was officially published on May 24, 2017 (Knight, 2018).

Pros and contras were inevitable in parliament. The support of parliament respecting the LGBT case was found at the intention to revise the definition of marriage in the Civil Code since it was perceived as a legitimate heterosexual. Marriage was recognized only between a man and a woman, then pronounced as husband and wife. On the other hand, the opponent persevered the Civil Code and encountered the legalization of same-sex marriage. Thus, the Act for Implementation of JY Interpretation No. 748, published on May 17, 2019, marked the end of parliament debate. This individual regulation of same-sex marriage promulgated by the President on May 22, 2019, and came into force effectively on May 24, 2019 (Zhang, 2019).

According to the historical timeline, Taiwan is the 29th country which allows the same-sex couple to marry. This authority is mostly implemented in Europe and the USA, followed by Australia and South Africa (Green, 2019). Considering different values and norms with Western mainly, Taiwan is the first Asian country that empowers same-sex marriage. This article would take a further step to analyze more about the factors that determined the government's legalization of same-sex marriage.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Po-Han Lee (2016) assumes the type of legal system, the democratic condition and political opportunity for the minority, the state of economic development and modernization, and the level of globalization would be the factors of the distinctive legal attitude towards LGBT in countries. According to it, Taiwan is still considered the most LGBT-friendly country in Asia (Lee, 2016, pp. 982). On the contrary, Yu-Rong, Ping, and Liu identify the imperfect regulation over the LGBT in Taiwan. They argue the hate speech based on sexual and racial differences remains. Most people in society, including politicians, misinterpret the freedom of speech to violate the community. For that reason, the absence of such anti-discrimination laws persists the obstacles to LGBT human rights development in Taiwan (Yu-Rong, Ping, & Liu, 2010, pp. 402).

For Stewart Chang (2019), the Taiwan government's policy in decriminalizing same-sex marriage can be seen as a leading action rather than following any Western countries regarding gay rights. It is concluded by the collaboration among the government bodies to guide the public in directions of profound tolerance and equity (Chang, 2019, pp.167). Moreover, as in Lee's article, the rainbow coalition is a political reflection of Taiwan's effort proving the character ownership compared internationally. The coalition is a consolidation of varied social movements for gender and sexual minority, including Taiwan's identity transformation (Lee, 2017, pp. 692). Likewise, Terri He (2007) posits that cyberspace has been a great medium to unite the voice of LGBT communities in Taiwan as well. In He's article "Cyberqueers in Taiwan: Locating Histories of the Margins", He discovers its power at the annual LGBT pride parades whose online participants are larger than the offline community. Regardless of sexualities and sexual orientation, the LGBT pride parade in Taiwan obtains public attention effectively to stand out their aspiration in opposing the heteronormativity. This moment also can be conceived due to their inadequacy of political stance (McLelland in He, 2007, pp. 62).

Having said that, we can comprehend many aspects may encourage legalization. This defines the policy-making process as well, which has inputs, conversion, and output to elaborate the legislation formulation. The input itself divers the demands and supports briefly (Easton in Almond, 1965, pp. 192). The conversion involves the constitution and its capability to refining the inputs to an outcome – the policy. This level consists of four functions, such as the articulation of

interest, the aggregation of interest, the policy formulation, and the policy implementation (Almond & Jr. Powel, 1978, pp.15). Towards LGBT demands and supports apprehension, the queer perspective may offer a solution challenging the normativity in Taiwan. Sexual orientation and identity may not differentiate the access of LGBT in attaining the rights (LaSala, 2007, pp. 182). In spite of major queer theorists criticize the notion of marriage, other influential theorists still consider marriage positive. Marriage can be seen as an expression willingness in similar to coming out (Warner, 2000, pp. 99). The critical perspective on marriage would deteriorate the effort to fulfill the LGBT rights, especially in civil rights (Clark, 2011, pp. 32). Andrew Sullivan assumes that marriage is essential in the politics of LGBT because it involves public acknowledgment of homosexual identity. Marriage is not a private contract, but it is also public recognition of a private commitment. Hence, denying same-sex marriage is the most public affront possible to their public equality (Sullivan in Secomb, 2007, pp. 131). The queer theory believes that leaders in politics, religion, and medic sustain social control by imposing the norm of heterosexual marriage (Warner in LaSala, 2007, pp. 182).

METHOD

This article utilizes the qualitative research by exploring, describing, and interpreting the elements of Taiwan's same-sex marriage legislation. The method to gather data for this research relies on secondary data that includes books, academic journals, reports, government official documents through its websites, and other relevant resources. In analyzing the data, the author adopts the policy-making process theory of Gabriel Almond to identify the inputs on same-sex marriage legalization in Taiwan; comprehend the policy formulation process that involves Taiwan's constitution/government; as well as seek the effect of Taiwan's government cabinet structure post-election 2016 on the legalization. Secondly, this paper also utilizes queer theory of Michael Warner to conceive Taiwanese LGBT rights activists' demands and supports, for homosexuals, particularly in order to obtain their rights to acquire equal treatment as heterosexuals.

DISCUSSION

Considering socio-political and governance systems are essential before we determine the factors of legalization. Taiwan is a country with religion and ethnic diversity. Nevertheless, most Taiwanese are Buddhist and Taoist with Han ethnicity (MoFA ROC, 2019).

Due to the end of Martial Law in 1987, Taiwan has revised its constitution seven times in establishing a better democratic country and refresh its condition. The revision occurred in 1991, 1992, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2000, and 2005 (MoFA ROC, 2019, pp. 26). Taiwan realized the first direct presidential election in 1996 with the political system of multiparty democracy. Nonetheless, only particular parties run political contestation. Kuomintang (KMT) and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), for instance, was seen as powerful parties since its first appearance in Taiwan politics, followed by People First Party (PFP), Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), and New Power Party (NPP) that emerged in the 2000s. Along with the semi-presidential system and president-parliamentary type as well as a republic, the President of Taiwan is empowered to appoint heads of four branches of the government. The branches are Executive, Judicial, Examination, and Control Yuan. The President is also allowed to dismiss the Prime Minister, who leads the government and Executive Yuan. Hence this authority would imply the President in controlling the state (Wu in Elgie & Moestrup, 2007, pp. 208).

Speaking of LGBT rights, the government has actually provided several regulations to protect its citizens' rights in every aspect of life. To illustrate, Taiwan supports gender equality through the "Domestic Violence Prevention Act", "Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Act", and "Sexual Harassment Prevention Act". In addition, there are "Gender Equity Education Act" and "Act of Gender Equality in Employment" as inclusive safeguards for the LGBT. Both of these regulations aim to eradicate sexual-based discrimination (Hang et al., 2018, pp. 16). Nevertheless, it has not overcome the discrimination well yet. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association (2017) found out that most of Taiwan LGBT experienced the LGBT-unfriendly workplace. LGBT identity exposure would impact their promotion and career development. According to the survey conducted by the Intersex, Transgender and Transsexual People Care Association and other organizations in 2016, there are 56% of transgender respondents had been harassed in their industry owing to their gender or sexuality. Consequently, 35% of them were dismissed or left the job (Hang et al., 2018, pp. 18). In the educational sphere, sexual bullying becomes the main problem. As specified by the survey of Department of Civil Affairs of Taipei City Government in 2012, about 12% of respondents had personally experienced, 14% had witnessed, and 40% had heard of bullying or harassment targeting LGBT students on campus (Hang et al., 2018, pp. 19). On another aspect, although

Taiwan's Government has focused on the HIV/AIDS issue towards LGBT, it has not supported a broader approach to other potential issues in healthcare. Taiwan has not recognized the LGBT in the medical system and procedure, including medical assistance and healthcare. Based on Jacques Picoux's experience a gay professor in Taiwan, the party who can be involved in any of the decision's treatment is the patient's partner. This was problematic as his relationship legal status absent. Subsequently, his partner, who had cancer, was unable to continue the medical treatment and ended in death (White & Cole, 2016).

The government of Taiwan enables same-sex marriage legalization because of various driving factors. These factors include domestic and international elements as the input of the decision-making process. In brief, the domestic inputs can be identified by the LGBT activists' demand for marriage rights and the structure of Taiwan's government cabinet post-election 2016. Meanwhile, international input can be found through the effect of Taiwan's international relations.

1 LGBT ACTIVISTS' DEMAND FOR MARRIAGE RIGHTS

Public acceptance is the foundation of same-sex marriage legalization. A study concerning attitude towards homosexuality in Asia in 2008 showed that East Asian people are more likely less tolerant than Western developed nations people, but they are more supportive than African and Middle Easterners. This is the result of the strong emphasis on the value and culture that most people believe (Adamczyk & Cheng in Cheng, Wu, & Adamczyk, 2016, pp. 318). A substantial proportion of East Asian are Confucian which priors traditional value on the family-kinship system. Similarly to other East Asia nations, it stumbles the acceptance of LGBT people in Taiwan (Cheng, Wu, & Adamcyzk, 2016, pp. 318). So, at the beginning of the 2000s, the LGBT community stressed the public acceptance of LGBT existence as well as education and economic rights attainment. As the Taiwan Social Change Survey in 2012, it accomplished 54.2% of respondent support on same-sex marriage (Fu et al., in Hang et al., 2018, pp. 6).

When the suicide of Picoux gained extraordinary public attention in 2016, many LGBT activists reaffirmed the government in ruling same-sex marriage. The role of local and international mass media was extensive at this moment. Along with better tolerance of LGBT, as well as the relationship between the legal status of a same-sex couple and health access as the reason of the tragedy, the legalization of same-sex marriage has a tenacious urgency for Taiwanese at that time.

The LGBT activists seek to challenge the traditional value through their draft, entitled Three Bills of Diverse Family, proposed by TAPCPR. In short, the draft rely on individual diversity, including sexual orientation, and urges equality for the LGBT on each point. The first point is marriage equality rights. It perceives the legalization would provide LGBT an equal legitimacy as heterosexual to earn other particular rights, such as the rights of child adoption. Secondly, the partnership system which intends to combat the sexual control mechanism in Taiwan. Marriage would be acknowledged as the union of two independent and equal individuals, regardless of sex, sexual orientation, and gender identity. It also stipulates prenuptial agreement to enforce the rights and obligations of each party, as well as manifest the importance of mutual care and support (Hsu, 2015, pp. 158). Last but not least, the multiple-person household — a chosen family system. The notion delivers a solution, either for LGBT itself or even people in general who are willing to form a family without any romantic affiliation, by doing household registration. This approach, unfortunately, restricted the lobbying process on legislative and public understanding. From this point, Legislator Yu Mei-Nu re-proposed the draft with another strategy — simplified the demands without differentiating the main goal in owning legal recognition and other rights. The attempt eventually brought a better path for the Taiwan Government to approve same-sex marriage as the first stage (Chin, 2019, pp. 7).

All the demands proposed by LGBT activists above indicate their effort in acquiring the rights is not only focused on same-sex marriage authority but also other potential issues after the marriage itself. Even further, this advanced concept LGBT brought up would afford evaluation and solution towards the standard marriage system in Taiwan. The context can be noticed at the second and third point that is applicable for heterosexual.

2 TAIWAN'S GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE CABINET POST-ELECTION 2016

The government is the key actor who decides whether or not a policy is valid. 2016 has become the momentum for LGBT activist long-term efforts on marriage equality. The government cabinet structure transformation in 2016 implicates the acceleration to regulate same-sex marriage. It can be spotted by comparing the government structure in 2006 and 2016. Before 2016, the LGBT community tends to struggle on the legislation stage as a result of the conservative groups' significance in a number of government authorities. For example, in 2006, DPP Legislator Hsiao Bi-khim was the first legislator who proposed the draft respecting same-sex marriage. The attempt, however, failed to obtain enough support. At this period, a group of conservative parties — KMT and PFP, were possible to compromise the legislative agenda due to its substantial percentage, compared to DPP and other left-wing party groups. The second submitting attempt of the draft in 2012, favored by TAPCPR, was unsuccessful as

well. In accordance with the recapitulation of election 2012, KMT earned 56.64% votes on parliament, a higher ratio than DPP's 35.40% votes (CEC, 2012). This gap was powerful enough to affect the legislative outcome of same-sex marriage since KMT members tend to have a closer connection with religious groups that oppose the idea (Hsu, 2015, pp. 159).

The election 2016 has profitably placed Tsai Ing-Wen ── DPP's candidate, and Chen Chien-jen as the president and vice president of Taiwan to 2020. On her campaign, President Tsai expressed her support towards LGBT and articulated marriage equality in reflecting her concern towards Taiwan's LGBT rights (Kirby, 2019). It was also a reflection of her party's vision to maintain the liberal democracy of Taiwan (BBC, 2020). Furthermore, DPP attained a majority in parliament as well. It gained 60% seats, while KMT reached 31% and followed by other parties (MoFA ROC, 2019, pp. 29). When the government authority was dominated by DPP, it enabled a straightforward legislation process of the draft since a large-scale proportion of DPP members supported same-sex marriage. Thus, the draft bill proposed by Yu Mei-Nu in 2016 was more comfortable to pass than the submission in previous years.

Despite the association between the party's interest and same-sex marriage legislation issue, many parties in states focus on LGBT rights issues as one of their political strategies to receive ballots. When President Tsai encouraged the LGBT community publicly, it promoted the DPP votes, including on legislative election. Also, when the tragedy of Picoux gained tremendous public attention, it becomes the momentum for LGBT to pursue the concrete outcome of her support.

3 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND AFFAIRS

Taiwan has tackled international recognition for years. Since 1971, Taiwan was excluded by UN members and strived to engage with other international communities. Notwithstanding, the government endures its work in achieving acceptance through various international mandate related policies. For example, ratify ICCPR and ICESCR──the UN conventions through a regulation named Act to Implement the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights in 2009. It is Taiwan's commitment to severe human rights, although Taiwan was no longer part of the United Nations (TAHR, 2013, pp 5). In addition, Taiwan implements CEDAW through its Enforcement Act of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women to protect, promote, and enhance the equality of women's rights.

The legalization of same-sex marriage may become one of the government strategies to strengthen Taiwan's position in foreign affairs. The decision to enforce the independent recommendation of the Review Committee on Taiwan's CEDAW report 2014. The committee, which consists of two CEDAW official

committees, interpreted that the subordination towards LGBT in Taiwan remains due to its special recognition of heterosexual marriage (GEC, 2014, pp. 17). While evaluating the report, the existence of international NGOs is vital for the success of the legislation. On the community level, the international NGO performs to educate Taiwan civilians in regard to marriage equality, as has been done by the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA). At a different stage, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch published an open letter to the government in reminding further consideration of same-sex marriage after the referendum 2018. Both NGOs ensure the government needs and be able to legalize same-sex marriage relevant to domestic law and international legal standards. LGBT rights are human rights as well so that other Asian countries would distinguish Taiwan as a figure of human rights protection. Human rights obligations of states should not be dependent on discriminative popular vote and ought to have an international law basis (Tassi & Reid, 2018).

The involvement of numerous international actors demonstrates the influence of international and foreign affairs for same-sex marriage legalization success in Taiwan. The alignment of international NGOs' role with the government's aim on strengthening the country's position in international is the cause of legalization. The letter of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch helps to scale-up the urgency of same-sex marriage legalization, yet there is a public protest through the referendum 2018 on government resolution.

CONCLUSION

The legalization of same-sex marriage is encouraged by domestic and international factors that affect the government of Taiwan's decision-making process. These complete factors constitute one cohesive unit. At the domestic level, the longing demand on same-sex marriage from LGBT activists is the main factor that presents the government of the urgency itself. The struggle from 1986 to 2015 was unsuccessful due to a strong indigenous public opinion. LGBT was considered as an obscenity, deviant, and terrible violation of Chinese tradition. Simultaneously, the government cabinet structure post-election 2016 allows the agenda of same-sex marriage legalization accessible. DPP majority in the government contributes to hasten the policy outcome. The legalization of same-sex marriage, that individually regulated through "Act for Implementation of JY Interpretation No. 748, is a manifestation of Taiwan's liberal democracy, which the government

has pursued since the end of martial law. Equally critical, international NGOs — Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch devotes the problem resolution of which LGBT face. Although it is still a long run to perfection, ruling same-sex marriage would eliminate the subordination of LGBT gradually. This context would help to support Taiwan's international position for the purpose of recognition.

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Arranging Justice with the Right to Politics in the Electoral Court

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Abstract

Seeking and arranging justice in political life in Indonesia involves various parties, especially the courts. In addition, there are various elements that play an important role in the contestation of general elections, including time, the process of evidence, to the nature of judicial decisions. Search political justice, limited only in the process of proving that so short, whereas the figure demands of leadership is needed in order to avoid a power vacuum. Political legitimacy and legality of election court decisions are able to produce good leadership succession and also build public trust. Therefore, this research is needed to trace related to the authority of the parties involved, where the government leadership gets political legitimacy and public trust, along with reliable legal basis support. In the course of the history of Indonesian constitutionality, it can be said that political life has lost its direction in realizing substantive justice, by prioritizing practical politics that justifies any means. It seems that the neglect of reality and events has become commonplace by presenting them before the law. Thus, the legal facts that are presented before the trial aim to seek justice in political contestation. The long journey in the evidentiary process has also become a concern of the parties involved, especially the diverse nature of election court decisions that have resulted in disharmony between institutions in realizing electoral justice. This paper will later provide suggestions for judicial processes that handle disputes over general election results that will provide legal certainty to the constitutional democratic process in Indonesia.

Keywords: *justice, political dispute, electoral justice*

1. INTRODUCTION

As a modern nation, Indonesia has chelate Elections, both the Presidential and Legislative Election four times, post-Reformation. It reflects justice and politics simultaneously in a constitutional democracy mentioned in Article 1 Paragraph (3) and Section 22E of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, On the implementation of the presidential election in 2019, political upheaval or less equally reminiscent of the dynamics

of the presidential election of 2014, in which the presidential candidates contesting is the same candidate, namely Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. Although the 2019 presidential election contest is a repeat of the 2014 presidential election, political friction in the 2019 presidential election is stronger than the 2014 presidential election. This friction was created from the polarization that was formed since the 2014 presidential election. Since then, the dynamics of Indonesian politics have become more active.

This phenomenon of political aggression is getting stronger driven by the ability to convey information in various media which is rife and tends to be uncultured. As a result, a lot of disinformation, fake news or hoaxes, black campaigns were campaigned by various parties. Political dynamics are getting stronger with the holding of simultaneous elections between the presidential and legislative elections at the same time, also known as the "Five Box Election". The election format is the result of the Decision of the Constitutional Court (PMK) No. 55 / PUU-XVII / 2019, which offers national elections plus the provincial and district / city legislative elections

In its implementation, it caused many problems, such as confusion of voters with 11.2% proven invalid votes. Election organizers objected to the workload so that more than 500 officers died. The number of damaged, delayed, and exchanged the ballots has increased. Campaign to parties and candidates in the silent swallowed frenetic nationwide campaign (Supriyanto, 2020).

This paper looks at the phenomenon of the Presidential Election which then has an impact on justice for political rights after PMK is regarding General Election Result Disputes (PHPU). The candidate pairs have high hopes for the Constitutional Court because of the centrality of its role in handling PHPU cases. The birth of the Constitutional Court as a constitutional court in Indonesia was motivated by the function and authority of the Constitutional Court which is quite important and strategic, which is believed to be able to protect the spirit of the constitution so that it is not violated by the practice of state administration and the political system that is being carried out by the authorities (Safa'at, 2019).

Thus, in this sense see the presidential election is not just limited to the embodiment of democratic principles in practical politics, but still in the series of "election" of the nomination process, submitted to the KPU, campaigns, elections and the process of litigation in the Court. The whole series cannot just be separated.

In this election contestation is different from the 2014 election

where the position and opportunity of the two candidates are equal. Election 2019 is different, that paslon Joko Widodo would have a *privilege* more than Prabowo Subinto. The president, in this case Jokowi, is currently in power and is running for another term or is referred to as the incumbent, in the context of democracy who is the most profitable party compared to other candidates. The incumbent candidate has a very long time to socialize with the people, including political "campaigns" through government programs he leads.

The stages that determine the winner of a candidate pair in the election are 2 (two) first, the winner is determined by the KPU Decree through the results of the acquisition of ballots. Second, when the results of the KPU Decree are disputed, the decision is not in the hands of the KPU anymore but the Constitutional Court will determine who is the winner of the election. So that there are 2 (two) battles in this contest, namely political battles and legal battles in the Constitutional Court. Fighting like this is the result of democracy which actually creates strong power relations. Non- incumbent candidate pairs must be active in order to generate new political power even though this was done in 2014. However, it cannot be denied that the political forces of the opposition must readily and carefully see opportunities. It is by analyzing the incumbent's weaknesses that the opposition can get support. However, the whole process was limited to the election stages only, after the KPU Decree was questioned in the Constitutional Court, the opposition had to be careful to explain the existence of legal reasons for examining disputes over general election results.

The stages in the Constitutional Court are no longer "political battles" but "legal battles" which are used to convince judges to grant the demands submitted by the losing candidate pair. In this stage the author actually seen any weakness that should have been inequality of social and economic background of the principles of *justice as fairness* as an instance of "the difference principle" (*the difference principle)* should be with proper notice any limitations that it is not of paslon , but proceedings The Constitutional Court itself creates injustice, how can political rights mature to accept democracy while the judicial process itself does not clearly provide protection. So, whether this victory should be obtained properly with the weaknesses that occur within the judiciary itself.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Fairness

When speaking law is certainly not far from a concept called justice. Justice is an ideal when we know a concept of law.. Bellefroid said the issue of the law should be determined according to two principles: fairness and benefits. When

talking about law, of course it is not far from a concept called justice. Justice is an ideal when we get to know a legal concept. Bellefroid said that legal issues must be determined according to two principles, namely justice and benefit (Utrecht, 1983). Radbruch in his opinion said that the idea of law is only justice (Emil Lask, Gustav Radbruch, Jean Dabin, Kurt Wilk, 1950). Justice here refers to the relationship between moral beings. John Rawls in his concept of justice introduces the existence of "original position" (*original position*) and "veil of ignorance" (*veil of ignorance*) which position the existence of an equal and equal situation between everyone in society so that no one has a higher position or one another, such as the position of social status, level of intelligence, ability, strength, and so on. (Faiz, 2006). One of the theories developed by John Rawls is called " *justice as fairness.* ". The principle assumes that rationality, freedom (*liberty*) and equality can be combined in a single principle of justice (Anggara, 2013).

Moving on to the "*rechtspilosophie»* put forward by Gustav Radbruch, he reaped success in 1932 with the concept of legal ideas based solely on justice (Leawoods, 2000). The essence of justice here is the equality to be achieved. More complete concept of law according to Radburch divided into three general concepts: the benefit/purpose (*purposiveness*), justice (*Comprising justice*), and the rule of law (*legal certainty*) (Emil Lask, Gustav Radbruch, Jean Dabin, Kurt Wilk, 1950). Radbruch's legal definition is:

> *"the complex of general precepts for the living-together of human beings"*

In essence, this legal idea is oriented towards justice or equality. Justice becomes the basis of law as law so that justice has a normative and constitutive character for law.

2.2 Political Rights

The right to vote is a form of political right that is included in the category of human rights. The right to vote is regulated in the fundamental legal provisions of a country (usually in the constitution and in related laws) and in various international legal instruments concerning human rights. In some cases, voting rights are specifically regulated in case law .

Political rights is a set of rights which by their nature are related to activity and participation in the process of state and government administration. Thus, political rights have democratic characteristics, as stated by Hans Kelsen:

> *"The so-called political rights are among those which the legal order usually reserves for citizens. They are commonly defined as those rights which give their possessor an*

influence on the formation of the will of the State. The main political right is the right to vote, that is, the right to participate in the election of the members of the legislative body and other State officials, such as the head of State and the judges." (Kelsen, 1961)

Departing from this definition, the essence of political rights includes the right to freedom of assembly, association, expression or expression.

In line with this definition, political rights can be identified in Chapter XA of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, in Article 28C Paragraph (2) which guarantees that everyone has the right to advance themselves in fighting for their rights collectively to develop society, nation and state. Article 28D Paragraph (1), guarantees equal standing before the law, and Paragraph (3) guarantees that every citizen has the right to equal opportunities in government. Article 28E Paragraph (2) guarantees the right to express thoughts and attitudes according to conscience, and Paragraph (3) guarantees the right of everyone to freedom of association, assembly and opinion. Article 28F guarantees the right to communicate, obtain and impart information. Article 28I Paragraph (1), reinforces Article 28E Paragraph (2), stipulates that the "right to freedom of thought and conscience," is a right that cannot be reduced under any circumstances.

The provisions in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia are parallel to the provisions in the International Human Rights instrument. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) elaborates on the recognition of political rights, as follows: regarding freedom of opinion and expression, Article 19 UDHR determines that " everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression " Its scope includes: " freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek , receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers . "Regarding freedom of assembly and association, Article 20 UDHR, defines" everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. "As a result of this respect for freedom," No one may be compelled to belong to an association. "The political nature of these rights becomes evident with the provisions of Article 21.1 UDHR, that" everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives, "and the underlying principle, namely" the will of the people. shall be the basis of the authority of government."

Coupled with the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR), it also contains provisions specifically related to the interests of citizens in administering government,

as stipulated in Article 25 ICCPR, stipulating that :

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in Article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

a) *To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;*
b) *To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;*
c) *To have access, on general terms of equality, to publi*c service in his country.

In its implementation, political rights may experience a narrowing of the scope of ratione personae , from human rights to citizen rights , which can only be enjoyed by citizens in relation to their country. This is specifically translated in Article 25 of the ICCPR above. This means that the right to politics is a general provision, then in implementation it becomes a special right for citizens, namely the right to vote actively or passively to become part of and participate in the running of the government.

2.3 Election Judgement

Post-reform after the amendment of 4 times in the period from 1999 to 2002 on the third amendment to Article 24 Paragraph (2) the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Jimly, namely:

> *Judicial power is exercised by a Supreme Court and judicial bodies under it in the general court, religious courts, military courts, state administrative courts, and by a Constitutional Court. (Asshiddiqie, Struktur Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Setelah Perubahan Keempat Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, 2003)*

With the birth of the Constitutional Court as a judicial institution of new post-reform means the Supreme Court is not alone in resolute the case in Indonesia.

There are 2 judicial bodies in the handling of cases related to elections in Indonesia, namely the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court. The two judiciary institutions have their own limits of authority in handling cases related to elections.

2.3.1 Supreme Court and the Judiciary Below

In the election, of course, it must be carried out based on the standards stated in Article 23E of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely that elections are held directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly and fairly. However, in practice the election are likely to be fraud

(fraud), oversight (mistake), as well as winning election strategy that does not break the law but lowers public confidence (*non- fraudulent misconduct*) (Gaffar, Politik Hukum Pemilu, 2013). Seeing the potential legal problems, a rule was formed as a guide. There are six categories of election law problems in Indonesia, namely (1) election administration violations; (2) an election crime; (3) election disputes; (4) election state administrative disputes; (5) violation of the code of ethics of the election organizers; (6) disputes over election results. (Topo, 2006). So that in fulfilling justice, political rights are one of them through the authority of the Supreme Court. In this case the District Court and the State Administrative Court.

2.3.2 Constitutional Court

The birth of the Constitutional Court is one of the characteristics of a rule of law through independent *judicial power* to uphold law and justice (Sangadji, 2003). Because in principle, he quotes Brian Thompson's statement, namely "*... a constitution is a document which contains the rules for the operation of an organization.*" (Thompson, 1997). The organization in question is the State which has a constitution. The constitution as a means of operating a country, which means that the constitution is the highest rule in a country or even the most fundamental in nature (Asshiddiqie, Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia, 2006).

The authority of the Constitutional Court as regulated in Article 24C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and Article 10 paragraph (1) letter d of Law Number 24 of 2003 concerning the Constitutional Court in conjunction with Article 29 paragraph (1) letter d of Law Number 48 of 2009 concerning Judicial Power one of which is owned by the Constitutional Court states:

> *"The Constitutional Court has the authority to judge at the first and last levels whose decisions are final to examine the law against the Constitution, decide disputes over the authority of state institutions whose authority is granted by the Constitution, decide the dissolution of political parties, and decide on disputes over general election results."*

According to the first, IDG Palguna that the authority of the Constitutional Court to decide PHPU disputes stems from the understanding that elections are instruments of democracy . (Gaffar, Hukum Pemilu dalam Yurisprudensi, 2013) So that in fulfilling the principles of democracy, law as the fulfillment of human rights has an important role.

3. METHOD

This research uses literature study. Literature study can study various

references and the results of similar previous research which are useful for obtaining a theoretical basis for the problem to be studied (Sarwono, 2006). The literature study was carried out in this research by collecting data and conducting a review of documents and reports related to the theme of the writing.

The process of library research is carried out by selecting topics based on phenomena, both current and ongoing, then searching for information as secondary databases from books, journals and internet sources related to the topic, analyzing them and constructing and presenting them in the form of scientific writing.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 The Political Right to Justice

The right to vote is a form of political right that is included in the category of human rights. The right to vote is different from political rights because of the different instruments that guarantee the two rights. In some countries, voting rights are protected by an electoral justice system or electoral dispute resolution system, while political rights are guaranteed by other legal instruments or procedures.

Some of the most important voting rights include the right to vote and be elected in free, fair, honest and periodic elections which are conducted by voting in a direct, public, free and secret manner; association rights; and other rights which are closely related to these rights.

Considering that there are several rights that stem from the right to justice guaranteed in international legal instruments concerning human rights (for example the right to attend an open and impartial trial and the right to undergo a fair legal process), these rights must also be seen as right to electoral justice.

Various electoral dispute resolution bodies-includingadministrative,judicial, legislative, or international bodies - can guarantee citizens' suffrage. When a temporary (provisional) or transitional agreement has been reached. In the context of an *ad hoc* body , among others: (i) an administrative body, namely an election management body in charge of organizing elections; (ii) judicial bodies, namely general courts which are branches of judicial power or independent courts (separate), such as constitutional councils or courts, state administrative courts or special election courts that are not under traditional legislative, executive or judicial powers; (iii) the legislative body, that is, the people's own representative council or part of the council (eg committee); and (iv) international bodies, namely bodies having jurisdiction in countries that

recognize the existence of regional or international courts that issue binding decisions and are obliged to be enforced by the competent national body. (IDEA, 2010)

In general, the electoral justice system must be able to guarantee the right of every person to file a complaint if the party concerned feels that he has been harmed as a result of taking certain actions or not taking them. For this reason, it is necessary to take effective settlement steps in an impartial court in order to protect and restore violated voting rights.

As a rule of law which is constitutionally reflected in the Preamble and Article 1 Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, that Indonesia must guarantee the constitutional rights of citizens. In the context of the fulfillment of civil and political rights (the right sipol), then every citizen has the same rights in law and government, including political rights in local elections, the election of president and vice president as well as the election of the members in the legislature. As one of *the founding fathers* , Soekarno deeply understood and appreciated the fundamentals of the "right to be elected and the right to vote." With an understanding of the political rights of citizens in election activities as the *raison d'etre* for a constitutional democracy, Bung Karno said:

> *"Undang–Undang Dasar itu adalah politieke-democratice. Menurut UUD engkau sama dengan engkau. Menurut UUD engkau sama-sama mempunyai hak untuk memilih. Menurut UUD engkau sama-sama mempunyai hak untuk dipilih. Menurut UUD engkau boleh mengeluarkan engkau punya pikiran. Menurut UUD engkau boleh menjadi menteri, engkau boleh jadi hakim, engkau boleh menjadi apapun. Sama rata sama rasa menurut UUD." (Nugroho, 2016)*

Referring to Bung Karno's view, it is very clear that the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia guarantees the political rights of citizens and the state guarantees the implementation of these political rights, so there is no reason to limit the political rights of citizens a quo , especially the right to vote and the right to be elected. except the right for mere administrative purposes. By following the provisions of Article 27 Paragraph (1) and Article 28D Paragraph (1) and Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, every citizen, in principle, has the "right to be elected and the right to vote" in the General Election with only limits mere administrative boundaries such as domicile arrangements and age limits-which set the age limit for acting and categorized as "adult" and / or being able to have relations with third parties.

Then in the reform era, strong aspirations and claims emerged so that elections as the most tangible means of implementing democracy must be held in a truly direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair manner. So that in the 1999 Election there were relatively honest and fair elections, especially when compared to the elections in the New Order. However, problems or threats to the improved implementation of the General Election began to emerge again at the beginning of this era, namely the implementation of the 1999 General Election. Problems with the acceptance of election results by election participants emerged because there were several political parties that still considered fraud. Although the Election at that time came from representatives of political parties, the election results could not be ratified due to differences of opinion. Finally, the results of the 1999 General Election were approved by the President. (Gaffar, Demokrasi dan Pemilu di Indonesia, 2013)

In addition, in the implementation of elections in the reform era until now there are still various forms of violations, including those that occurred during campaigns, money politics, verification, and even stipulations. The violations in the form of money politics were specifically written by Herman Sulistyo and A. Kadar. Money politics is practiced in various forms, including: (i) Abuse of power and authority in the form of the use of state finances for the purpose of direct or indirect benefit to political parties; (ii) Unlawful channeling of funds in the framework of "political inducement" against a person, group or organization, to achieve victory for a certain political party; and (iii) Money giving and receiving money for the purpose of illegally influencing the election administration process, such as determining candidates, voting and counting votes, to determining the election results. (Hermawan Sulistyo dan A. Kadar, 2000)

That the practice of fraud occurs due to low human resources, both participants in the election itself, because deliberately cheating takes advantage of the ignorance of the community, then the number of people's economy is very low, so it is very vulnerable to be influenced by promising a certain amount of money without seeing the person or program in the future to nation and state. Fraud called money politics greatly affects the results of these elections, both in the legislative elections, as well as the President and Vice President as well as the elections for Regional Heads. Not to mention the fraud committed by election organizers. There are steps that must be taken so that the implementation of the Election called the Democratic Party can be carried out as well as possible so that

the guarantee of people's democratic rights, namely by increasing public awareness, is an important indicator to diminish the development of the practice of money politics because most people only think about profit. himself without realizing the effects that arise in the future.

The practice of money politics can destroy the future of this country because it will be enough to drain the finances of a party or individual running for election so that after being elected in the election it will trigger the intention of corruption. The perpetrators of these practices take advantage of the increasingly difficult economic situation of the people so that people do not easily be tempted by the benefits received for the time being. It is recommended that the government conduct socialization of elections that are clean and free of money politics to the wider community so that the level of public participation in democracy directly increases. It is necessary to be serious in extension of political education to the community by cultivating safe, peaceful, honest and conducive values in choosing.

This can help awaken people to vote based on conscience without being tempted by the practice of money politics which can destroy democracy and violations of political rights, namely the right to vote, because someone uses their right to vote not on the basis of awareness, but because of persuasion with a certain amount of money or existence. intimidation from the authorities to be forced to vote.

Increasing human resources is the responsibility of the government as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely to educate the nation's life. So if the Indonesian people are smart, they are not easily influenced because they have thought and determined the person who will be elected to lead this country. By increasing Human Resources, the economy will certainly increase, so that when they channel their aspirations during general elections it can be held without any influence and also for election participants and election organizers will run according to the provisions.

Ideally, in order to achieve free, safe, fair and peaceful elections in General Elections, a complete space and participation mechanism must be created, where citizens formulate democratic mechanisms and have the power to make decisions according to the will of their own citizens, without any seduction or intimidation from interested parties, because the idea of democracy being campaigned is actually quite simple, namely to protect the rights of citizens in exercising freedom of expression.

4.2 Pouring Political Rights through Electoral Courts

The implementation of the presidential election is basically an embodiment of the principle of political rights. Efforts are made to run right politics are not semerta -merta absolute so as to impose an outcome that contradicts with the principles of the state. Efforts to comply with the political rights are not just limited to the paslon but applies to a successful or winning team and the community which supported kung one candidate.

Problems in elections or called election law problems if grouped under Law No.7 of 2017 concerning General Elections are as follows:

a. Election Administrative Violations
b. Election Criminal Violations
c. Ethics Violation
d. Dispute over General Election Results

Previously, it has been described that there are two judicial institutions that handle election dispute cases, namely the court under the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court. These judiciary bodies have different powers in handling election disputes. The problems in points a and b are the authority of the State Administrative Courts (PTUN) and District Courts (PN) , point c is the authority of the Honorary Board of Election Administrators (DKPP) , and point d is the authority of the Constitutional Court. This research will only discuss administrative, criminal and election result disputes.

In this case everyone has the right to obtain justice in politics so that the judicial function not only affects the legal justice alone but political justice.

4.2.1 MAHKAMAH AGUNG

a. Election Administrative Violations

In previous election cases it was stated that one of them was an administrative violation. According to Topo Santoso, violation of Election administration is an act of violating the provisions of laws and regulations which are not threatened with criminal sanctions, especially violations of provisions, conditions, obligations, orders and prohibitions. The definition of Election administration violations based on Article 460 of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections is classified as:

> *"Includes violations of the procedures, procedures, or mechanisms related to the administration of the implementation of the Election in every stage of the Election."*

The idea that emerged in the election case was in the handling of administrative disputes by giving the authority to handle Pilkada disputes at the State Administrative High Court. In an idea the State Administrative

Court became the last forum after an election administration dispute was submitted to Bawaslu (Ayuni, 2018). In this case, cases that can be submitted to the Administrative Court are disputes related to administrative disputes.

When juxtaposed with a dispute over the results of the general election, the Decree for determining the results of the general election is also included in the category of administrative decisions (*beschikking*) in accordance with the definition of the State Administrative Decree in Article 1 point 10 Administrative Court. This is due to two things; First, the General Election Commission is one of the executive bodies of state officials that issues a decree on the determination of election results. Second, the General Election Commission Decree is concrete, individual and final for the parties which have legal consequences for the parties in the election / regional election . So that the authority to judge the decree should be in the hands of the Administrative Court.

b. Election Criminal Violations

Election crime is an act of violating election provisions as stipulated in the election law which is punishable by a criminal sanction. (Santoso, 2006)

Criminal acts must be resolved by the criminal justice system which consists of components of the police, prosecutors and courts. (Santoso, 2006). The role of enforcement of election crimes was taken over by Bawaslu, the Indonesian National Police, and the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia to form Gakkumdu. The three institutions jointly resolve criminal cases in terms of elections. In this case, those who have the authority to declare the existence of an election crime are Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, Regency / City Bawaslu, and / or District Panwaslu which coordinates with the Police and the Attorney General's Office in Gakkumdu. This means that the three institutions jointly resolve criminal cases within Bawaslu because the Secretariat, operational budget and further provisions in total it is borne by Bawaslu.

In this case, those who can file a case are every person who has a loss for someone's actions in terms of elections, so that they can submit a report to the police to get legal treatment.

4.2.2 MAHKAMAH KONSTITUSI

Unlike the judiciary under the Supreme Court, in this case the Constitutional Court has a central role in determining the winner of the election. Cases that can be submitted to the Constitutional Court are related to disputes over the results of the general election.

Election result disputes are disputes arising from decisions by election organizers regarding election results

that are considered to be detrimental to certain parties, in this case individual election participants (for the election of DPD members), political party election participants (for the election of members of DPR and DPRD), President and vice President candidates. Regent/Mayor, as well as candidates for regional head and deputy regional head, which occurs at the stage of determining the election result. (Santoso, 2006) In the construction of Election law, what is meant in disputes over the results of general elections is disputes between the KPU and election participants relating to the determination of the vote acquisition of the national election results

The scope of disputes over the results of the Election is the determination of the votes acquired by the members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Counciland Regional People's Representative Assembly and the determination of the votes acquired by the President and Vice-President Election which affects the determination of seats and results.

Case handling violations electoral fact many violations that are not handled by the Election Supervisory Body, as this form of latent meaning that is not covered by the Election Law plainly how to accomplishing things that are not tertangangani by Bawaslu? So the Constitutional Court in this case also has the authority to handle Election quality cases based on Article 22E paragraph (1) so that the handling of Election cases in a complete manner is not only a matter of results but cases of Election quality.

In Article 24C paragraph (1) the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia written that the authorities handling the case disputes the results of the elections is the authority of the Constitutional Court, namely:

> *The Constitutional Court has the authority to judge at the first and last levels whose decisions are final to examine the law against the Constitution, decide disputes over the authority of state institutions whose authority is granted by the Constitution, decide the dissolution of political parties and decide on disputes over the results of general elections.*

But the author mentioned earlier had turned out case handling election is not only concerned about the outcome of elections, but also related to the quality of the election referred to in Article 22E paragraph (1) the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely:

> *General elections are held in a direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair manner every five years.*

So that the two constitutional foundations of the Article in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia cannot be separated or either chosen, because the two articles are actually related so that

they create a knot for the realization of a democratic state.

However, in its development, in order to achieve substantial democracy, the Constitutional Court can also adjudicate not only on disputes over the election results, but also in the entire Election process as long as the process is proven in court to violate the principles of an overflow and judicial election. This is the Constitutional Court's effort to achieve a substantive democracy, not just democracy that is strictly procedural. (Hidayat, 2013) Just as the process of Election that stick to the Section 22E of the Constitution NRI Year 1945 , as submitted by Mahfud MD in his writings, namely:

> *"At the time of the General Election not simultaneously, the Constitutional Court was overwhelmed in handling post-conflict local election disputes , especially if it was carried out simultaneously. That is why through Article 158 of Law no. 1 of 2015 stipulates that the Constitutional Court may only adjudicate "vote counting" disputes where the difference in votes between the winner and the petitioner is not more than 2% (or approximately, it depends on the population). Such provisions still cause problems for two reasons. First, there is an opportunity (and it is reported that many pairs of candidates) commit fraud deliberately causing a difference of more than 2% in winning so that the Constitutional Court will not try them. If one partner can buy votes for cheating up to more than 2%, then the pair is safe. Second, this provision hinders the enforcement of substantive justice, which argues that to maintain the quality of democracy, violations that fulfill the structured, systematic, and massive (TSM) elements in the General Election must be canceled. "*

From some of the opinions above, it is normative that this PHPU is only related to the number of votes. However, experts are aware of a weakness rather than a normative construction with diction "disputes on general election results" which override the value rather than the electoral process under Article 22E paragraph (1) the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. So that the consequences of realizing democratic elections will never be realized. But in the 2019 Presidential Election Dispute, the Court not only related to the counting of votes or as a calculator, but further into the process to bring forth the principle of election Direct, Public, Free, Confidential and Fair (LUBER and JURDIL). However, in the implementation of difficulties in the process of legal evidence.

5. CONCLUSSION

Electoral justice is a concept of how elections as a contest are carried out according to the rule of law which is made just for all and implemented

by an independent institution with maintained integrity. This concept is based on the philosophy of social justice contained in the fifth principle of Pancasila, in which all citizens must be guaranteed equal rights, especially the right to vote as their political right. According to this concept, freedom and equal rights for all citizens are the keys to realizing electoral justice. Where, to make it happen, all citizens must be free to make choices. At the same time, it is also free from all forms of influence or fraudulent acts of election contestants.

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia provides the opportunity for the people to become President and Vice President for two or two terms of office. Although this opportunity is only limited through political parties as a "vehicle" to run for office. However, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia does not stipulate that an official who will run for the second time in a row must resign from his position as President or Vice President. Although Law Number 7 of 2017 exempts a number of state officials from resigning if they become candidates for President and Vice President.

Currently legally-formally valid constitutionally. But if we look at the essence of democracy, then there will be inequities between the candidate of the incumbent with that instead. There is bias involved, particularly for the candidate of the incumbent that because of the power and authority very wide, so it is necessary to reconstruct laws through legal political means. This is intended solely to uphold the principle of equality in law and the principle of justice so that political contestation in the transition of leadership is truly of high quality and without implying the use of interests through a position for political interests. Democratic justice can be assessed if instruments such as regulations governing it are applied fairly without exception.

Based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia on General Elections and Judicial Power, it is hoped that it can protect political rights with justice as a corrective , harmonization and synchronization step , in order to realize constitutional democracy. This is an effort to increasingly make democratic life by applying equal principles and values in Indonesia in accordance with the fifth precept of Pancasila, Social Justice for All Indonesian People.

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Switzerland, best practice of the use of human rights in environmental policy

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Abstract

Environmental issues have become scholars' concerns. Europe's industrial revolution in the 18th century argued intensifying the environmental problem. The industrial revolution later spread to the United States, Japan then becomes a global phenomenon, also an environmental problem. Since the industrial revolution, climate change, clean water crises, and waste problems contribute to the popularity of environmental issues. Environmental issues are important since a healthy environment is needed to achieve basic human rights that are the right to life, liberty, and the security of a person. Furthermore, one of the Human Right characteristics is interconnected, it becomes important to link human rights with environmental issues. Despite the importance of the environment and global responsibility needs to achieve human right, less country responsible enough for the environment. Switzerland is an exception. It is the headquarters for fifteen companies from *500 Fortune Company* but concerns with the environment sector. Based on the *Environmental Performance Index*, in 2020, Switzerland is number three in the world for its achievements in sustainability and environmental conservation. This index conducts by seeing several indicators, such as the availability of clean water, sanitation, and climate. This study aims to analyze Switzerland's effort in responding to environmental issues by prioritizing the fulfillment of human rights in its policy. For that, connecting the dots between human rights and environmental issues will be included in the paper as a conceptual framework to explain Switzerland's experiences. This is qualitative research using literature studies for data collection.

Keywords: *Human Rights, Environment, Environmental Policy, Switzerland.*

1 INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s, environmental issues were first posed in the study of international relations. This phenomenon was marked by the 1972 United Nations (UN) Environment Conference in Stockholm, Sweden. Two decades later, the environmental issue was presented again at the 1992 United Nations Environment Conference in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, followed by the 1990 United Nations World Climate Change Conference in Montreal, Canada (Mansbach, 1997). The regular meetings of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Sustainability are the first global gathering in the history of the world.

For some reason, environments have become a global concern. First, ecological concerns often have global consequences. For example, problems related to CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons) contribute to global warming and developed the form of the disease due to the loss of the ozone layer that occurs worldwide. Second, environmental concerns often concern the degradation of global resources including the oceans and the atmosphere. Third, the issue is often transnational, so environmental harm.

The environmental problem not only impacted the developing and underdeveloped countries in the global South, such as much of Africa and South Asia but even for developed industrial countries, the lack of national environmental regulation is an issue. For instance, for the past 20 years, East Asian countries have been hailed as economic great achievements. But, the depletion of resources added with the environmental pollution in East and South Asia, according to the Asian Development Bank, is so 'widespread, accelerating and relentless' which it endangers human health including livelihoods (Asian Development Bank, 2001)

Despite states, the Multinational Corporation (MNC) is an essential player in the global industry's growth, as well as a significant player in global environmental challenges. In several nations where environmental controls are missing, ineffective, or not being implemented, MNCs still run. Widespread contamination of air, water, and land is a significant problem for local governments, environmentalists, and, increasingly, for economic planners as the consequences of pollution become clearer. Not only local communities and environmental media, but also regional, transboundary and global habitats, such as rivers, seas and oceans, air and watersheds, and also the global atmosphere and ozone layer, are affected by widespread toxic, chemical and bacterial contamination (UNEP, 2001; Asian Development Bank 2001). The

amount of human exposure to toxic and hazardous waste also rises in developing and even developed countries because of ignorance and lack of control.

There are many causes of environmental pollution, including urbanization, a lack of sufficient infrastructure for water and waste management, the use of old and outdated industrial technologies, increasing transportation systems, and wasteful consumption patterns. Overall, in the sense of quick industrialization, pollution is mostly the result of failed policies. In reality, accountability is not only placed on the MNC but in this case, the MNC should be accountable for its own choices and actions.

Despite the problem regarding environmental protections around the world, Switzerland has achieved well in managing environmental issues so that it can hit the number third spot in the 2020 Environmental Performance Index, and although Switzerland is the headquarters of the 15 big global Fortune 500 companies, such as Glencore International, Nestle, and Holcim (TOPMBA 2012). The performance of the Swiss Government in overcoming and avoiding compounds that can affect the atmosphere in Switzerland is the success of the management of climate and environmental issues referred to here. Of course, by being the industrial center of large corporations, a lot of waste and greenhouse gases are produced from the combustion of industrial materials, power plants, and agriculture. A cement factory will, for instance, generate CO2 from its manufacturing. Although greenhouse gases, in addition to CO2, there are several compounds, such as CH4, N2O, and others.

Switzerland has been prepared to deal with this kind of environmental issue. At the international level, participates in international environmental agreement, such as the Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol, the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), and some others. At the domestic level, Switzerland's environment regulations namely the Water Protection Act (WPA) Environment Protection Act (EPA) been applied to address a specific environmental problem.

Switzerland's effort could be seen as a successful example. However Switzerland's success not the main focus of this paper. This paper argued that Switzerland environmental policy-based and focus on protecting human right also, that make their environmental protections effort outstanding. This paper aimed to explain how environmental policies relate to Human Rights protection, especially in Switzerland's experiences. In the literature review, this paper will elaborate more on the relations between

the environment and Human Rights. Then in the discussion subchapter will explain Switzerland's experiences.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand the connection between Human rights and a right to a healthy environment, first, needed to comprehend the definition of both terms. According to the United Nation, Human Rights are rights inherent to all people, no matter race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or another status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and plenty of more. Everyone without any exception is entitled to those rights (United Nations). Meanwhile, environmental rights definition is "any proclamation of a human right to environmental conditions of a specified quality" (UN Environment Programme).

In the late 1960s, international human rights law and contemporary international environmental law was strongly perceived (Shelton & Anton, 2011). Then in 1968 in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the idea of the environment as a human rights emerged in the International arena. General Assembly of the United Nation recognized that "technological changes could threaten the fundamental rights of human beings" (United Nations, 1968).

A year after that, a Declaration on Progress and Development in the Social Arena which explored the interdependence between the protection of the environment and human rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (Thorme, 1991). In 1972, for the first time, The United Nations formally recognized the right to a clean environment. This UN conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm proclaimed in Chapter 1 stating that:

> *"man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being, and he bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generation" (United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, 1972).*

This declaration finally recognized the protection of the environment as a pre-condition for the enjoyment of many human rights (Shelton D. , 2006).

Eighteen years after the Stockholm conference, the UN General Assembly recalled the language of the Stockholm Declaration in resolution 45/94 that stated:

> *"Recognizes that all individuals are entitled to live in an environment*

adequate for their health and well-being; [and] [c]alls upon the Member States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations... to enhance their efforts towards ensuring a better and healthier environment" (UNGA, 1990).

The important note from the above resolution is to include states and non-state actors to take responsibility in this matter, especially, in which most of the environmental harm caused by non-state activity.

A major development took place in 2012 when Human Rights Council decided to appoint an independent expert to "study the human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment," (Human Rights Council). The results reveal that at general revel, the experts agree that the states should protect the environment because environmental harm can and often does interfere with the full enjoyment of many human rights, including rights to life and health. This result was presented to the Human Rights Council in March 2014 (Knox & Pejan, 2018).

From the history above, we can see how human rights and a right to a healthy environment intertwined. Thus, what the argument linked to these two together? First, they both have intertwined objectives. Both strive to produce better conditions of life on earth. While human rights ensure the mechanisms allowing individuals and groups to claim their rights, the environmental law seeks to protect both natures for itself, and the benefit of humankind on a local and global scale. This inclusion is important considering "the pervasive influence of local and global environmental conditions upon the realization of human rights" (Cullet, 1995). Also, environmental issues like climate change are already regarded as "common concern of humanity" (UNGA, 1988; United Nations, 1992). Thus Human right council as an organization that upholds human rights have the right to take an interest in the matter of environmental harm. The objective is not to define rights but responsibility to protect the environment. Sometimes, these responsibilities are encapsulated in the "rights of future generations to inherit a living, life-sustaining planet" (Zarsky, 2002).

Secondly, the right to life is the core of all other types of rights because it refers to the essence of human being existence. What's more, it has already clear that protection, conservation, and restoration of the environment are an important and integral part of the enjoyment of the right to life, the rights to health, food, and water including a decent quality of life (Tiirk, 1992). Thus, it can be said that the environment is a "precondition to the enjoyment of human rights" (OHCHR, 2011).

The United Nation Human Right Council (UNHRC) has made the connection between human rights and climate change in the UNHCR Resolution 10/4 (2009) by stating:

> *Noting that climate change-related impacts have a range of implications, both direct and indirect, for the effective enjoyment of human rights including, inter alia, the right to life, the right to adequate food, the right to the highest attainable standard of health, the right to adequate housing, the right to self-determination and human rights obligations related to access to safe drinking water and sanitation, and recalling that in no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence (Human Right Council, 2009).*

Therefore, the connection between Human rights and a right to health environment cannot be avoided. For humans to enjoy human rights in the fullest form, there is a need to ensure that the environment is healthy.

Thirdly, a strong connection between Human Rights and an adequate standard of the natural environment can be established because a healthy and human environment is a precondition for human health and well-being. The right to health is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with an implicit reference to the environment. It proclaimed that everyone "has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing [and] housing." Article 12 of the ICESCR Parties states in paragraph 4 that "the right to health embraces a wide range of socio-economic factors that promote conditions in which people can lead a healthy life, and extends to the underlying determinants of health, such as… a healthy environment" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2000). One of the preconditions advanced for the realization of this standard is "the improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene" (United Nations Human Right Office of the High Commissioner, 1966). This means that the implementation of the right to health cannot be limited only to medical care but it also includes the protection from environmental hazards, food and water pollution, and radioactive contamination. It also encompasses other issues of concern to a majority like noise disturbances or air pollution arising from airports or motorways and industrial pollution (Cullet, 1995). Which stated in General Comment 14 on the right to the highest attainable standard of health, the CESCR provides a broader interpretation of the right to health by stating that it is "an inclusive right extending … to the underlying determinants of health, such as access to safe and potable water and adequate sanitation, an adequate

supply of safe food, nutrition, and housing, healthy occupational and environmental conditions" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2000). From the above passages, it indicates that enjoyment of the right to health is inextricably dependent on environmental conditions (Leib, 2011).

3. METHOD

This is qualitative research. This paper uses literature studies as a method. Data collection has been done by compiling the academic journal, book, articles, reports, and website related to the topics. This paper analyzes

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the *Environmental Performance Index* (EPI) by Yale University, in 2020, Switzerland is number three in the world for its achievements in sustainability and environmental conservation. The EPI score reaches 81.5, it is only behind Denmark and Luxembourg in which each score is 82.5 and 82.3. However, Switzerland is the best in preserve sanitation and drinking water, also keeping low pollution emission growth rate (Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, 2020). In *Sustainable Governance Indicators* especially in environmental policies, in 2018, Switzerland is number four from all OECD countries and 41 European Countries for its Environmental Policy performances. Switzerland's key policies that SGI highlighted are the actual reduction of greenhouse-gas emissions by 30% in which aimed to reduce by 50% in 2030 (Bartelsmann Stiftung, 2020). Besides recent success, Switzerland before the 1960s suffers from untreated wastewater streams that come from factories, businesses, and households. For example, oxygen in Lake Halwil 1941-1942 is almost completely exhausted resulting in decreasing in fish population and swimming become dangerous (Jaag, 1972).

This paper identifies that Switzerland's achievement in environmental protection comes from two aspects. The first is people's participation and the second is government policy. Both government and citizens collaborate in environmental protection. But, before explaining the collaborative aspect, it important to describe how each actor contributes to environmental protection.

This paper will begin with government effort through environmental policy. It begins with the Waters Protection Act (WPA) in 1955, until 1955 there are no regulations to prevent environmental pollution from waste (Wager, 2007). That's the reason behind the case like in Lake Halwil could

happen. Through WPA, Switzerland starts to diminish the waste, especially on the water also building wastewater treatment. As a result, the proportion of the Population which was connected to a wastewater treatment plant rose from 12% in 1965 to 93% in 1995 (Kissling-Näf & Kuks, 2004). The basic principles of WPA are the protection of waters against harmful effects, the duty of care, and pollutant pays principles. Take an example from WPA Chapter I Article 6 and 7 (The Federal Council of Swiss Government, 1991):

> *Article 6. It is prohibited to introduce into a body of water, either directly or indirectly any substances which may pollute it; the infiltration of such substances is also prohibited.*
>
> *Article 7. It is also prohibited to store or spread such substances outside a body of water if there is a genuine risk of water pollution.*

Only from these two articles, it could be seen the strict measurement of waste disposal. It could be translated any waste disposal that might pollute the water either in the surface or underground water is prohibited. As a result Switzerland after WPA first time banning the landfilling of waste which could pollute the water. Also, the government follows up with building Municipal Solid Waste Incinerators (MSWI) (Wager, 2007). After WPA, in 1983, Switzerland agreed on another important regulatory measurement on the environment, which is the Environment Protection Act (EPA). While WPA specific only on waste and a prone of danger to water, EPA is a more holistic approach. It is regulatory on the organism, chemical, ambient pollution control, soil, and waste. Also followed by other regulations, such as the Federal Act on the Protection of Nature and Cultural Heritage of 1966 (NCHA), Federal Forest Act of 1991 (ForA), Federal Agriculture Act of 1998 (AgricA), Federal Act on Non-Human Gene Technology of 2003 (GTA), Federal Act on the Reduction of CO2 Emissions of 2011 (CO2 Act) (Federal Office for the Environment (FOEN), 2013).

The existence of specific environmental law indeed contributes to Switzerland's success in environmental protection. However, people support also the advantages that own by Switzerland. Based on an ISOPOP poll by May 1988, 5 years after EPA, 75% of Switzerland populations saw the environment as the nation's major problem (Church, 1989). In other papers, Janicke found that consensual countries are more successful than conflictual countries on environmental policy. For example, Japan, Holland, Luxembourg, Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria compared with Turkey, Greece,

Spain, and former Yugoslavia (Janicke, 1992). Even, for now, Luxembourg, Sweden, and Switzerland still among the best on environmental protection. The absence of domestic conflict for Janicke helps the Switzerland government in the environment sector. OECD also reported that the success of Switzerland on environmental protection is achieved by the ambitious regulatory approach, strong support from the public, and considerable financial effort. Based on OECD, public involvement in Switzerland is very developed. Citizens may intervene in the preparation of legislation, propose subjects for referendums, and vote directly on major policy issues (OECD, 2000).

People's participation also could be seen in the policy forum such as ProClim, Schweizerische Gesellschaft für, Hydrogeologie, and Wasser Agenda 21. Manuel Fischer & Isabelle Schläpfer argued that policy forums provide output to environmental policy in Switzerland. NGOs are also important in bridging people's participation, such as The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), The Swiss Heritage Society, The Swiss Foundation for Landscape Conservation, and Greenpeace. Isabelle Romy and her colleagues informed that About 30 environmental protection organizations have a statutory standing to appeal rulings and decisions of the federal or cantonal authorities within the scope of the Federal Environmental Protection Act (EPA), the Federal Act on the Protection of Nature and Cultural Heritage (NCHA) and the Federal Act on Non-Human Gene Technology (GTA) (Rom, Dürig, Brogini, & Grando, 2020).

Government policy and people's participations indeed include Switzerland's success story. However, the most important insight in this paper is that Switzerland's environmental policy is based on Human Rights protection which makes it outstanding. Take an example from EPA and WPA, Switzerland environmental regulations always put people protection in the first place before the special aim of the regulations. Chapter 1 article 1 of EPA state, 'This Act intent to protect the people….'; Chapter 1 Article 1 point a of WPA 'to preserve the health of people'. (The Federal Council of Swiss Government, 1991; The Federal Council of Swiss Government, 1983) In Human Rights, people are the focus, in line with it, Switzerland regulations also put people in the first place.

People's participation in environmental policymaking as explained before also showing the assurance of people's Human Rights on political participation. Specifically, to the granted of NGO's statutory standing to appeal Switzerland environmental policy. Freedom House

on the Switzerland freedom Overview 2019 gives Switzerland 96 score from 100 for freedom assurance in political rights and civil liberties. Then, in the aspects of people's political participation, Switzerland got a score of 4 from 4, which means people's government granted enough political rights for the people (Freedom House, 2020). Concerning people's participation, Switzerland through the Freedom of Information Act makes people easier to get general access for the public document, without exceptions the environmental document (Council of Europe, 2006).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a healthy human environment is a precondition for human health and well-being. Take an example from Joel Floris and Kaspar Staub, their research aims to seek an association between urban infrastructure projects, such as water waste infrastructure with the mortality rate in Switzerland. They found that at the end of the nineteenth century, the modern water waste infrastructure contributes to decreased typhoid fever mortality rates by 22 percent and urban district infant mortality rates by 8 percent. This research shows that specific policies on the environment contribute to saving more human life from disease (Floris & Staub, 2019). Indeed, it is one of the examples of environmental policy based on and guarantees Human Rights to life.

The quality of local living conditions in a country has a direct effect on our health and well-being. One critical environmental problem is that directly impacts the quality of the lives of people in outdoor air pollution. The health effects of urban air pollution continue to escalate, despite national and international initiatives and reductions in primary pollutant emissions, with air pollution set to become the world's highest environmental cause of premature mortality by 2050. In urban centers, air pollution, often induced by transport, including small-scale combustion of fuels or coal, is related to several health problems, from mild eye irritation to short-term upper respiratory symptoms and chronic respiratory disorders as asthma, cardiovascular diseases, and long-term lung cancer.

In OECD countries, PM2.5, small particulate matter small enough to be inhaled into the lowest part of the lung (WHO, 2018), is tracked because it can affect human health and decrease life expectancy. PM2.5 levels in Switzerland are 14.5 micrograms per cubic meter, marginally higher than the OECD average of 13.9 micrograms per cubic meter, and more significant than the annual World Health Organization guideline cap of 10 micrograms per cubic meter. For human well-being, access to clean water is fundamental. Despite substantial progress in reducing

water contamination in OECD countries, changes in freshwater quality are not always easy to distinguish. 95 % of Switzerland people say they are happy with the quality of water, one of the highest in the OECD, where the overall satisfaction level is 81% (OECD, 2015).

Since the foundation of the WPA in 1955, Switzerland has been putting human rights in a significant role in creating environmental protection and preservation policies. Although the structure for the relationship between human rights and the environment was not formally defined that year, priority was given to the protection of rights in the created policy articles. In 2006, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was established based on establishing an efficient mechanism of regulation over the rights and freedoms granted to individuals. The right to the security of health and the environment (Council of Europe, 2006) is stated in Section B, Chapter 1, in line with Articles 6 and 7 of the WPA. The subject-matter of the cases discussed by the Court indicates that a variety of environmental factors, such as airport noise levels, industrial emissions, or urban planning, may impact individual convention rights. (Council of Europe, 2006)

In addition to that Convention, the Human Rights Council adopted Resolution 16/11 on 'Human Rights and the Climate' in March 2011 and recommended that OHCHR perform a detailed empirical report on the relationship between human rights and the environment. (UNGA, 2011) These unresolved issues include the need for and future substance of the right to a healthy environment, the role and obligations of private actors (UNGA, 2011). To answer these issues, the report proposed that, through its relevant processes, the Human Rights Council should consider paying particular attention to the relationship between human rights and the environment, including through the possibility of creating a special human right and environmental procedure.

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the human right to safe and clean drinking water and sanitation in 2010. Resolution 64/292 (UNGA, 2010) points to the importance of fair, secure, and clean drinking water and sanitation as an integral component of the fulfillment of all human rights and ties the right to water to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. "The first important operative paragraph of the resolution" declares the right to healthy, clean drinking water and sanitation as a fundamental human right for the full enjoyment of life and all human rights.

A similar resolution (UNGA, 2010) was adopted by the Human Rights

Council in September 2010 in which it affirmed that the human right to clean drinking water and sanitation is derived from the right to an acceptable standard of living and inextricably connected to the right to the highest achievable standard of physical and mental health, and also the right to life and human dignity. In this regard, States were demanded to pay careful attention to individuals belonging to disadvantaged and oppressed communities. It also encouraged development partners to take an approach focused on human rights in designing and implementing development programs.

5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, Switzerland's environmental policy accompanied also good Human Rights assurance to its people, either from the participations aspect toward decision making or in the effect of environmental policy on human live sustainability. It has been found that, in Switzerland's success case, Environmental protections correlate with the quality of human rights or vice versa. But to claim there is causality relations need to analyze deeper in the future.

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Sindumartani Residents' Resistance Against Sand Mining at Kali Gendol

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Abstract

Merapi is a volcano in Central Java. As an active volcano, Merapi provides disaster as well as a blessing for the surrounding community in the form of sand mining. One of them is at the Gendol river. However, the people who live there reject the mining and put up a fight. One form of resistance was through a banner against sand mining at the Gendol river. This study looks at how banners are used as a medium to represent human attitudes against exploitation of nature as a form of survival for self-prevertion in accordance with Horkheimer. This study uses a qualitative method. The analysis technique used is the multimodal discourse offered by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. The results of this study found that the modes of verbal text and visual text in the banner have a strong relationship and relationship in building discourse of resistance. The banners also seems to have an element of nationalism based on the visual and verbal modes shown. In addition, the discourse on environmental destruction is raised in the form of the impact of sand mining which can harm the people. So that mining seems to be a form of exploitation.

Keywords: *merapi, multimodal discourse, resistance*

1. INTRODUCTION

Merapi is one of the volcanoes on the island of Java. As one of the active mountains, Merapi has a routine cycle of eruptions. Even in 2020, Merapi is still erupting, marked by a catastrophic hot cloud from the top of the mountain that has resulted in ash rain. This cycle certainly has a negative impact due to natural disasters. However, some people see this as a blessing because the eruption of Merapi also provides sustenance for those who can enjoy it.

A blessing from Merapi as described by Worosetyaningsih (2012: 97-99) is in the form of sand mining. After an eruption, such as in 2010, Merapi is considered to provide a blessing in the form of sand with millions of cubic

meters of sand, especially when the volume of sand available for mining starts to run low. One of the rivers with the most lava flow from the eruption of Merapi is Kali Gendol. This is seen by the community as an economic opportunity. With this large amount of sand originating from the eruption of Merapi, they then began to be able to mine the sand and sell it.

Worosetyaningsih (2012: 79-89) also explains the many impacts caused by the eruption of Merapi, including silting riverbeds, air pollution, flash floods, damage to human settlements, damage to agricultural land, and so on. All of these impacts were caused by the cold lava flow of Merapi which overflowed into residential areas. In fact, as a result of this, many residents died, either from being hit by hot clouds or being dragged along by the swift flow of cold lava from Merapi.

The big eruption in 2010 has long since passed. In the period until 2020, Merapi has not experienced an eruption that is classified as large, resulting in cold lava floods in every river that is a path of cold lava. This causes the sand that is usually mined to start to thin out. The depletion of sand in the river has made sand miners from various regions begin to lack sandy fields that can be mined. Not all points in the mining area are considered legal areas for them to dredge.

This has also triggered an active response from the people around the river, one of them who lives around Kali Gendol, or more precisely the people in Sindumartani District, Sleman Regency. In previous years when there was still plenty of sand, the residents there provided roads and allowed the miners to take the sand's blessings. Even to speed up mining, they use stupid machines so they can dredge sand quickly and with a considerable volume.

However, in 2019 and 2020 they expressed resistance and resistance to sand miners, especially on the banks of the Gendol River which is part of the Sindumartani District. They showed this form of rejection openly through the media of banners with various writings. The content of the banners is a call from the Sindumartani community against the refusal to mine sand in their location.

This public appeal in the form of rejection which is formed through banners posted around Kali Gendol can be seen as a form of discourse (discourse). According to Jorgensen & Philips (2002: 5) discourse is a form of social action that has a role in producing the social world including knowledge, identity, and social relationships, so that in the end it maintains certain social patterns. What is written by the community on the banner against sand mining at Kali Gendol can be seen as a social action

manifested by the community there. The manifestation form is in the form of a call for miners to stop mining sand at that location. This then can lead to forms of social relations, both from the internal community in the location, the leaders there, to the outsiders who are the target of this text.

The banners produced by the community in Sindumartani District can be seen based on two models. In this case I divided them into conventional models and contemporary models. The conventional model of the banner can be seen from the way it is made by making verbal writing using paint to form a message through the language used. Then the contemporary model, in this case, the content of the banner is made through digital methods, by creating a visual design (image) accompanied by verbal writing which is then printed using print technology. The differences in the making, visual, and verbal writing models in this case also determine the discourse they want to build in the action of resistance.

Gunther Kress (Leeuwen, 2015: 450) explains that language is not a neutral vehicle for expressing a representation. Visual mode and verbal writing in forming a language, both have their respective effects. The form of knowledge can change when it is manifested in different material assets. The content of the sand mining refusal banner can be seen as having different material assets in determining the language to be conveyed. The choice of material capital in forming representations is also seen as non-neutral language. In the language that is produced, there are interests behind the formed text.

In building a language, both visual and verbal language are formed through grammar. Halliday (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 2) explains that grammar goes beyond the formal rules of truth. Grammar is formed as a means of representing their experience patterns. This allows subjects to build a picture of a reality in understanding the experiences that occur around them. The grammar then they build into a shout in a banner that also represents their experience during the sand mining. Their experiences that were built into this grammatical arrangement were later revealed to be a form of protest and resistance from the sand dredging activity in Kali Gendol.

The banner, which is a form of resistance from the residents of Sindumartani against the sand miners, is composed of verbal and visual texts in the form of pictures. Barthes (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 8) argues that the meaning of images is always related to verbal text. The meaning of an image can provide a variety of possible meanings because it has openness in

the formation of meaning. In order to arrive at a definite meaning because the visual meaning is unlimited, language is needed as a confirmation of that visual meaning.

This research is also accompanied by a point of view regarding the issue of environmental damage that occurs due to mining. According to Resosudarmo, Resosudarmo, Sarosa, & Subiman (2009: 33-35), mining can accelerate development for the welfare of the community, but on the other hand it can be a source of conflict and environmental damage that affects the closure of the mine. Environmental damage due to mining is important to study because Indonesia is a country rich in natural potential. But on the other hand, the community has not been able to manage this nature wisely and it has resulted in widespread and widespread destruction of nature. The expansion of natural damage can ultimately be seen as having an impact on the lives of future generations who must experience the suffering of the destruction of nature.

This research also takes the point of view of Horkheimer's thinking about the rebellion of nature from human oppression against nature. In this case Horkheimer (Sindhunata, 1983: 109) explains that the human attitude in the form of exploiting natural resources is a form of survival for self-preservation. As a result, natural destruction is seen as something that must be done for ongoing development. This also hides behind the guise that natural mining is necessary for the economic progress of the community. For the welfare of society, nature needs to be sacrificed. This natural sacrifice ultimately leads to economic interests.

Based on this background, the purpose of this study was to determine the formation of discourse texts that the Sindumartani residents wanted to build in order to fight against the sand miners. In addition, it is also to know the discourse on the relationship between the refusal of sand mining there to the natural or environmental damage that has occurred. Based on these objectives, it is hoped that later through this research readers will be able to know and understand how the text in the banner plays a role in rejecting the sand miners, as well as understanding the relationship of resistance to steps in protecting the environment.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been many studies that discuss community resistance or marginalized parties through posters. Pariawan, Sila, & Hardiman (2019) in their research saw the action against reclamation carried out in Bali using posters as a medium of resistance. This study analyzes the visuals of the poster using Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic

analysis method. There are several visuals that show resistance to the reclamation, including the skull face icon, excavator, left hand grip, atomic bomb bullets, and so on. Each of these icons has its own meaning, such as the skull icon which means death, the excavator as a reclamation dredging, the grip of the left hand as resistance to the evil that has occurred, to the atomic bomb as a symbol of destruction. Each symbol used in the poster depicts a resistance against those who want to carry out reclamation. This shows that local residents as marginalized vulnerable parties want to try to fight back. Even so, this research is only limited to analyzing the visual text on the poster without discussing more specifically the circumstances that occur there.

Elizabeth (2017) also conducted research on resistance through poster media with a different theme. This research is more towards women's visual resistance through posters. This study looks at the interpretation of religious texts as a source of gender injustice and gender realities in society. This research looks at the visual expression of posters that have religious elements that contain an insinuation that religion commands men to do good to women. However, in reality the phenomenon of violence against women is a widespread symptom. Another text in this study sees that men and women here are encouraged to respect each other, but this is considered a form of resistance to the behavior of men and women which is considered unfair. In addition, this research also sees that the existence of unfair texts can also lead to unfair behavior as well. So that in this case it can be seen that the text has an important role in social phenomena.

Both studies show that the text in the poster has an important role in building a discourse of resistance. Based on these two studies, I take a gap from the point of view of multimodal discourse analysis, which I use as a method for studying posters that are the object of my research. Besides that, I take the opportunity to research environmental issues because currently environmental issues are one of the issues that are quite widely discussed by the community, even there is a lot of resistance being made by the community in order to preserve nature.

3 METHOD

This study uses a multimodal discourse analysis method with the approach offered by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. This perspective has a relationship between multimodality and social semuotics. According to Kress (in Noviani, 2018: 111) multimodality is a domain where multimodality gets its theory, while social semiotics is a theory about that meaning. Kress (2003: 29)

explains that meaning is the result of work (semiotics) as articulation in signs that are made outwardly, as in writing, or as interpretations in signs made in the heart, such as in reading. In this case, reading as an interpretation is the creation of a new sign from a sign that is accepted as a marker.

The text that I analyzed in this study was the content of the banner against sand mining in Gendol River which was produced by the people of Sindumartani District. I conducted an analysis of two kinds of banners displayed on the side of the road by Sindumartani residents, namely banners containing visual and verbal content printed via a printing machine, and banners containing only verbal content using paint on a white field.

Based on the content in the banner, I did an analysis of the visual and verbal text. Here I am analyzing based on the images shown to support verbal writing, the layout of the images, and the color selection. Furthermore, for verbal writing, apart from choosing colors, I also analyzed the word selection used to construct the text. Similar to the banners that are produced using paint to write the rejection message, I focus on the text that is built into the language used.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The call for resistance and rejection of sand mining in Kali Gendol by Sindumartani residents was built through a media banner containing visual and verbal texts. This banner represents their desire to stop mining which has been going on for a long time. In this banner there are discourses that they build, such as poverty and environmental damage that they can directly feel. The discourse that was built cannot be separated from the text building which is composed of the selection of images, colors, writing, to the media used.

4.1 Analysis of Resistance Texts

One of the large banners on the side of the road near Kali Gendol Sindumartani can be seen in Figure 1. Based on the text, it is clear that the message of this banner is a form of strong rejection. It can be seen from the text which reads "KALI GENDOL ORA DIDOL!" (Kali Gendol is not for sale). Judging from the type of language, the text was built using Javanese ngoko lugu. In everyday Javanese conversation, this language is used for pedicabs between individuals of the same age and between parents and children. When this language is used backwards, like a child to a parent, the child will be considered rude to the parent. Javanese ngoko lugu is also commonly used by Javanese when they are angry. In this case, a person's emotions are important when they choose what language to use in communicating.

Figure 1 : Sindumartani resistance banner

Enter the text "KALI GENDOL ORA DIDOL!". When viewed from the wording, "KALI GENDOL" is the subject, "ORA" is the predicate, and "DIDOL" is the object. In the text, the residents of Sindumartani give a message that the sand mining location called "KALI GENDOL" is not for sale. The placement of the word "KALI GENDOL" as the subject indicates that the place is not an object or commodity that can be sold. This location is considered as a subject that must be maintained. This led to the resistance of the Sindumartani people to the Capitalists. If traced further, the existence of sand mining there cannot be separated from the interests of the capitalists. Indeed, the miners come from the proletarian class, where they, as day laborers, earn their income from dredging sand, then transport it by truck, to the location of the buyer.

Buyers here are not only seen as people who need sand to build a house. However, it is seen more broadly, namely the capitalists who are carrying out development. So when talking about the meaning of "DIDOL" or as a buying and selling activity, the people of Sindumartani voiced that Kali Gendol was not an item to be sold. Kali Gendol is part of the environment that must be preserved. Not only to be dredged for personal gain. So that the text contains a form of resistance against the capitalists. In addition, the text in plain Javanese ngoko also ends with a punctuation "!". This punctuation mark is a form of confirmation of the message written on the banner. An affirmation of the meaning that the residents there will not strictly sell Kali Gendol for individual economic interests. They expressed a desire to defend the site from those who would dig and buy it.

Furthermore, it can be seen the text which reads "WARGA SINDUMARTANI MENOLAK PENAMBANGAN DENGAN ALAT BERAT". In this text, you can see changes in the language used, namely in the previous text using Javanese Ngoko lugu, but in this text using Indonesian. The text expresses the message straightforwardly that the subject, in this text "WARGA SINDUMARTANI", rejects the mining activities carried out in Kali Gendol. However, this text also contains an explanatory element in the form of "ALAT BERAT" which refers to an excavator.

Referring to Halliday's explanation

(Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 2) which explains that grammar is formed as a means to represent the experience pattern of text makers, then the description of this heavy equipment arises because of their experience from sand mining in Kali Gendol. Sand mining on the banks of Kali Gendol is not only done by sand diggers using shovels. However, there are also heavy equipment that digs the sand to give to the sand miners who come by truck. This is where the sale and purchase of sand from excavator users to truck drivers occurs.

If it is linked to the previous text which shows the message that Kali Gendol is not for sale, then excavator users who seem to be buying and selling there can be seen as an illegal sand mining operation. This experience was felt by the people of Sindumartani, which was then manifested in the form of grammar. Heavy equipment appeared there without any legality and approval by the residents there in carrying out mining. This is seen as creating resistance from the community. This resistance is formed from the text which states that "WARGA SINDUMARTANI MENOLAK PENAMBANGAN DENGAN ALAT BERAT".

When the focus is on the word "MENOLAK", it is printed differently from the other words in the text. This word is printed in a larger size. This larger size also shows that the residents of Sindumartani strongly and strongly reject mining activities there. This can also be related to the previous history that this rejection has been done for a long time but is still being violated. So that when emphasizing the form of rejection, the word is made different with a bigger size as a form of affirmation and to clarify their resistance.

The banner containing the discourse on resistance against the Kali Gendol sand miners in Figure 1 was also built through visual text. Based on the visual text presented, it can be seen that there is an image of a hand holding it accompanied by a black image of the excavator that was destroyed by the grip. The two images have a meaningful relationship, namely the hand as a form of resistance and the excavator as a form of mining. The visual representation of these two images can be interpreted as a form of strong resistance from the people of Sindumartani against the miners. The miners are narrated through the visuals of the excavator heavy equipment. The selection of this image is based on the experiences experienced by the residents of Sindumartani, where sand mining has been using this heavy equipment.

Kress & Leeuwen (2006: 79) explain that the structure of visual representations can be in the form of nasations that present ongoing actions and events, processes of change, and temporary spatial arrangements. As

explained by Kress and Leeuwen, the visual representation of the hand grip and the excavator presents an action and an event currently taking place. Basically, the sand mining using excavator heavy equipment has not been stopped. This visual text also has a relationship with the verbal text "WARGA SINDUMARTANI MENOLAK PENAMBANGAN DENGAN ALAT BERAT". The verbal text is supported by visual text narrative, thus building a strong sense of resistance from Sindumartani residents in preventing the miners from continuing to exploit the sand in Kali Gendol.

Until now, the excavator used for sand mining in Kali Gendol is still operating. However, this sand mining is not included in the Sindumartani area. Even so, the actions of resistance and resistance to mining are still ongoing. The visual return of the hand can be seen as a sign of resistance. They are ready to fight if this excavator operates in Sindumartani. Through this visual, it can be seen that the image represents the participant who becomes the producer in conveying messages and also involves other participants as viewers, thus giving rise to ways of social interaction and social relations through the image itself (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 114-115).

Visual resistance to mining using this excavator heavy equipment is also visualized through the black excavator image contained in a red circle with a crossed line. This symbol is a form of prohibition. Around the symbol is written "PAGUYUBAN SINDU TOLAK ASAT". Based on its name, this association was born to take action against the sand miners. This association seemed to represent the people of Sindumartani in voicing their resistance. When the name of this association is attached to a visual symbol that prohibits the excavator, it is a narrative form of affirmation of the prohibition of operation of this heavy equipment represented by the association. Apart from that, this visual arrangement looks like a legality logo from the formation of the Sindu Tolak Asat Association. This narrates that the action of refusal was shown to be legal by the residents there. In addition, the appearance of this association is also a sign that their thoughts on this rejection have been accommodated and mutually agreed upon. So that the bonds from the resistance of the Sindumartani residents to the miners are formed stronger.

When viewed from the color selection for the excavator, the black color seems to indicate that this heavy equipment is a threat to the residents of Sindumartani. This kind of black color tends to be identified as a form of crime. Based on this, when this black color is attached to the excavator, it shows that mining is a cruel act for the residents of

Sindumartani. They are like shadows that haunt people's lives there. This is also based on the experience of the residents of Sindumartani, where since the arrival of mining, especially when using heavy equipment, the environment there has become damaged. This can be seen in the next verbal technique.

In the text "BANYU ASAT, RAKYAT MELARAT", in Indonesian it means "running out of water, poor people", which refers to environmental and economic issues. The text "BANYU ASAT" refers to environmental damage in the form of springs in the area drying up. The text is associated with sand mining there. Mining that is carried out continuously is ultimately considered to have an impact on the surrounding environment. In the text, the people of Sindumartani develop a discourse that by continuous mining, this will harm the lives of the residents there. One thing that is then felt is the lack of clean springs there. The experience they had when sand mining was not as massive as today, the water flow in Kali Gendol is considered smooth. They can shower and even wash clothes there because the springs are clean. With this sand mining, the flowing springs are hampered. Besides, the spring wasn't as clean as before. As a result, they cannot carry out their daily activities by utilizing these natural resources as before.

The text "RAKYAT MELARAT" brings up the issue of the economy of the Sindumartani people. The issue brought up in this text is the issue of poverty. It is felt that the people around Kali Gendol, which is the location for sand mining, only get the negative impact from the sand mining. They do not get economic benefits from this mining, what they get is the impact of environmental damage, water that starts to struggle to flow, to the environment that feels hot because it is a mining location. This is also seen from the history of Kali Gendol around Sindumartani which was previously fertile and can be used by residents for farming. From this fertility, residents can use it to grow a variety of plants which they can sell or consume themselves. However, the presence of the miners ultimately damaged the surrounding environment. As a result, the residents there can no longer cultivate crops. Especially during mining, they do not get significant economic benefits, because the majority of the residents' livelihoods are not as miners or truck drivers.

The verbal text "BANYU ASAT, RAKYAT MELARAT" also has a connection with the visual of Mount Merapi which is one of the backgrounds of this resistance banner. The visual appearance of Mount Merapi, which is shown to be still active through visual smoke from its crater, narrates that the people of Sindumartani are

part of Merapi itself. If it is related to Merapi's blessing, so far the people of Sindumartani seem to have not received this blessing. This blessing was continuously taken and explored by parties outside the Sindumartani community. From this dredging, the residents there only felt that they had the negative impact as in the previous verbal text.

In fact, if seen from the blessings that can be felt as long as Merapi is still active, residents around the Merapi area can feel the benefits in the form of more fertile land, economic improvement, apart from the blessing of sand itself (Worosetyaningsih, 2012: 97-105). However, seen from this form of resistance, those who are part of Merapi do not get this blessing. They feel they only get the impact in the form of environmental damage, difficult economy, and end up threatening their lives when Merapi erupts again.

The final visual text on this banner that unites the entire text that is built is the red background. The selection of the red background shows the anger felt by the people of Sindumartani. The meaning of red itself actually varies, from blood which is identified with struggle to the last drop of blood, spirit of struggle, anger, to courage. If linked from the whole text, all the meanings that I express become one in this text of resistance. Sindumartani residents showed courage in fighting against the exploitation that occurred in Kali Gendol. They also show a form of fighting spirit with angry emotions that are visualized through the image of the hand holding up that is able to destroy the excavator. The text also shows their sense of being oppressed and they must fight back. This text also shows that for them the spirit of patriotism as part of their nationalist spirit is to courageously fight against this oppression.

Then banners of rejection and resistance to the sand miners were also produced through colored fields with black writing using paint. In this multimodal discourse analysis, text is seen as a material object resulting from various representations and production practices in a tagging system with various media that can generate motivation in certain cultures (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 216-217). So that the selection of white media with black paint has its own motivation in building a representation of the discourse that Sindumartani residents want to build.

In this study I took two samples of banners. The text in the white field reads "PENOLAKAN KAMI HARGA MATI" and "BEGO MUDUK KAMI SIAP TEMPUR" which can be seen in Figure 2. In the text "PENOLAKAN KAMI HARGA MATI", there seems to be influenced by the value of nationalism in Indonesia regarding NKRI, the Dead

Price. "Dead price" in the text means that something is inviolable in any way, and is not sold at any value. The text contains a myth about a strong and irrevocable loyalty. If it is related to the value of nationalism, the text "Dead Price" has a strong nationalistic value towards something that cannot be taken and changed. Regarding the refusal of the residents of Sindumartani to mining sand in Kali Gendol, this cannot be contested. The discourse that they build from this text shows that their rejection is irreversible. They are ready to put up a fight when their ideology against this resistance is challenged.

Figure 2 : A pair of resistance banners with black paint

The discourse also has a link with the text on the next banner which reads "BEGO MUDUK KAMI SIAP TEMPUR". Bego, in this case is heavy excavator, which is discussed as a threat to the people of Sindumartani. This is indicated by the word "MUDUK" which means down. Going down in the text leads to the meaning that the excavator, which has now been pulled by the owner of the capital, when it returns to operation, the residents of Sindumartani are ready to take action against them. "SIAP TEMPUR" in the developed discourse seems to emerge because of the influence of the experience of the people there as the Indonesian nation. Their readiness for combat seemed to think that these sand miners were invaders. They were discouraged as the party carrying out the exploitation and occupation of Kali Gendol Sindumartani. So that combat readiness refers to the preparation of the people there to fight the miners, even in the form of violence to expel them, such as when the Indonesian nation expelled the invaders.

The two banners bearing the discourse on resistance were made on a white banner media with black paint on it. How to make it by hand. When viewed from the history of demonstration media used by the Indonesian people, the use of these media and text-making techniques implies that their expression is an expression of strong rejection. The banner seemed to contain their enthusiasm to fight against the miners. This tough and unyielding spirit is expressed in the form of a traditionally made appeal banner. This gives more pressure from the seriousness of the residents there in fighting the sand miners.

In addition, both banners are made via computer technology or in traditional ways, both use capital letters in their entirety. The use of capital letters indicates a nonverbal message in the form of a shout. Verbal texts that are expressed in writing to construct the meaning of anger and the act of screaming are expressed by choosing capital letters to form whole sentences. So that in the end it can be seen that the residents there are angry with the exploitation of the sand mining that has been carried out so far. They tried to express their anger and screams to end the mining through the texts they produced in various forms.

4.2 Discourse Construction on Damage to Nature

The resistance action in the form of banners displayed on the side of the road, in the Gendol Sindumartani river area, also raised the issue of environmental destruction. This issue has prompted them to unite in fighting against the sand miners. One of these resistance occurred as explained earlier, namely the people of Sindumartani who live around Kali Gendol felt they did not get Merapi's blessing. Even though the blessings are abundant. However, what they get is environmental damage which has an impact on the economy.

When examining the issue of the existence of mining in Indonesia, this mine seems like a catalyst capable of accelerating existing development in the country. This development is expected to be able to improve the welfare of the community around the area (Resosudarmo et al., 2009: 33). Development that occurs in Indonesia basically does not lead to community development. However, it tends to infrastructure development. This development will ultimately have to sacrifice nature. Mining nature as raw material for carrying out development. The impact is damage to the environment and natural ecosystems themselves. Mining with the aim of this development, in the end, does not bring welfare to the entire community. This welfare is only obtained by those who have interests and benefits. On the other hand, there will be parties who feel oppression because they cannot take advantage of the natural wealth that exists in Indonesia.

There have been many mining activities carried out in Indonesia, be it gold mining, coal mining, even sand. This mining ultimately leads to exploitation of nature because it cannot be stopped and human life depends on the mining. As a result, this mining activity becomes a conflict because it also leads to policies and regulations on land use and property rights, to pollution and environmental impacts on local residents (Resosudarmo et al., 2009: 34-

35). This has resulted in many mining activities which have met with resistance from local residents. Mining activities in the area were closed. However, this does not mean that mining activities end. The miners in the end only move locations to continue to exploit this natural wealth for their economic interests.

It is realized that the environmental damage caused by mining cannot be stopped, especially when the exploitation of nature has a legal basis. This is shown by Resosudarmo et al. (2009: 37) through article 33 number 3 of the 1945 Constitution which mandates the state constitution to control and exploit all land, waters and natural resources for the welfare of the people. When this article is examined more deeply, the state itself seems to allow exploitation of nature on the basis of the people's welfare. This prosperity is re-understood as a form of prosperity in the economic realm. When the people's economy is provided with proper clothing, food and shelter, they will be called prosperous.

Prosperity itself is also not that easy to achieve, as happened to the residents of Sindumartani. This is inversely proportional to the reality in the Kali Gendol Sindumartani area, which can be a source of sand mining, ultimately making the residents there feel disadvantaged. They did not prosper. But what they do get is the negative impact of the mining that occurs. They must feel the natural environment around them is damaged without obtaining economic benefits which is called a form of prosperity. This was manifested in the resistance banners they erected on the side of the road, precisely on the edge of the Kali Gendol.

The existence of this article also gives rise to illegal miners. Many miners are then mining freely in Kali Gendol. Without any definite legality, they also claim that the areas they mine belong to them. So that no other party can mine. They then inevitably have to buy it. In fact, if we examine it again, the sand is a blessing from Merapi that flows along the Gendol River. Kali Gendol itself, when viewed as a space, is not an individual's privacy space. Kali Gendol is a public space that can be owned by every community. But the miners later considered it an area of privacy. Anyone who wants to experience this blessing must buy it. Including the Sindumartani residents themselves who are in the Kali Gendol area.

The massive extent of this illegal mining in the end causes environmental problems (Resosudarmo et al., 2009: 42). This can be seen from the condition of the land there which has resulted in landslides, and even threatens the lives of the miners themselves. However, for the residents of Sindumartani, the environmental problems that are felt directly by them are related to the threat

of clean water. With continuous mining, it can inhibit water flowing upstream of the Gendol River. Even though the benefits of this water can be felt directly by them. When mining continues, water flow from above will be obstructed and rivers in the Sindumartani area become dry. It is feared that this will also have an impact on the availability of ground water (wells) of the residents there.

In addition, with the mining, the agricultural land of the Sindumartani residents has decreased. Previously, Kali Gendol could be used by them to run agriculture. However, the land has now become damaged due to it becoming mining land and routes. Previously, the agricultural potential in Kali Gendol was also considered good, because the water flow was smooth. So that irrigation is not constrained. In contrast to now where illegal mining continues to develop and the government is not inclined to regulate it. As a result, local residents intervened to fight against the mining action which they considered illegal.

When the sand mining is considered exploitation of nature, it is also seen here that there is a struggle between humans and nature. Horkheimer (Sindhunata, 1983: 109) explains that human attitudes toward nature are a form of survival for self-preservation. This also has a connection with humans today who are considered an industrial society. Here in order for humans to survive to live, they must be able to conquer nature. This form of conquest of nature takes the form of sand mining which is then sold to capitalists in order to carry out development. Sand miners can survive the economic results of selling the sand. Capitalists have managed to survive with the interests of the development they are running. Here both of them exploit nature for their benefit.

The economy, which is seen as the goal of the prosperity of human life, ultimately builds a rationality that the exploitation or conquest of nature in the form of sand mining is a noble thing. This thinking continues to grow as evidenced by the massive sand mining to date. In this case Horkheimer (Sindhunata, 1983: 111) accuses "rational domination" as a natural adaptation for plausible reasons "for the sake of self-preservation". Human rationales who think that mining is necessary for the sake of the individual economy results in the destruction of nature itself. In this case, humans are seen as oppressing nature and causing environmental damage. However, according to Horkheimer's view, nature does not remain silent and also oppresses humans who depend on nature.

The form of natural resistance that makes people oppressed in the case of sand mining can be seen from the damage to the environment around

Sindumartani. Humans who need water to live, with the exploitation of these sand miners, this has resulted in the residents of Sindumartani experiencing water difficulties. Furthermore, the issue of agricultural land that has been previously described is part of natural resistance to humans. Initially, the people of Sindumartani were able to get food from the land in Kali Gendol, but now the land is damaged. The wider oppression of nature against humans is related to human dependence on nature. Here, humans seem unable to live without exploiting nature, in this case mining sand. This makes them trapped in a circle of mining needs from nature to survive. In fact, in mining, threats from nature can also lead to human death. Not a few miners are then buried in sand due to the landslide dredging.

5. CONCLUSSION

Based on the discussion that has been done, it can be seen that the residents of Sindumartani are trying to fight against the sand miners by building discourse in the banner media. Both the verbal text mode and the visual text in the banner have a strong connection and relationship in building the discourse of resistance. Through this media, Sindumartani residents can fight back and show their ready struggle against miners who enter the Sindumartani area. Besides that, this resistance text also appears to have elements of nationalism based on the visual and verbal modes shown. Such as the visual selection of hand grips that are always shown when fighting against oppression and resistance to the invaders. Then the choice of grammar for "HARGA MATI" and "SIAP TEMPUR" was as if they were preparing to fight against the invaders, as in the post-colonial era. Even in the discourse text, there is a discourse on economic and environmental damage which have an impact on the lives of Sindumartani residents.

The discourse on environmental damage also appears quite strong in the resistance banner. The environmental damage caused by the illegal mining of sand has an impact on the lives of local residents. Those who live on the slopes are deemed unable to receive Merapi's blessings. They only get a negative impact from the mining activities that continue to be carried out. Mining exploitation is also seen as regulated in the 1945 Constitution. However, it allows exploitation for the purpose of community welfare. The result is not the welfare that is gained by humankind's oppression of nature. Instead, the repression from nature to humans which is manifested in the form of potential natural resources felt by the people of Sindumartani is starting to disappear, and human dependence to live only comes from nature.

Acknowledgements

My gratitude goes to Allah SWT who has given fluency to the fluency in writing this research. I would also like to thank my parents who have supported my education and research to date so that because of their blessing everything I have done has gone smoothly. Finally, I would like to thank Putri Yuniar Ayuningtiyas who has encouraged me to participate in this conference.

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Indonesia's Counter-Violence Extremism Policy Against ISIS Propaganda in Social Media

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Abstract

Social media has become a new way of communicating in the 21st century. It allows someone to promote ideas to a wide range of audiences, without being limited by distance and time. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) as an organization with a political agenda of establishing a caliphate, uses social media as a tool to achieve its goals. Social media turns out to be a useful tool for ISIS to spread its ideology and ideas, communicate with members and sympathizers in planning and executing terror act, and recruitment. One of the counter-violence extremism (CVE) policies that are often done by the government of Indonesia is to shut down social media accounts associated with terrorist groups. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of the policy is still a question. This study discusses the effectiveness of CVE policy in the social media. It uses qualitative explanative method. The study put the strategic logic of ISIS's propaganda in social media as theoretical framework and Indonesia's CVE policy as a case study. This article argues that closing social media accounts associated with the ISIS group is not an effective CVE policy in eradicating the terrorist movement in social media because it does not counter the strategic logic of ISIS's propaganda comprehensively.

Keywords: *ISIS, social media, strategic logic, counter-violence extremism policy*

1. INTRODUCTION

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) uses social media as a tool to achieve its goals, establishing a global caliphate. Social media arguably is a useful tool for ISIS to conduct various actions, such as spreading its ideology and ideas, communicating with members or sympathizers in planning and executing terror act, and recruiting new members. CVE policymakers face a new challenge, the use of the internet, especially social media by terrorist groups. This study discusses the effectiveness of Indonesia's CVE policy in social media, namely by closing social media accounts related to the terrorist movement. In analysing the effectiveness of the policy, this study will look at the strategic logic of ISIS's propaganda in social media.

The main argument is closing social media accounts associated with the ISIS is not an effective CVE policy in eradicating terrorist movement because it does not counter the strategic logic of ISIS's propaganda comprehensively. In explaining the argument, first, the essay begins by discussing the literature review related to ISIS propaganda in social media, on the aspects of reason, implementation, and CVE policy. On that basis, the study builds ISIS's strategic logic for the theoretical framework. Secondly, it explains the methodology of the study. Thirdly, the study discusses the emergence and ideology of ISIS and its propaganda in social media, and Indonesia's CVE policy towards ISIS's propaganda in social media. Fourthly, it analyses the effectiveness of Indonesia's CVE policies in social media, using ISIS's strategic logic as the analytical tool.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The discussion on social media and terrorism was triggered by the growing use of social media by terrorist groups in different activities, such as dissemination of ideas, member recruitment, communication, planning and coordination of terror activities. Propaganda is a crucial element of ISIS's strategy and organization in realizing its vision of establishing a global Islamic caliphate (Klausen 2015, p.3). This essay maps out the use of social media as a propaganda tool by terrorist groups, especially ISIS, into three aspects: strategic logic, technique and outcome and CVE policy.

2.1. The strategic logic of ISIS propaganda in social media

ISIS propaganda, especially in social media, is a method, to support strengthening the three ISIS identities namely ISIS as state entity or government (Cronin 2015, p. 8), as revolutionary organization at local and global level (Walt 2015, p.44), and as terrorist organization which legitimate violent act.

ISIS's propaganda in social media has particular strategic logic. Strategic logic becomes the principle element that determines ISIS's narrative and propaganda techniques in social media. This study argues that there are two primary determinants of the ISIS strategic logic, namely the push determinant and pull determinant.

The push determinant of ISIS propaganda in social media is ISIS organizational logic itself. Plebani and Maggiolini (2015, p.28-43) argue that the key to ISIS's strategy is to construct perceptions of the enemy as a target of violence, and in-group perception, as it sustains the continuity of the ISIS doctrine, and justify ISIS to conduct violent acts. Ingram (2015, p.735-736) illustrates a more comprehensive

portrait of the strategic logic of ISIS's information operation, identifying two strategic reasons: perceptual factor and pragmatic factor. ISIS identity formation is the perceptual factor for the implementation of ISIS information operation. ISIS pursue identity formation through out-group and in-group narratives, ISIS as the in-group, is a solution of crisis situations experienced by Muslims due to the oppression by out-group (Ingram 2015, p 736). Perceptual factors play a role in propaganda by encouraging audiences to choose their identity and affiliation rationally. Pragmatic factor refers to the importance of maintaining the security, stability, and sustainability of ISIS's territories (Ingram 2015, p.735). To achieve this goal, the narrative used is ISIS has adequate both military and political power (Ingram 2015, p 736). Not only that, but ISIS also uses narration which shows its humanity side (Winter 2015, p. 23-31). A vital element of the pragmatic factor is the consistency between action and the propaganda narrative being constructed.

The second component of the strategic logic of ISIS propaganda in social media is the pull determinant; social media can maximize ISIS efforts in realizing its vision. Social media provides an opportunity for ISIS to actively initiate communication with its target (Weiman 2016, p.45-64). Also, social media tends to have very loose regulation but ensures the confidentiality of communication, and one can quickly create accounts with anonymous identities and freely spread ideas, news or communicate on any topic (Lieberman 2017, p 101). ISIS benefits social media as a virtual library where members or sympathizers can learn ISIS's ideas, terror act and bomb-making techniques, which can easily be found in social media (Lieberman, p.103).

2.2. Technique and outcome of ISIS propaganda

ISIS has a complex communication strategy, and social media is a relatively new tool in carrying out acts of terrorism. The use of social media is only one part of the overall structure of ISIS communication strategy. The main character of ISIS's communication tactic is the ISIS brand's centrality, the use of multiplatform and multidimensional approach, and the linkage between narration and action in the field (Ingram 2014, p.4). There are three alternative views on ISIS's organizational communication structure. Ingram (2015) and Cohen (2015) identify there is a central authority that controls ISIS communication operations. Meanwhile, West (2016, p.14) argues ISIS's communication organization is decentralized or leaderless. ISIS's

communication structure can be seen as a network in cyberspace (Berger and Morgan 2015; Clause 2015). Social media facilitates various ISIS activities, including psychological warfare, information dissemination, planning and coordination of action, data theft, fundraising, member recruitment, publication and propaganda, and networking (Weiman 2004, p.5-10).

2.3. CVE policy towards ISIS propaganda in social media

The movement of ISIS in the internet world, especially social media, becomes a new challenge for counter-terrorism policy in various countries. The effectiveness of suspending ISIS-related social media account remains a question and raises debate. Berger and Morgan's analysis (2015, p.55-56) suggests blocking social media accounts has a real impact by limiting ISIS's movement in social media. Meanwhile, Greenberg (2016, p.168) believes the policy is ineffective as new accounts emerge immediately. Some academics examine other possible CVE policies that can be more effective, such as marginalization of ISIS activities in social media (Cohen 2015, p 54-56), multi-faceted policies (Lieberman 2017, p 109), CVE marketing approach (Rubel-Thiele and Anibaldi 2016, p. 53), and the CVE policy at various levels and the involvement of multiple actors (Liang 2015, p.10-11). Some scholars had discussed CVE policies in Indonesia. Huda (2019) argues that online counter-radicalism policy needs to be continued. Sadarusalam and Hassan (2019) state that the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) has had clear objectives in tackling radicalism in Indonesia by utilizing offline and online mass media.

3. METHOD

This study uses qualitative explanative method. In explaining the effectiveness of CVE policies in dealing with ISIS propaganda on social media, this study uses the ISIS strategic logic as an analytical tool. Indonesia's CVE policy on ISIS propaganda on social media serve as the case study. Case study ca be used in exploring processes, activities and events (Cresswell 2014) Data were obtained by collecting government and non-government reports, journals, books, and news.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1. ISIS: emergence and ideology

ISIS emerged as Abu Mus'ab al Zarqawi, the leader of the Jamaah Tauhid Wal Jihad, transformed his organization into al-Qaeda Iraq (AQI) in 2004 and claimed the al-Qaeda franchise in Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula (Gerges 2016, p.74). In mid-October 2006,

al-Masri, who became leader after al-Zarqawi was killed in 2005, declared the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI).). After declaring Daula Islam fi Iraq, on April 19, 2007, al-Masri announced the creation of a government led by Abu Umar al-Baghdadi (Bunzel 2015, p.17). In April 2010, after Abu Ayub al-Masri and Abu Umar al-Baghdadi were killed in Tikrit, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi took over the command. In April 2013, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi declared the expansion of the ISI to become Islamic States of Iraq and Levant (ISIL). This declaration also marked the merging of Jabhah al-Nusrah to ISIL (Friedland 2015, p.10).

Al-Baghdadi's announcement of a "Caliphate" on June 29, 2014 (Al Jazeera 2014) and public speech on July 4, 2014, indicated ISIS's move to take territorial gains (Strange 2014). ISIS intended to exploit the religious, historical, and ideological connotations of the word "Caliphate". "Caliphate" is not only an entity but as a collective duty of Muslims (Gerges 2016, p.28). The ISIS character as a country is demonstrated by its role as a legitimate government, i.e. forming police force, issuing identity cards, developing a sharia-based legal system, opening a day care centre, and managing waste (Arango 2015).

ISIS propaganda, including in social media, cannot be separated from the ideological context that ISIS believes. Ideology is crucial for ISIS as it plays a role as glue to both members and sympathizers (Gerges 2016, p 23). Salafist-Jihadism is the central ideology adopted by ISIS (Bunzel 2015, p. 7-8). ISIS's ideology is influenced by the ideology embraced by Al-Qaeda, which combines Wahabism and Salafi-jihadism. Meanwhile, ISIS, which is the transformation of AQI, has the character of Salafi-jihadism and mixes it with identity politics, namely hyper-Sunni or anti-Shiite ideology (Gerges 2016, p 23-25). The ideology of jihadism justifies ISIS to exercise violence and terror acts.

4.2. ISIS Indonesia and Indonesia's CVE policy in social media

As of February 2020, government counted 1,276 ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens who lived in camps (CNN Indonesia 2020). The number of Indonesian citizens who had declared to join ISIS is more than that. Bachrun Naim and Bahrumsyah, as ISIS Commanders from Indonesia based in Syria, are key figures connecting the global ISIS with its members and sympathizers in Indonesia. Other figures who became the patron of ISIS action in Indonesia include Abu Jandal, Abu Walid, Aman Abdurrahman, and the Santoso group. (Sinaga, Ramelan & Montratama 2017, p. 115-121). Some of the terror acts claimed by ISIS are the attack in Sarinah Jakarta in 2016, the suicide bombing in Medan, the attack

in Samarinda, the pan bomb attack in Kampung Melayu, etc. (Nainggolan 2017).

There are several differences of ISIS methods from Al-Qaeda. ISIS used online media to deliver funds. Bahrun Naim was active in spreading terrorism through social media (Sinaga, Ramelan & Montratama 2017, p. 110). Online contents related to terrorism are widely available, in various languages, and can be accessed by anyone from all over the world, on commonly used social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and messaging applications such as WhatsApp and Telegram. In 2019, 90% of 36 terrorist suspects arrested, were recruited online (CNN Indonesia 2019). Women and adolescents were targeted for recruitment because they tended to be under suspicion. The youth is mostly active user of social media. Police officer is now the primary target of terror act. ISIS network in Indonesia is quite large but there is no central figure and structured organization.

The Indonesian government implements two approaches in countering ISIS social media propaganda. First, President Joko Widodo ordered the closure of social media accounts and blocked websites related to ISIS, terrorism or radicalism (Nugroho 2016). From 2010 to November 2018, the government had taken down 500 websites (Setyowati 2018). During 2019, the government blocked over 1500 social media accounts related to terrorism and radicalism (Alaidrus 2019). The government also threatened to close social media platforms if they do not block social media accounts spreading radicalism (Haryanto 2017). Second, the Indonesian government spreads multimedia counter-propaganda through the Pusat Media Damai/Peace Media Centre (PMD), which was initiated by BNPT (Sujatmiko 2020). The government collaborates with community leaders, religious leaders and youth organizations to initiate offline activities such as campaigns, workshops and seminars. PMD also distributes counter-propaganda in the form of books, bulletin and magazines online.

4.3. Effectiveness of suspending ISIS-related social media accounts

The CVE policy toward ISIS on the internet by closing social media accounts associated with ISIS or spreading violent extremist content is ineffective because it is unable to address the strategic logic of ISIS's propaganda in social media entirely. There are four reasons to support the argument, firstly, the policy is partial. Referring to the strategic logic of ISIS's propaganda in social media used in this essay, this policy only addresses the pull determinant. Meanwhile, this policy does not address the underlying push determinants behind ISIS propaganda

in social media. Closing ISIS social media account will not affect perceptual and pragmatic factors. The effect of the policy on obstructing ISIS to use social media is still questionable. Some research indicates that social media account closure can limit movement and disrupt the ISIS network in social media (Berger and Morgan 205; Alexander 2017). However, some argue that the shutdown is ineffective in counteracting extremist propaganda in social media because ISIS sympathizers account reappears with different account names (Lieberman 2017, Greenberg 2016).

The second reason that supports the argument is that the policy is too technical. The policy does not undermine the narratives built by ISIS. Account suspension does not have any effect on ISIS's narratives of in-group and out-group, ISIS as the solution to the crisis, and ISIS capabilities and capacities in performing government functions. The closure of social media accounts arguably will limit the spread of the narratives, but it should be remembered that social media is only one of the propaganda tools, as ISIS uses multiplatform in its information operation (Ingram 2014, p.4). Moreover, ISIS still can benefit encrypted messaging application to spread of such narratives. In addition, the mainstream media corporations play a role in spreading the narratives (Williams 2016). ISIS and mainstream media are seen as having a mutually beneficial relationship, as mainstream media's rating, viewers or readers increased when they are reporting ISIS, at the same time ISIS is getting publication (Rafizadeh 2017).

The third reason is the shutting down of ISIS social media accounts does not reduce ISIS's capabilities in conducting its operation in the field. One of the keys to ISIS's strategic logic propaganda is the correlation between narrative and action on the ground. This essay argues if ISIS is still able to show its capability in the field then the material to make the narrative still exist. Moreover, the narratives compiled by ISIS will always have credibility and relevance as they correspond to the realities on the ground. The narrowness of gap between field realities and dispersed narration became the key to ISIS's propaganda effectiveness. Furthermore, the policy does not paralyze the ISIS media infrastructure for production. Supported by reasonably sophisticated structures, suspending social media accounts will only force ISIS media organization to find other ways of spreading propaganda material.

Finally, shutting down ISIS social media will be counterproductive with intelligence efforts. According to Weimann (2017, p.48), the use of social media by members of terrorist groups raises the risk of their identities,

strategies and action plans known by the government apparatus. In recent months, ISIS has banned its members from using social media to avoid spying (Dearden 2017). The presence of ISIS members in social media makes it easier for government officials to track their location and activities. Shutting down ISIS social media means fewer opportunities to eradicate ISIS power physically in the field. In fact, ISIS strength in the field is one of the critical elements of strategic logic for ISIS propaganda to be effective.

5. CONCLUSSION

This essay discussed the effectiveness of shutting down ISIS social media policy. Indonesia's counter-violent extremism policy (CVE) by closing social media accounts that are tied to ISIS is not effective in combating ISIS propaganda in social media. The policy is ineffective because it is unable to beat the strategic logic determinants of ISIS's propaganda comprehensively. The policy only addresses the pull determinant of the ISIS strategic logic propaganda. Meanwhile, the policy failed to counter the push determinants, namely perceptual factor, and pragmatic factor. Account closure is incapable of paralyzing ISIS efforts in shaping the in-group and out-group, and ISIS as a solution narrative. In addition, concerning pragmatic factors, the policy is unable to widen the gap between the narrative of ISIS's ability to provide security, welfare, and stability with realities on the ground. The policy is also counterproductive with intelligence efforts that have the opportunity to monitor the movement of ISIS groups through spying ISIS social media accounts. In the future, CVE efforts in social media should be able to cover the strategic logic determinants comprehensively. It means that the CVE policy should present a counter-narrative over the narratives built by ISIS. Not only that, the CVE policy must simultaneously be followed up by field operations to undermine ISIS's capability to make the ISIS propaganda narrative unreliable and irrelevant.

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The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympic as an Opportunity for Reunification in The Korean Peninsula

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Abstract :

The research entitled "The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics as An Opportunities for Reunification in the Korean Peninsula" compiled based on the holding of the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics which made South Korea the host country. On that opportunity, South Korea invited North Korea to participate in the Olympics. This research was analyzed using the concept of Soft Power Diplomacy by Joseph Nye and Sport Diplomacy mechanism by Havard Mokleiv Nygard and Scott Gates. In this 2018 Pyeongchang Olympic, South Korea use their Soft Power source that combines sports and entertainment events to establish good relations with other countries, especially North Korea, and creating a different way of opportunities for reunification in the Korean Peninsula. South Korea's efforts in organizing the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics use the Sports Diplomacy mechanism in the form of Image building, Building a platform for dialogue, Trust-building, and Reconciliation, integration, and anti-racism. According to the data, South Korea turned The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics into a "Peace Olympic" and interaction in sports events continued to be a discussion of high-level delegations between South and North Korea.

Keywords: *The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics, Soft Power Diplomacy, Sports Diplomacy, Reunification, Korean Peninsula.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The Korean Peninsula is known as an area of conflict between the State of South Korea and the State of North Korea. The division of South and North Korea was caused by the division of power after World War II after Japan handed over control of Korean land to the allies. Before standing as an independent state, the Soviet Union with communist ideology controlled North Korea, and the United States with its liberal ideology taking power in South Korea.

The Korean War began in 1950 and physically ended with a ceasefire in 1953, but the conflict between the two countries has not yet been resolved

and there has been no peace agreement. Several times North Korea has provoked South Korea by testing nuclear weapons and missiles in the border area. During 2017, relations between South and North Korea heated up, but it was different at the beginning of 2018. South Korea was appointed to host the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics.

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un in his 2018 New Year speech declared North Korea's participation in a series of Olympic events. The dialogue between South and North Korean representatives agreed that the two countries would be under one flag and join forces in the opening and closing parades of the Olympics. The dialogue regarding participation in the Olympics then opened the discussion to discuss other topics, namely the High-Level Conference between the leaders of the two countries to the possibility of reunification of Korea and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. (BBC Indonesia, 2018).

This improving relationship between South and North Korea creates opportunities for reunification on the Korean Peninsula. The idea of reunification has long been proposed by previous South Korean leaders through policies during his reign. This research will try to discuss the development of relations between South and North Korea and efforts to reunify the Korean Peninsula with the initiative of the South and North Korean states themselves after North Korea participated in the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative which emphasizes data collection in the form of words in telling the effect of one phenomenon on another. This research is intended to reveal as much data and information as possible about how South Korea seeks to open up opportunities in the reunification process on the Korean Peninsula through the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics. The subject of this research is South Korea, the data source of this research is secondary (data obtained from books, or other literature such as journals, papers, print media such as newspapers and articles that are credible on the internet, government data). The data collection technique is a literature study. The data analysis technique uses the Analysis Interactive Model from Miles and Huberman which divides the steps into 4 parts, namely data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion. This research will be analyzed with the concept of Soft Power Diplomacy and Sport Diplomacy Mechanism (Miles dan Huberman, 2007).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3. 1 Soft Power Diplomacy Korea (2018 Pyeongchang Olympics)

In organizing the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics, South Korea combines Soft Power sources, namely sports and entertainment events to establish good relations with countries, especially North Korea, and create opportunities for reunification on the Korean Peninsula. South Korea chose Soft Power Diplomacy to deal with North Korea because it is following the values in South Korea's policy of prioritizing peace, in the perspective of reunification, South Korea from the beginning was more lenient and prioritized the pursuit of peaceful relations. This was also supported by the South Korean leader who was very optimistic about the relationship with North Korea.

In implementing Soft Power Diplomacy it must be with the awareness of both parties so that the interests of a country can be conveyed properly and can create a collaboration. The spectrum of behavior is making agenda sets sourced from the institution, then attracting attention (attraction) that comes from values, culture, and policies, and then cooperation can be achieved (Nye, 2008).

On September 21, 2017, President Moon Jae In attended the UN General Assembly in Newyork, and on this occasion, President Moon Jae In announced the 'Pyeongchang Peace Initiatives'. Where South Korea will attract North Korea's participation in the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics and turn the Olympics into a peace Olympics. President Moon Jae In's statement was realized through the Ministry of Unification as the official government body that openly invites North Korea to participate in organizing the Olympics, together with making agenda-setting by turning the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics into an Olympics that bring peace. In his new year's speech, Kim Jong Un responded to South Korea's invitation and said he would send a delegation and his best athletes to compete in the Pyeongchang Olympics. North Korea's response demonstrates North Korea's willingness to be free from South Korea's coercion.

South Korea attracts North Korean attraction with sources of Soft Power in the Pyeongchang Olympics, the first source is culture. The Pyeongchang Olympics itself is a source of culture in the form of mass culture or pop culture. In the Olympics, South Korea also displays traditional and modern culture that builds the identity of the Korean people and can attract North Korea's attention. The next source values, values

that South Korea holds, and wants to show to the international community and North Korea on this occasion is peace which is then highly reflected in government policymaking. The third source is policies (policies) in this context, namely foreign policies or policies related to and attracting the attention of North Korea that reflect peace, namely through the 'Pyeongchang Peace Initiatives'. The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics as a source of Soft Power and South Korea's Soft Power Diplomacy media by making it a momentum to work with North Korea in creating an activity agenda and attracting North Korean participation without coercion from South Korea, to further achieve reconciliation of conflicts on the Korean Peninsula and open up opportunities for reunification (Nye, 2004).

3. 2 Sports Diplomacy in the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics

3.2.1 Image Building

The first mechanism is to build the country's image during the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics. South Korea, which hosted the Olympics, of course, received the attention of the international community. How the event is held will determine the assessment and views of the international community in South Korea. In organizing this Olympics, South Korea wants to build an image of peace on the Korean Peninsula.

The first image-building effort was to determine the Olympic mascot. South Korea incorporates Korean traditional beliefs and culture to build an image of peace and unity through the Mascots for the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics, Hoorangi, and Bandabi. In its philosophy of belief which is symbolized by the Olympic mascot, South Korea uses the traditional beliefs of the Korean Peninsula which includes the two Koreas. South Korea wants to show that South Korea and North Korea have the same culture and ancestral beliefs because of the same history, also South Korea wants to build a peaceful and friendly image towards North Korea and is always open to working together and forging better relations with Korea North.

The second image-building effort is to make South and North Korea into a contingent and hold a joint flag parade under the united Korean flag at the Opening Ceremony and Closing Ceremony. Flag with the emblem of the Korean Peninsula without demarcation lines. Togetherness between North and South Korea builds the image of a safe and peaceful Korean Peninsula and builds an image of good relations between South and North.

The efforts to build South Korea's image in the Olympics are also aimed at the international community, South Korea wants to show that it is a country

that supports the peace of the Korean Peninsula by integrating culture in a series of international sports events. The South Korean culture that is displayed attracts attention and adds to the enthusiasm of the international community to participate in watching the series of Olympics, which later the moment of unity between South Korea and North Korea in this event can also attract the world's attention as a rare historic moment.

3.2.2 Building a Platform for Dialogue

Organizing international events involves various countries and provides opportunities for countries to meet and have a dialogue. The dialogue between countries on this occasion was the beginning of the normalization of conflicting state political relations. Its success depends on how the country makes the best use of this moment.

A high-level delegation from North Korea, Kim Yo Jung, deputy director of the Central Committee of the Labor Party who is also the younger sister of the President of North Korea, was sent to attend the opening ceremony of the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics on February 9, 2018. Along with this occasion, the North Korean delegation met with the Korean President. South for discussion, delivered a letter from the President of North Korea to the President of South Korea, and agreed to hold a meeting again (KBS, 2018).

Following up on the meeting at the Olympics, South Korea sent representatives to dialogue with North Korea several times and resulted in an agreement to hold the Inter Korea Summit on April 27, 2018. The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics succeeded in building a dialogue platform between South and North Korea to improve and normalize relations between the two countries. North Korea's cooperation and participation in international sporting events then opened up other discussions regarding the security, politics, and peace of the Korean Peninsula, which culminated in the Inter Korea Summit on April 27, 2018.

3.2.3 Trust-Building

Sports can be used to build trust which then creates peace together. The peace that is realized from interactions between individuals from different communities in a sporting event. This interaction builds trust between the countries involved and the trust of the international community, how the international community believes in interactions, and about a country, after the sporting event ends. South Korea's building of trust through the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics can be seen with South Korea's efforts to invite North Korea to participate. The

involvement of high-level delegates and North Korean athletes in the Olympics can build trust in the Olympics as an Olympics of peace.

Trust can be built due to more intense interactions. The intense interaction was when South and North Korea combined their athletes into a "Korean" team in a Women's Ice Hockey competition. In this match together, it means that not only North Korea has cultivated its trust, but the international community has also gained trust. The trust built in the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics can further normalize relations and peace. The trust that is formed in the international community will change the viewpoint of the Korean Peninsula and recognize the determination of the two Koreas to end the conflict and create a stable political environment (KCCI, 2018).

3.2.4 Reconciliation, Integration, and Anti-racism

Sports are used to build peace through reconciliation, integration, and anti-racism. The 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics succeeded in creating interactions between South and North Korea and dialogues between the two countries so that the culmination was agreed to be the Inter Korea Summit (Summit) between South and North Korea. South Korean President Moon Jae In and North Korean President Kim Jong Un met at the Inter-Korean Peace Hall, Panmunjom, South Korea on April 27, 2018. The meeting resulted in an agreement between the two parties for reconciliation and a formal peace agreement. then called the Panmunjom Agreement. The agreement ended the state of conflict and created a peaceful regional condition. North Korea's participation in the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics is a testament to the peace efforts.

4. CONCLUSION

South Korea uses the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics as momentum to regain good relations and end the conflict with North Korea and foster peace on the Korean Peninsula. The peace that grows on the Korean Peninsula is an opportunity for the reunification of the two countries. South Korea took advantage of this momentum because this effort was a different effort from government policies in opening reunification that was previously owned by South Korea. Sports events can create positive interaction and togetherness between South and North Korea and reduce tension between the two.

South Korea in realizing its policies uses the efforts of the Sports Diplomacy Mechanism which includes image building, building a dialogue platform, building trust, and finally reconciliation, anti-racism, and integration. The Sports

Diplomacy mechanism is deemed effective and suitable for the situation on the Korean Peninsula because South Korea puts forward the use of a soft and low political approach. The Sports Diplomacy mechanism is carried out to achieve normalization of relations between South Korea and North Korea. Reconciliation was achieved by South and North Korea on April 27 2018 with the Panmunjom Inter Korea Summit Agreement officially marking the end of the two-Korean conflict since the 1950 Korean War and resulting in an official peace agreement on the Korean Peninsula. North Korea is also willing to cooperate with South Korea to implement agreements that have been mutually agreed upon, hold separate family reunions, and make efforts to stop nuclear development.

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The Impact of Korea's New Southern Policy on The Political Economy Cooperation Between Indonesia and South Korea

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Abstract

South Korea is an East Asian country located on the Korean Peninsula. South Korea is one of the developed countries with a GDP (Gross Domestic Product) income of USD 1.693 billion in 2018. With a relatively high GDP, this makes South Korea considered to have influence in the Asian region, including Southeast Asia. One of South Korea's influences in Southeast Asia is the New Southern Policy inaugurated by South Korean President Moon Jae-In in 2017. The New Southern Policy is a policy that leads to cooperation between South Korea and Southeast Asian countries (ASEAN) and India. New Southern Policy in Moon Jae-In's government shows that South Korea needs to strengthen ties with neighboring countries, especially the Indo-Pacific region, including Indonesia. This policy has an impact on the cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea, especially in the economic and political fields. This makes Indonesia South Korea's main partner in implementing the New Southern Policy. With the New Southern Policy, it is believed that the relationship between the two countries will be closer considering that the two countries will continue to improve, given the met needs of each other and the uncertain global situation.

Keywords: *Indonesia, New Southern Policy, South Korea*

1 INTRODUCTION

The New Southern Policy, better known as the New South Policy, is a policy that leads to South Korea's cooperation with Southeast Asian Countries (ASEAN) and India. This policy is a form of reducing South Korea's dependence on the United States, China, Japan, and Russia. Besides, this policy is also a form of protecting the South Korean economy from the impact of a trade war between the United States and China (Budiartie, 2018).

According to South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the New Southern Policy aims to strengthen cross-economic, strategic, and social ties. At the 19th Korea-ASEAN Summit, President Moon Jae-in announced that one of the cores of South Korea's diplomatic policy is to deepen cooperation with Southeast Asia and India (Easley, 2018: 2).

South Korea's New Southern Policy was marked by President Moon Jae-in's first visit to Southeast Asia by visiting Indonesia on November 8 to 10, 2017. During the visit, the leaders of the two countries reached an agreement to improve the bilateral relations of the two countries with the status of "Special Strategic Partnership" (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, n.d). The status of the "Special Strategic Partnership" is a special strategic partnership in the hope that the two countries can jointly contribute to peace, security, and prosperity in the region and the world. With the special strategic partnership, it is hoped that the two countries will continue to cooperate more tangily in various areas including infrastructure development to realize the welfare of the two countries (Kedutaan Besar Republik Korea untuk Republik Indonesia, 2017).

The relationship and cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea are very close because it is supported by the complementary nature of the resources and the advantages that the two countries have. In addition to the process of economic and political progress of the two countries, it opens up opportunities for cooperation between the two countries in various sectors that are increasingly wide open. Besides, Indonesia and South Korea also actively support each other in various forums - regional and international forums such as candidacies for international organizations (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, n.d).

2 FRAMEWORK

2.1 Interdependence

Interdependence or known as interdependence is one of the traits that can describe the relationship between countries and the international system at this time. Interdependence is a derivative of the perspective of liberalism found in the study of International Relations. Interdependent liberalism has the assumption that modernization will increase the level of interdependency between countries. Transnational actors are becoming increasingly important, military power is an instrument that is not absolute and prosperity is the dominant goal of the state. Complex interdependence will create a much more cooperative world of international relations (Perwita & Yani, 2005: 78).

An important theme in interdependence is the belief in free trade. Free trade has economic

benefits because it allows each country to specialize in producing potential goods and services for them. However, free trade also draws countries into a network of economic interdependence which means that the material costs of international conflicts are so great that war is something to avoid (Heywood, 2017: 115).

2.2 International Cooperation

International cooperation is a series of relations between countries on behalf of its citizens to meet the needs of its citizens and the national interests of their country. International cooperation can be bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation to address ongoing issues or emerge issues. Cooperation can be done with the negotiations conducted by the country concerned.

International cooperation in general arises due to the international life covering various fields such as economics, politics, socio-cultural, ideology, and so on. The main issue of the concept of cooperation is the fulfillment of personal needs, where the beneficial outcomes of both parties will be obtained through cooperation rather than trying to fulfill their interests by trying alone. Therefore, continuous interaction, the development of communication, and transportation between countries can facilitate communication to achieve the objectives of cooperation. (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 1997:419-420).

3 RESEARCH METHOD

The methodology used in the study "The Impact of Korea's New Southern Policy on the Political Economy Cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea " uses a qualitative method that is descriptive-explanative. This type is a study that describes and explains research (Gulo, 2000).

This research in its collection data uses existing past research and also uses secondary data such as papers, journals, papers, books, data from the internet and so on that will be incorporated into the bibliography (Sarwono, 2006: 123).

In the paper "The Impact of Korea's New Southern Policy on the Political Economy Cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea", the level of analysis used to analyze the country level.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The President of the Republic of Korea, Moon Jae-in announced in November 2017 a new policy aimed at improving relations with Southeast Asian countries, as North Asian economies seek to minimize their dependence on China and the United States. The policy is known as the New Southern Policy which aims to better connect South Korea with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and expand

the influence of Asia's fourth largest economy in the region (Whiteside, 2017).

New Southern Policy focuses on the so-called "3P Community". 3P Community stands for People, Prosperity, and Peace community. People-centered values are governed by the ASEAN Constitution and the basic principles embraced by the current government, emphasizing that "society is the main one", this is in line with the New Southern Policy's policy of pursuing a "people-centered community". Also, to build a prosperous society, the South Korean Government seeks opportunities with greater regional trade and shared prosperity through revised agreements in the Free Trade Area of Asia Pacific and ASEAN (FTAAP) and comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) (Kwak, 2018: 2).

The New Southern Policy also aims to expand the scope of cooperation in the new region and at the same time to maintain its relationship with the United States and China. This is done by South Korea so that its foreign economic policy can maximize profits by diversifying its trading structure. Therefore, the vision of the New Southern Policy can be summarized as a strategic foreign policy that pursues practical interests in addition to its four traditional major diplomatic partner countries such as the United States, China, Japan, and Russia and the new southern region based on a balanced form of diplomacy (Kwak, 2018: 2).

The New Southern Policy established by President Moon Jae-In strongly prioritizes the values and principles of cooperation and peace. This is demonstrated by the commitment of the two countries to creating regional peace. One of them is that Indonesia supports the creation of peace on the Korean Peninsula. This was demonstrated by the formation of a joint contingent of South and North Koreans at the 2018 Asian Games held in Jakarta and Palembang (Aditya, 2018).

Indonesia is an important partner for South Korea. This was conveyed directly by South Korean Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-wha. Kang Kyung-wha also stated that Indonesia is at the center of the New Southern Policy. Not only is it central to the New Southern Policy, but Minister Kang Kyung-Wha also stated that Indonesia is an absolute partner for South Korea (Pramudyani, 2019).

Indonesia and South Korea's relations have improved since an agreement to improve the bilateral relations of the two countries from the level of "strategic partnership" to a "special strategic partnership" in November 2017, Indonesia–South Korea's total trade in 2018 continued to increase by US$ 18.57 billion or up 12.58% from the previous period. The

composition of the bilateral trade value of the two countries consists of Indonesia's exports to South Korea amounting to US$ 10.35 billion, Indonesia's imports from South Korea amounting to US$ 8.22 billion, with a trade surplus of US$ 2.13 billion for Indonesia (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, n.d).

Quoted from the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the value of South Korean and Indonesian non-oil and gas trade in the period January to November reached US$ 15.18 billion. This was an increase of 9.40% compared to the previous year. The trade value in this period is a surplus from the Indonesian side with a value of US$ 2.13 billion. The trade value of the two countries consists of South Korea's exports to Indonesia of US$ 8.21 billion and imports of US$ 10.34 billion (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, n.d).

Then, in the field of investment, the two countries agreed on a memorandum of understanding with a potential investment of US$ 6.2 billion (Office of the President's Staff of the Republic of Indonesia, 2018). Quoted from the Press Release of the Capital Investment Coordinating Board or Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal (BKPM), President Joko Widodo's visit to South Korea in 2018 resulted in 15 MoUs and six 32 business to business investment commitments between the private sectors of Indonesia and South Korea, as well as a memorandum of understanding between BKPM and Hyundai Motor Company. There are 15 memorandums of understanding and 6 investment commitments (Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal, n.d).

In November 2019, Indonesian President Joko Widodo visited Busan to attend the ASEAN-ROK Commemorative Summit 2019. In the meeting, Indonesia and South Korea agreed to several co-operations, one of which is related to investment. Some of the investments coming into Indonesia are an investment from Hyundai Motor worth US$ 1.5 Billion and the Government of Indonesia is also encouraging the realization of investment from LG Chem engaged in the lithium battery industry and LG International which is planned to invest in the field of food and beverage and internet of things (IoT) engaged in information and technology (Mahardika, 2019).

In 2020, Indonesia and South Korea's relationship with the New Southern Policy continue amid the pandemic situation around the world. This was confirmed by South Korea's Ambassador to ASEAN, Lim Sung Nam, where he said that society is the most important aspect of the New Southern Policy, where everyone is currently suffering from the Covid-19 pandemic (Suswanti, 2020).

Considering Indonesia as a key partner in South Korea's New Southern Policy and the close bilateral relationship between the two countries. South Korea assists in handling the COVID-19 pandemic by prioritizing Indonesia as the country to export equipment needed to control the COVID-19 pandemic (Kurnia, 2020).

5. CONCLUSSION

The New Southern Policy, better known as the New South Policy, is a policy that leads to South Korea's cooperation with Southeast Asian Countries (ASEAN) and India, except Indonesia. South Korea's New Southern Policy has had an impact on improving political-economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea. The impact of the implementation of the New Southern Policy in Indonesia is to increase the status of the partnership of the two countries that were formerly "strategic partnerships" into "special strategic partnerships", encourage South Korean companies to develop businesses and investments in Indonesia, and continue to increase and expand investment and trade relationships to achieve the trade target of US$ 30 Billion by 2022.

The implementation of the New Southern Policy in Indonesia led to improvements in several sectors of Indonesia's political-economic cooperation with South Korea. In the trade sector, Indonesia and South Korea increased trade in 2018 by US$ 18.57 Billion or up by 12.58%. In the investment sector, the two countries produced a memorandum of understanding of US$ 6.2 Billion in 2018. And the last sector is the political sector, both countries are committed to creating regional peace. Indonesia supports the creation of peace on the Korean Peninsula, as Indonesia has diplomatic relations with North Korea.

In 2020, Indonesia's relationship with South Korea under the New Southern Policy continues by focusing the public as the most important aspect in the handling the COVID-19 pandemic and making Indonesia a top priority in the export of the COVID-19 test equipment.

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Indonesia and IORA: Middle Power Strategy in the Disruptive Era

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Abstract

Indonesia is facing challenges from the geopolitical disruption in the Indo-Pacific region. To secure its national interests in the Indo-Pacific, Indonesia can exercise its leadership through the existing multilateral mechanism. Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is the only regional multilateral architecture in the Indian Ocean region. Indonesia has been involved actively in IORA, especially during its leadership in 2015-2017. This involvement can be seen as part of Indonesia's strategy as a middle power in the Indo-Pacific. However, this Association has not met its full potential yet, mostly due to its lack of institutional building. This article seeks to examine the extent to which IORA can support Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific. This study mainly uses qualitative data analysis drawn from primary and secondary sources that have been gathered from various resources. It argues that although IORA has institutional problems, IORA remains a substantive regional forum in the Indian Ocean region that can support Indonesia's position as a middle power. From the perspective of institutional design, IORA has developed a suitable institutional mechanism despite the lack of political will to advance its performance. Therefore, IORA has the modalities to support Indonesia's middle power's strategy in the Indo-Pacific region. The support is manifested in economic, political, and normative dimensions.

Keywords: *Indonesia, middle power, IORA, institutional design, Indo-Pacific*

1 INTRODUCTION

The emergence of Indo-Pacific as a regional construct has brought a certain extent of challenges amid global uncertainty. The efforts to "reconceptualise Asian regional space" (Beeson and Wilson, 2018) leads to the questions of how states will conduct their relations based on respective national interests in the newly-recognised space

and shape the dynamics of the Indo-Pacific regional process.

As a geopolitical construct, the Indo-Pacific expands the strategic scope of established Asia Pacific by incorporating the Indian Ocean region into its more extensive oceanic imagery. As Doyle (2018) precisely points out, the Indo-Pacific conveys the rising significance of the Indian Ocean region in the global scene. Therefore, the discussion about the Indo-Pacific region's management cannot be separated from examining the development of existing regional mechanisms in the Asia Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions

While there are many established multilateral institutions within the scope of Asia Pacific, the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is the only economic regional cooperation in the Indian Ocean region. It involves almost all littoral states in the Indian Ocean rim and engages with great powers such as the United States (US), China, France, and The United Kingdom (UK) as its dialogue partners. IORA is expected to uphold its main economic objectives to "promote the sustained growth and balanced development of the region and of the Member States" (IORA Secretariat, 2018), but at the same time, it gains political significance due to the central position of the Indian Ocean in the two-oceans, Indo-Pacific construct, and the need to exercise the extent of which the synergy among existing institutions to support the Indo-Pacific regional system.

Being long-neglected, the Indian Ocean region has recently become an integrated part of Indonesia's national priorities. Most literature relates this shifting attention with Indonesia's maritime vision under the Jokowi's administration (Prasetyo, 2016; Putri, 2018; Setiyanto, 2015). Laksmana (2011) argues that Indonesia's geopolitical architecture can better explain the Indian Ocean's growing significance within Indonesia's national interests as it can unfold three significant concerns relating to the region: terrorism, great power politics, and maritime security.

This article seeks to examine the extent to which IORA can support Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific. This paper begins by discussing IORA and its institutional mechanism and positioning this paper within the discourse of Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific. It argued that although IORA has institutional problems, IORA remains a substantive regional forum in the Indian Ocean region that can support Indonesia's position as a middle power. In fact, IORA has developed a suitable institutional design despite the lack of political will to advance the institution's performance. Therefore,

IORA has the modalities to support Indonesia's foreign policy as a middle power in the Indo-Pacific region.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Some scholars have engaged with the discussion about Indonesia's involvement in the Indo-Pacific through the existing institutions. Anwar (2020) and Weatherbee (2019) propose a similar idea on Indonesia's leading role in constructing the Indo-Pacific within the ASEAN framework by proposing ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP). Anwar (2020) argues that Indonesia's position in the Indo-Pacific revolves around its revitalised ASEAN-centred foreign policy. Weatherbee (2019) sees this as the Indonesian government's way to earn 'symbolic credibility' regarding its ambition to become a Global Maritime Fulcrum. Nevertheless, both articles focus more on Indonesia's activism in the Asia-Pacific-setting regional institution, namely ASEAN, that remains to be the first pillar in Indonesia's foreign policy concentric circle. The discussion that links Indonesia and India Ocean's regional institution in the context of Indo-Pacific is still understudied.

To discuss IORA in Indonesia's middle power discourse, this article attempts to reconcile the established perspectives in identifying Indonesia's role as a middle power. Swielande (2019) argues that the three most potent Indo-Pacific middle powers (Australia, Indonesia, and South Korea) have the potentials to assert their influence and position in the global order by strategically developing communities of practice. This strategy works in a multilateral setting, which reiterates the limitation of middle powers in relying on themselves to pursue a significant status or position in the global scene. The preference for a multilateral approach is closely related to the concept of "Middlepowermanship," a middle power's characteristic seen from a liberal perspective (Wilkins 2019). It is identified by states' behaviours in conducting diplomatic practices that adhere to the common values of rule-based order (such as multilateralism, good international citizenship, etc.) while maintaining a certain degree of autonomy from great powers' influence. Some scholars (Hidayatullah, 2017; Thies and Sari, 2018) explain Indonesia's status in the international system by examining its middle power's role. Hidayatullah (2017) classifies three roles of middle powers based on their activism in regional and multilateral institutions (enforcer, assembler, and advocator), whereby Indonesia initially acted as an Assembler but gradually transformed into an Advocator since its activism to promote democratic values. In a different sense, Thies and Sari's use

of role theory see Indonesia's middle power as a socially recognised status based on its three auxiliary roles: "being a good international citizen, a supporter of multilateralism and a supporter of the existing international order" (Thies and Sari, 2018, p. 414).

While there is a lot of research relating to IORA's progress issue as regional cooperation, a comprehensive discussion about the factor of institutional design remains limited. Prasetyo (2016) argues that the development of IORA is still slow and underdeveloped, even though it can become a strong international organization. Putri (2018) argues that Indonesia has contributed to the development of IORA's institutional building by developing IORA Action Plan 2017-2021 and initiating IORA Summit. She also contends that IORA can engage closely with other regional institutions, primarily ASEAN, to enhance its institutional capacity. However, Prasetyo and Putri do not analyse specific features within IORA's institutional design that can bring out potential modalities and critical challenges for Indonesia.

3 METHOD

This study mainly uses qualitative data analysis drawn from primary and secondary sources gathered from a variety of resources. Official publications and documents derived from IORA official website serve as essential sources. The secondary data were derived from a literature review or academic material that provides background on IORA institutional development and its role and potentials in supporting Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific. Some material is also drawn from various sources such as major newspapers and magazines, both in Indonesian and English. This study tried to get a comprehensive picture of IORA's role to support Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific through the qualitative approach and descriptive method.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Rational Design of IORA

To examine the IORA institutional mechanism's development, we adopted the rational design of international institutions as an analytical framework (Koremenos et al., 2004). According to this theory, international institutions are explicitly designed by actors to solve cooperation problems in particular areas. Koremenos et al. (2004) identified five main institutional design features: membership, scope, centralization, flexibility, and control.

IORA, initially the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOC-ARC), was

established in 1997 as a regional organization to foster cooperation among rim countries in the Indian Ocean. IORA commits to the principle of open membership. All sovereign states in the Indian Ocean Rim are welcomed to join as IORA members (IORA Charter, 2018). The membership of IORA has kept growing since its establishment. Until 2020, IORA consist of 22 member states (Australia, Bangladesh, Comoros, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kenya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Oman, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen). The growing membership of IORA could be seen as the increasing of IORA strategic importance. Besides, IORA also has 10 Dialogue Partners, which consist of China, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

In terms of scope of cooperation, IORA covered broader issues than the initial period of its establishment. IORA was established with the objectives of economic cooperation. Its activities focus on trade facilitation, promotion and liberalization of trade, and investment promotion. Since 2011, IORA include issues beyond economic sector, such as maritime safety and security, academic, science and technology cooperation, and disaster risk management in its cooperation. Expanding IORA's scope could be seen as a mechanism to cope with uncertainty in the region. The inclusion of the "non-economic" area reflected that there are also growing concerns over regional security in the Indian Ocean region. The broadening of IORA's priorities to include maritime security and safety issues also indicated that the region not only holds significant economic value but, more importantly, the region needs a stable and secure environment to support its dynamic economic activities.

On the other hand, the broader scope of cooperation in IORA is also related to heterogeneity among this Association's actors. As the number of IORA members increased, the heterogeneity of interests within the Association is also increased. When one actor values issue X more than issue Y, and the other ranks them the opposite way, both can be made better off by exchange and linking the issues (Sebenius, 1983; Koremenos et al., 2004). In the context of IORA, island nations like Seychelles, Comoros, Mauritius, and Sri Lanka, consider climate change and environmental issues as an important area of cooperation other than the economy, whereas well-developed member countries such as Australia, India, and South Africa pay more consideration to the security issues. Through the broadening area

of cooperation to include maritime security and disaster risk management and research cooperation, IORA could facilitate cooperation and generate more opportunities to reach mutually beneficial arrangements among members.

A large number of actors within IORA also tend to increase bargaining and transactional cost in the institution. To overcome this problem, IORA prefers to develop a centralized institution by setting up an IORA secretariat that helps the institution promote centralized information sharing and monitoring mechanisms. According to the Charter, the Secretary-General is appointed by the Council of Foreign Ministers (COM). It is responsible for managing, coordinating, service, and monitoring the implementation of policy decisions, work programs, and projects in IORA. The secretariat is also responsible for all IORA meetings, the representation and promotion of the Association, the collation and dissemination of information, and mobilization of resources in IORA. Centralization in IORA permits the institution to decrease transaction costs by supplanting many bilateral negotiations with a mechanism that allows members to coordinate their efforts and assure that they do not duplicate or work against each other.

IORA has characteristics of new regionalism in the post-Cold World era, which is more flexible and less decisive in its cooperative engagement (Muni, 2005). These characteristics are reflected in IORA's design of control and flexibility. Koremenos et al. define control as how collective decisions are made in the institutions and flexibility as how will institutions' rules and procedures accommodate new circumstances. IORA build its cooperation based on consensus and without laws and binding contracts. These characteristics indicate that IORA has less control and more flexible institutional design. The preference for this design is to reduce the distributional problems which are rising with the increase of heterogeneity among member countries. Since the distributional problem depends on how each actor compares its preferred alternative to other actors' preferred choice, it will be more significant when the actors are too heterogeneous. Inequality in the level of economic and development among members will also exacerbate the distribution problem. The consensus-based decision-making process and flexible agreement structures allow IORA to reduce bargaining costs when distributional problems occur and make IORA more adaptive under the shadow of uncertainty.

From the rational design of international institutions perspective, IORA has developed a suitable institutional design to effectively

promote cooperation in the Association. The broader scope of cooperation and centralized information sharing and monitoring help IORA overcome the problem of heterogeneity in its membership. Simultaneously, less control and more flexible arrangements allow IORA to cope with distributional problems and uncertainty in the cooperation. However, as Prasetyo (2016) argues, there is still a lack of political will and investment among members to accelerate IORA to become an influential regional institution. IORA is still not considered a priority by some member countries. This is reflected by the low frequency of meetings and the one-off summit in 2017 as initiated by Indonesia. The summit mechanism is also not regulated in the charter yet. The lack of political will and investment from member countries will hinder the acceleration of IORA's moves to overcome the challenges ahead.

Indonesia and IORA: Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific

Despite the diverse political commitments among IORA member countries, Indonesia has the political will to strengthen its presence in the Association mainly due to the momentum of Indonesia's vision to be a global maritime fulcrum (GMF) since 2014. Aufiya (2017) connects Indonesia's grand vision Global Maritime Fulcrum with the Indo-Pacific construct to analyse the extent to which Indonesia's grand vision can contribute to the Indo-Pacific regional stability. Along with the rising awareness of Indonesia's central geographical position at a maritime crossroads, Indonesia realized its strategic absence in the Indian Ocean region so that it attempts to redeem it during its chairmanship of IORA (2015-2017). If following Emmers and Teo's (2018, p. 29-47) type of regional strategies for middle powers in managing the regional environment, this focus on the maritime issue can be seen as Indonesia's attempt to adopt functional strategy by addressing "specific issues and be recognized as leaders—or at least key players—in those areas" while at the same time "requires the middle power to have some form of specialized skills and resources and utilize them effectively." However, Emmers and Teo are more convinced to argue that Indonesia is more successful in adopting a normative middle power strategy. The low level of resource capabilities and low-threat security environments affect Indonesia's choice to promote a normative agenda through multilateralism than functional cooperation. However, Indonesia's performance within IORA reflects both its attempt to conduct both functional and normative strategies. Therefore, the analysis of IORA's potentials to

bolster Indonesia's performance in the Indo-Pacific will be informed by how Indonesia creatively undertakes normative and functional strategy. There are three dimensions, namely economic, political, and normative, whereby Indonesia's strategy can benefit from its active involvement in IORA.

IORA can support Indonesia's middle power strategy in economic sectors by providing access to the market intra-region and opening a chance to cooperate in Indonesia's economic priority sector. Indonesia can benefit from IORA's broad range of issues that mostly relevant to Indonesia's maritime interests as the spearheads of economic diplomacy (Setiawan 2015). In facing global economic uncertainty during the COVID-19 pandemic, for example, Indonesia has actively encouraged IORA to establish a concrete joint action to tackle the negative impacts of pandemic under the IORA platform. Indonesia suggests that the organization can specifically address the difficult situation faced by member countries in the maritime sectors to accelerate the micro, small, and medium enterprises recovery (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RI, 2020). As a concrete manifestation of its commitment, the Indonesian government engages with other 8 IORA countries to establish a new working group on fisheries management under the IORA mechanism. This working group, aims to "produce a concrete program in support of post-pandemic economic recovery, specifically improving the welfare of fishermen, encouraging marine tourism in the Indian Ocean, and increasing fisheries trade and investment (Embassy of the RI in Bogota D.C.Republic of Colombia, 2020)." This shows how IORA's institutional design allows a more flexible and adaptive mechanism that can be responsive to global uncertainty dynamics. Furthermore, IORA's initial COVID-19 response is an excellent illustration of Indonesia's functional strategy to address domestic challenges in maritime sectors and secure regional welfare through a regional cooperative mechanism.

The political gain from being actively involved in IORA can be seen from Indonesia's middle power position, which seeks to manage potential conflicts in the Indo-Pacific and challenges from other countries' power projection through the multilateral institution. The great power rivalry between the US and China has been a dominant narrative in the Indo-Pacific dynamics. As the growing uncertainty emerges from the adoption of the Indo-Pacific construct, IORA provides an avenue for Indonesia to continuously engage with influential regional powers like India and Australia and great powers as well as other like-minded member countries through

the meetings of COM and Committee of Senior Officials (CSO). Indonesia's presence in these meetings should be directed to reiterate the importance of economic cooperation to tone down the security-heavy of the Indo-Pacific concept. Because Indonesia tends to choose multilateral engagement and coalition-building with like-minded countries as their diplomatic strategy, middle powers are likely to assume a certain extent of institutional leadership in organizations to exercise their "force of mediation" instead of "force of contestation" (Deas 2019). To face the uncertainty, if IORA can have a reliable and coordinated voice among its members and perform well based on its Action Plan, IORA can serve as a complementary backing for Indonesia's interests besides ASEAN. This will balance Indonesia's regional significance posture in the Asia Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions.

The normative investment that Indonesia has made in IORA should also be capitalized to support Indonesia's middle power status in the Indo-Pacific. Indonesia has normatively contributed to IORA's institutional building, which can be seen from Indonesia's initiative to conduct IORA's leader summit and the endorsement of IORA Concord and Action Plan 2017-2021. As Putri (2018) points out, these initiatives reflect Indonesia's contribution to bringing out IORA's geopolitical importance through the normative-ideational construct of maritime governance (IORA Concord) and the reform of institutional design (Putri 2018). Although the IORA's flexible design allows the Association to adapt to the uncertainty in the Indo-Pacific region, a too loose institution can hamper its ability to focus its development direction. Therefore, Indonesia's proposal to develop IORA's Action Plan is crucial as it serves as a practical guide to managing the side effects of flexibility. This plan ensures IORA can have a more focused direction to develop regional cooperation.

While the above analysis demonstrates IORA's potentials in supporting Indonesia's middle power strategy, it requires a concerted effort among member countries in the spirit of multilateralism to advance the cooperation. There is a momentum to elevate IORA's performance and function within the context of the Indo-Pacific regional construct. However, it is still unclear whether IORA member states are willing to raise their political commitments to reform IORA and make it more capable of tackling practical challenges.

5. CONCLUSION

This article demonstrates how the development of IORA's institution can benefit Indonesia's interest as a

middle power. It should be noted that Indonesia's involvement in IORA is not only to serve the domestic interest in developing maritime vision, but it also complements Indonesia's already established leverage in the Asia-Pacific through ASEAN. By analyzing the institutional design, it can be argued that IORA has a sufficient institutional foundation that matched its regional vision. Indonesia can take advantage of this design to strengthen Indonesia's middle power strategy in the Indo-Pacific.

In addition, in the context of uncertain and changing situations in the global order, especially with the recent COVID-19 global pandemic, countries should prioritize areas of interest for conducting a more efficient and effective foreign policy to support domestic recovery. Based on IORA's rising significance, it remains crucial for Indonesia to maintain its presence and increase its investments in the Indian Ocean region as a part of its middle power strategy in the future.

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Xi Jinping's Effort to Improve China's Identity Through Chinese Dream Concept

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Abstract.

Chinese Dream is an idea made by Xi Jinping in his early leadership. Many parties articulate about *Chinese dream*, but what is certain is that *Chinese dream* is an effort to form China's image or identity, since Xi desires China to hold important role in the international world. This is certainly related to China's past history that it was the most civilized nation in its era and Xi is also inspired by Mao Zedong's governance, so that Xi always respects Mao Zedong's leadership principles which was be able to raise China from adversity. This history encourages the formation of *Chinese dream* where there are dreams regarding Chinese people's welfare and prosperity, realization of global peace, cooperation and development. In its implementation, Xi focuses on young generation and culture, as these two factors may help realize the *Chinese dream*, because the young generation is the successor of the nation and culture is the guide for the country.Therefore, the research was conducted to examine China' attempts and Xi Jinping's measures to realize the *Chinese dream.*

Keywords : *Chinese Dream, Identity, Xi Jinping, Young Generation, Culture*

1 INTRODUCTION

In this paper, the author attempts to explain President Xi Jinping's efforts to improve China's identity through his concept of *Chinese Dream*. (Qomara, 2015). After assuming the position as President in 2012, Xi Jinping immediately promoted his concept. He introduced it for the first time when he attended an exhibition with a theme of the path to awakening on 29 November 2012 at the National Museum of China. In his speech in the first meeting of the 12th national people's congress of China in Beijing, Xi also explained more of the concept of Chinese Dream. The meaning of the concept is to realize China's great awakening and the concept does not belong only to China,

but the expected welfare is to be felt by the whole world since its process is performed peacefully (Nufus, 2014). Chinese Dream may become the base of ideology of Xi Jinping's leadership, therefore it is important to understand the meaning of the Chinese Dream in order to understand Xi Jinping's policies and government in the future (Wang, 2014).

China Government leaders always bring concept or slogan to achieve their objective. In China Government, the previous leaders had usually brought renewal concepts, almost all generations of the leaders used such concept, from Sun Yet-Sen and Chiang Kai Shek. It is not surprising when Xi Jinping still uses this concept in support of his leadership. The most important thing in a concept is to understand the base and context of the concept, thus it may be implemented in China's foreign politics and policies (Wang, 2014).

In maintaining socialist values in globalization era and to realize the Chinese dream, Xi encourages the young generation as the nation's successor to learn and help to spread of Chinese culture and not be afraid to dream. The young generation is an important actors in realizing social transformation and national rejuvenation, so Xi believes that the young generation is the hope of the nation and also culture to be able to guide the country to become a better country (Xinhua, 2013)

The author sees Chinese Dream, is government effort to raise China's economy and politics and make Chinese people prosperous as well as the world society. When the objective of China state is achieved through this concept, it will indirectly improve China's identity, and other countries' perspective of China will certainly be better in the world. Therefore, the author will employ the constructivist theory to help analyze what efforts have been made by Xi in improving China's identity.

2 RESEARCH METHOD

In the discussion, the author tries to see Xi Jinping's attempt to improve China's identity through Chinese Dream. The author used the evidences showing the efforts made by Xi Jinping to achieve the desired identity. Cresswell explains qualitative method as a type of method which finds a result which cannot be found using a statistical method or measurement way. This method may also be used to find and get an understanding of what is hidden behind phenomena which may be difficult to be understood satisfactorily. A qualitative approach is expected to create an in depth explanation of a remark, writing, and behavior observed of a certain individual, group, community or organization in a discussion studied with a comprehensive perspective. Qualitative aims to gain a

general understanding of social fact, and this understanding is not determined first, but the research must perform an analysis first and make it the focus of research (Rahmat, 2009).

3 THE CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORY IN ANALYZING IDENTITY

The constructivist theory emphasizes the importance of state in terms of social ideas and discourse. Idea and identity owned by an actor will form state's interest and in process will change the norms, rules and international system institution. Alexander Wendt makes two basic principles of constructivism, (1) structures formed in any association is determined by exchange of ideas produced together instead of material power, (2) identity and interest which are actor's objective are built from joint ideas instead of nature based. This theory also explains that history has the function of natural change process forming state's identity and interaction between countries (Katzenstein, 1996).

Wendt said that international environment is created from interaction process. Likewise in identity, actor's identity is not given but developed and maintained and even changed in an interaction. In the international world, identity and interest are maintained with practice based on intersubjective, depending on what is thought and done by the state, thus anarchy is also what is made by the state, not material aspect of structure but intersubjective which influences state's behavior and intersubjective structure formed by collective meaning. Identity is important in the international world. Wendt defines identity as international actor's property which produces in state's motivation and behavior or special attribute, thus identity is important since it is the base of interest and more fundamental (Wendt, 1992).

In international relation, Wendt categorizes 4 types of identity. First, personal identity, is state's attribute which can distinguish one state from the other, thus the state has a personal identity that is not owned by any other country. Second, type identity, is an identity classifying state into a certain category, and this category depends on the characteristics inherent in the state. Third, Role identity, is an identity which views state's position and role in international relation and regarding state's responsibility when faced with certain situation. This identity requires intersubjective to know actor's position. Fourth, corporate identity or collective identity, is an identity formed when the actors has similar interest, thus these actors will perform joint action. Constructivists see Identity as an attribute inherent in actor, and

it is fundamental for the meaning of actor to surrounding environment. Actor's awareness and understanding of themselves gives meaning in an action (Rosyidin, 2015).

4 DISCUSSION

The Concept of Chinese Dream in Xi Jinping Era

Xi Jinping starts his leadership by making a concept known as: 中国梦 zhōngguó mèng (Chinese Dream). The idea of 中国 梦 zhōngguó mèng (Chinese Dream). There 5 point the meaning of of this concept :

- Manifesting prosperity. The Chinese Dream is based on the history of Chinese rejuvenation. This concept explains that people living today have a good chance of building and achieving success with the country.
- The Chinese Dream is the dream of Chinese society, which includes various aspects such as better education, decent work and income, social security, improved health, improved housing and a better environment.
- This concept is a universal concept, because it is not only the Chinese people who want peace, development, cooperation and beneficial reciprocity, but the whole world community.
- Chinese Dream was inspired by the "American Dream". The two are indeed different from the comparative perspective, but the two's base of thinking is global development and world peace.
- Chinese Dream is considered a derivative of the three sources of belief, as the path of socialist development, socialist theoretical system and sociopolitical socialist system with Chinese characteristics (Li, 2015).

Chinese Dream is not only an idea, but a combination of two or more ideas and emerges as a sole idea where there is Chinese politics, Chinese philosophy, Chinese culture, modern Chinese people's interest, including Chinese history and Chinese people's collective memory, particularly memory regarding bitter times. We may state that Chinese Dream is a real representation of previous experience to help social development and transformation, and help China realize its development objective, national consensus and future prospect, all of which covering economic, political, cultural and social sectors (Civilization, 2013).

Concept like this has actually been a legacy and used from the end of 19th century, in which the culture and dark history encourage the revolutionists to use the concept to mobilize political and bring China back to its glorious times (Wang, 2014). In the 20th century,

China suffered destruction as the result of Western countries' expansion, The Chinese Revolution kept occurring until finally after half a century Mao and his generation used a collective socialist strategy, which was capable of building and prospering Chinese people and protecting the national sovereignty. The short revolution from 1949-1976 was the dream of all nations to make a big leap in changing their country to betterment. In addition, the rapid economic growth after Mao period became the source of development power of China and this was Chinese socialism's success in its big basic objective and entire achievement (Li, 2015).

The formation of the Chinese communist party and the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the return of regions previously occupied by colonial nations are Mao Zedong's success, which may be felt by Chinese people until now and make China as a new economic power in the world. This is what encourages Xi Jinping to continue Mao's struggle to return China to its past glory, although in his leadership, Mao did not use any concept (Nufus, 2014).

The expected awakening and welfare emphasize that this dream is the dream for all Chinese people. The people's dream in association with the state's dream facilitates Xi Jinping's performance, since the people will depend their dream on the government, who holds the power, thus the Chinese communist party's position is very important to the people. In addition, it awakens the sense of nationalism, which is also an objective of the Chinese Dream (Ratnasari, 2017).

Xi Jinping's Effort to Realize Chinese Dream

The awakening of China is proofed by development of one belt, one road, China changes its diplomacy direction and foreign politics. China's success in diplomacy is the result of formation of big strategy of China's new diplomacy which is certainly based on the vision of Chinese Dream. The awakening idea makes China more confident and open to the international world, thus its diplomacy gets more active. This is certainly different from Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping who tended to be low profile. China's active diplomacy conforms to what was delivered by Xi Jinping in a conference held by the Chinese communist party in discussion on foreign political development on 28-29 November 2014 in Beijing. Xi stated that China's relation with the international communities get closer than it was previously, and with this Xi felt that China was in a development era. Therefore, China must be capable of adapting to the global development in order to maintain or even improve its

development. Xi reminds the people that in facing global development, China does not ignore the views and values which have been China's characteristics.

China's new diplomacy also offers the cooperation concept of "win-win cooperation" in relations with other countries. This concept is implemented on the basis of friendship, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusivity and upholding law, respecting non-intervention principle in other state's internal affairs, and respecting other countries' choice. Settlement of problem with other countries in this concept should prioritize amicable method, and in any conflict, China will use dialogue or consultation (Keqiang, 2014).

In support of the development, China establishes an international financial institution serving to solve infrastructure project issue, namely the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). The AIIB establishment is positively welcomed in ASEAN forum, APEC forum and some bilateral forums, in which AIIB covers transportation, energy, communication, industry and agriculture. Infrastructure development is an important issue in improvement of economic growth in Asia, considering the financial gap in Asia. Asian countries expect AIIB to develop the economy and integration of Asia through promotion of investment in infrastructure sector (Kemenkeu, 2015).

Personal Identity Built By China Through Young Generation and Culture

The author's analysis views that China uses the role of young generation and culture to build personal identity, young generation and culture which are an integral asset of a state, and young generation as the successor of state may help spread strong culture and culture as guidelines for the state to be a strong state, thus it is closely related to Chinese Dream. Young generation's interaction will affect China, how it behaves gives meaning to others, since identity depends on the meaning in actor's interaction process (Rosyidin, 2015).

Young Generation's Role

Young generation is the appropriate instrument to help develop a state, and a state will keep operating when there is young generation who will be the successor of the nation. Young generation has strong will, strong sense of responsibility and sense of competitiveness, thus Xi encourages Chinese young generation not to be afraid to have a dream, work diligently to gain their dream and help state revitalization, all of this is the expectation to realize Chinese Dream. In his visit to the China Academy of Space Technology, Xi stated that he had big expectation of the young generation to achieve innovation in science and technology, hone their capability and

skill needed for their career. With this, Xi asked party committee and the government to make a condition which might support youth's career (Xinhua, Youth urged to contribute to realization of 'Chinese dream', 2013).

In 2018, Xi as the secretary general of PKC in his meeting with the new leader of central committee of communist youth league of China (CYLC) in Beijing stated "a country will have a great future, and a nation will have full hope, when the young generation has strong ideals, capability and sense of responsibility". The youth of China must be brave to have a dream, since the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation will eventually be realized through the youth's efforts. Therefore, Xi will reform CYLC and emphasize that CYLC should focus on 3 matters, namely maintaining development and social movement successor, connecting and spread the base of government party to the young generation and serving state's interest in its entirety. In addition, CYLC should always follow the party, for a strengthened political combination for the youth and CYLC should have full faith in the theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese special attribute and uphold the authority of central committee of PKC (Ye, 2018).

CYLC is a mass youth organization established in 1920 and has 81 million members throughout the country. CYLC will lead all of its members to strive for victory, which will determine community development for prosperity in all fields, build a modern socialist state and realize Chinese Dream for national rejuvenation. This league will promote the core socialist values to the youth, with guidance of revised constitution of CYLC and inserting Xi Jinping's ideas of socialism with Chinese special attribute (Xinhua, 2018). The youth is the future of the nation and the world and closely related to Chinese dream with world's dream and the Chinese people should contribute more to the world community. Therefore, Xi puts his hope and encourages young generation to serve the nation and humanity, not only struggle for rejuvenation of China but also work for sustainable development for a better future of mankind (CGTN, 2019).

Culture's Role

The author sees that the history of Chinese culture makes the best, rich history and culture for Chinese people, the link between history, culture and politics has formed and constructs China's identity. Mao Zedong and Xi Jinping are authoritarian figures who see culture as the means to implement the saying *yiyantang* "one voice room" to intellectuals and Chinese people. This belief grows after the big revolution of proletarian culture in 1966 and is the turning point of Chinese politics

and culture. The Chinese Government sees that cultural revolution is likely to reoccur. Yu Youjun, former governor of Shanxi Province and secretary of Ministry of Culture party argues that "Land for cultural revolution is still fertile, especially when the people do not in-depth and reasonable knowledge of culture and fact explains that leaders greatly influence the people's cultural and spiritual life.

After becoming President and secretary general of PKC, Xi campaigns that he invites all of Chinese people to "revive Chinese culture" bound to the concept he builds, Chinese dream. The cultural awakening plays a big role in achieving super-nationalistic objective of the birth of world's spectacular values and view of China. Xi Jinping also sees the link between culture and national power, saying that "the power of a state and the people is supported by a strong culture. Therefore, the rise of a state requires Chinese cultural development and prosperity. According to the ministry of culture and department of PKC's propaganda, culture may be used wisely and politically in improvement of the people's trust in the socialist values and characteristics of China and PKC rules (Lam, 2016).

The other cultural policy made Xi Jinping is to promote "righteousness, kindness and beauty" cultures, and these 3 focuses are the objective of practicing socialist values. The positive energy idea is taken from a British psychologist, Richard Wiseman, in which he states that there are 3 sets in positive energy, namely "righteousness, kindness and beauty". The interesting thing is there is no cultural policy which displays these terms which is shown strikingly in China. To communicate this positive energy, based on PKC's official policy, Xi asks artists and litterateurs to realize China's awakening for Chinese culture to develop and prosper and may be achieved in 2049. They are encouraged to create excellent works in this era by maintaining its direction of creativeness and placing people pursuant to their place. Xi believes that the soul of Chinese people is that of socialist literature and art. This aims at strengthening and improving the party's leadership in literary and art works. Xi also pays attention other big cultures and positions Chinese culture China as an excellent culture in international relation (ICS, 2016).

5 CONCLUSION

The research conducted by the author shows that Chinese dream may be achieved through the role of young generation and culture. Through young generation and culture, China attempts to build personal identity, which considers actor as a unique personality which distinguishes one actor from

the other. The two are interrelated actors in realizing Chinese dream, young generation ha the role to learn, understand and spread and maintain the culture. Culture that has existed from the past and survived until now is a reliable culture, since a country is capable of becoming a big country when it has a strong culture.

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Migrant Workers' Economic and Social Remittance's Impact on their Entrepreneurship

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Abstract.

Economic and social remittance potentially change migrant workers and families' life depending on how they treat these forms of remittance. This paper aims to discuss the migrant workers' use of their economic and social remittance in terms of their entrepreneurship. By use of economic remittance, we refer to the ways they manage their income, and social remittance refers particularly to ideas or skills and social capital brought home by the migrant workers. This research studied four former migrant workers who have been or who had run small or medium enterprises after their return to Banyumas, Indonesia. From this research it is found that in relation to founding new enterprises, economic remittance management and direct use of skills and social capital were influenced by factors external to migrants. They are pre-migration planning about income and remittance management as well as future economy plans, family expectations, and post-migration economic needs and opportunities. In addition, we paid attention to the prior skills and social capital that influence the formation of social remittances. From the cases that were studied through in-depth interview, these factors took place differently and influence the decision related to running enterprises, when they began doing it, and the kinds of enterprises they made. This study means to represent cases of transnational families as well as highlights the urgency of politics of migration to treat migrant workers not merely as the needed elements of industry, but also as individuals with dignity whose own development are equally important.

Keywords: *migrant workers, economic and social remittance, entrepreneurship*

1 INTRODUCTION

Migrant workers' remittance has been studied both in its economic and social forms. Remittance is commonly understood as money transferred by migrant workers from the countries they work back home. This transfer of money has been argued to help the economy in developing or least developed country where the migrants are originally from. Indonesian migrant workers had been claimed to send back as many as USD $2.711 billion in the third quarter of

2018, with highest host countries were Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Taiwan (Remittance made by Indonesian migrant workers, 2019). This money had commonly been used to meet the family daily needs, pay for education, renovate their houses, pay off debts, purchase new properties, and build a new business (Diyantoro, B., & Alie, M. M., 2014, h. 322).

The social remittance of migrant workers refers to the more abstract forms of modalities that the migrants brings home for themselves and their communities, namely ideas, behaviors and social capital (Levitt, 1998, p. 926; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011). Indonesian migrant workers social remittances have been studied in a number of works for example by Wulan, T. R., Kolopaking, L. M., Wahyuni, E. S., & Abdullah, I. (2009), Rosalinda (2013) and Wijayanti and Zayzda (2020). These works point out how the social remittances change or influence the migrants' life after the migration. Another study analyses the impact of both economic and social remittance by Octaviani (2015).

This paper is interested in explaining the impact of economic and social remittance with particular focus on the former migrant workers' productive economy. By paying attention on the former migrant workers' experience in making their own business, this paper acknowledges the opportunities, the economic and social capital as well as the decision-making process, including on not to work overseas and stay to make the business venture. It is learned how the pattern of sending back money and the grasp of ideas, behavior and the maintain contacts as forms of social capital inspire and influence their decision in founding enterprises. Shapero (as cited in Bercovitz, Martens and Savage, 2013) argue that one's decision to be an entrepreneur is influenced by the perceptions shaped by their past observations as migrant workers on enterprises whether or not they were involved in the activities. Bercovitz, Martens and Savage (2013) found that the former migrant workers in Mexico who managed to be entrepreneurs overcome the obstacles in capitals, hard and business skills as well as support for their efforts. Another study by McCormick and Wahba (2001) shows that former Egyptian migrant workers have more opportunities in entrepreneurship because of the skills and ideas they absorbed while working abroad.

The discussion on the economic and social remittance's impact on former migrant workers' productive economy after their migration could contribute to the studies on transnational families of migrant workers as well as politics of migration. On the one side,

their experiences as discussed here demonstrates the multifaceted life of transnational families, which to some extent are influenced by the common expectations of family and community on economic remittance. This paper captures the ways that these migrant workers manage their income and decide how much to keep for their business or future economic planning and how much goes to improve daily and social life at home. Besides, it is also highlighted the unique ways that they absorb new skills that they deem to be useful in the future. In terms of politics of migration, this paper attempts to stress the importance of policy makers and other stakeholders as well as employer that while labor international migration is endorsed to meet industrial needs, their transnational family should be treated as equally important. While the case studies show that some of the migrant workers unintentionally learn new things and manage their income with considerations, the treatments of migrant workers with dignity and as active agency in sustainable development needs to be a new norm. There should be no more people who migrate due to destitution or treated as cheap labor and their self-development need to be supported.

2 METHOD

This research used qualitative method through in-depth interview with a number of former migrant workers in Banyumas Regency Indonesia. The Banyumas regency itself is one of the regions in Indonesia a which high number of Indonesian migrant workers are originally from. As of BP2MI data in 2019, Banyumas Regency ranked 17 in Indonesia as the origin region of Indonesian migrant workers. The former migrant workers being interviewed are selected based on their current economic activities, where they run or work at small and medium businesses in the similar field to their former job or were influenced by their experiences while working abroad.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 The intertwining of economic and social remittance

This part identifies from the cases the economic and social remittances separately, while the following part analyses them altogether as factors influencing the returned migrant workers' enterprises development. It was found that economic remittances have been used both in productive and non-productive manners. The decision regarding their income can be traced back to their planning prior to migration, their future vision being formulated

during migration and the circumstances they face after their return. The social remittances, in terms of ideas and hard as well as soft skills were developed both intentionally and accidentally. Nevertheless, once developed, they greatly influence the future of the migrant workers being researched. The 'intentional' social remittance acquiring belong to those who work abroad in the resembling field as their former activities prior to their migration. In addition to these, social capitals have also played some roles in the development of their business. When discussing social capitals as a form of social remittance, we refer to those created and built during their migration. However, in this paper, social capital that are built at home before and after are also discussed as they influence the ways that ideas, skills and economic remittances are transformed into new productive economies at home.

The story of Supriyati represents how social remittance could be obtained given the opportunities to learn. She left Indonesia to work in Taiwan as a domestic worker for three years. The training that she got during pre-departure programs all related to the needs of working as a household assistant. Her employer in Taiwan was an owner of beauty and hair salon. She liked to spend her spare times in the salon. Due to her interest and eagerness, she learned from her owner the techniques of make-ups and hair treatments, i.e. hair washing and massaging, doing face foundations, shading, and so on. This unexpected experience provided her with a necessary skill for running a beauty salon or service in the future.

The second case study is of Elis who developed her skills in clothing productions. She had worked in a convection in Jakarta before her migration to Malaysia; therefore, garment works was not entirely new to her. She worked in the garment industry in Malaysia for 3 years In both jobs, she worked in sewing using big machines. Nonetheless, she claimed to have learned more on effective sewing given the more sophisticated tools in Malaysia and the working condition in the garment industry that demanded her to work a lot.

The experience of Halim, the third former migrant worker, was marked by circular migration. He left to work abroad immediately after graduated from high school. Therefore, he did not necessarily have a working experience. He had returned to Indonesia and again to Malaysia for a couple of times for 15 years. In those years of working in Malaysia, he worked in a number of sectors, including construction projects, farming, plantations, poultry, and dairy industry. Therefore, upon his return for good, he was already resourceful in many areas.

The last respondent was Sugeng who worked as construction worker in Malaysia for 2 years. He also worked in construction projects in Jakarta before migrating. He was already a supervisor yet he still wanted to go to Malaysia for more experiences. The differences of working in construction in Indonesia and Malaysia, he claimed, was that construction works in Malaysia utilized more tools, while construction works in Indonesia were more manually based. Therefore, by working in Malaysia, he learned new skills like operating excavators and flooring machine.

Aside from the 'hard skills' or the improvement in specific capabilities in doing hard labours, these former migrant workers also demonstrate how their working experiences shape their work ethics and motivation. Supriyati's new skill in beauty treatment encouraged her to pursue this area after her return to Indonesia. Elis' experiences of working in the garment industry helped her develop management skill in clothing industry. She noticed that in a garment industry, higher level of efficiency was made possible with thorough division of labours, where a worker did one part of the process, i.e. cutting, sewing, packaging, etc as opposed to the model where a person does more than one job descriptions. She has also been more capable of managing human resources. As she had been more skilled and experienced, she gained more trust from the society in her village. For example, her proposal of a sewing training program for women to the village government was immediately accepted. She then encouraged the villagers to join the program in which they followed her lead. As for Halim, in terms of soft skill, he developed a number of qualities of a businessman, Halim was sharp in identifying business opportunities, growing consumer's trust, working promptly with deadlines and giving out guarantees which are unlikely in construction business. In addition to the skills related to building construction, Sugeng also developed his managerial skills, including leading a group of workers and formulating budgets.

The case studies have also disclosed how social capital interact with the other aspects of social remittances. The most apparent use of personal relations and networks in their life as returnee was in the case of Elis. Not only did she maintained close contacts with fellow former Indonesian workers, but her contacts with relatives and friends have helped her paved her way to her business. Her life after returning from working overseas was a search for a new venture. She travelled to some places in Indonesia and with the help of those personal contacts, she got a job along the way. When she in the end came

back to Banyumas, together with some of her relatives, they decided to start a convection business.

None of the other respondents informed the existence or significance of social capital formed while working abroad in their life after migration, yet their old or new social capital at home were important factors in their success in building a new life. As he began his light steel business, Halim gained trust from one teacher, to a school, and then to wider public. Sugeng build a new personal network with other construction workers in the area. Supriyati had casually started doing make ups for other people in the local art communities, although only more than ten years after that she began formally learning the skill and put herself into the business. The relations that she had built for years with the communities as well as the help of her relatives help her to find demands for her service. Finally, she also joined the Indonesian make-up artists association (HARPI) which landed her a lot of jobs at events.

From the discussion above, it could be argued that social remittances in the given cases were formed and transmitted back home through several process. First, formation of skills and social capital. Second, interaction of said skill and social capital with opportunities at home specifically in productive economy terms. Third, the use of the skill and social capital for personal gain and/or transfer them to their surroundings to grow as well, like in the case of Elis. While social remittances are created during the migration and influenced by the migrants' own modalities that they possess before then, these remittances do not only come back home as raw skills and networks, but also as a new quality inherent to the migrants which make them being looked up to in the community. Of course, like Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011) had reminded us that not all social remittances are good things or rather, culturally-acceptable behaviour. In this research, it is not the bad remittances that are being identified, but the availability of social remittance itself. It can be seen that all of them learned and brought home new skills and some, new acquaintances, and had eventually, despite different time spans, created economic opportunities for themselves.

The last aspect of remittance is the economic ones, namely the money sent home by the migrant workers. The question surrounding remittance is whether or not the migrant workers had planned ahead the future use of their hard-earned money. The subsequent question is if they did or they did not, did they make use of their income as the capital for their new enterprises. Some interesting notions surfaced; some of them managed not to send parts of their

money home so they could use them to buy necessary tools for the future business ventures they had in mind. Halim went some steps further whereas he purchased variety of tools starting from grass trimmer to construction work tools. The tools that he bought in Malaysia was hard to find back in hometown, hence the buying. Supriyati did the same by buying the make up equipment in Taiwan to bring home, as she began thinking of doing make-up services. The remittances in Halim's and the others' cases do not significantly go to the opening up new business. They used it for the common use of economic remittance; house renovation, land purchase and debt pay off. Economic and social remittance together opened up the new opportunities for former migrant workers.

3.2. Inspiration and Decision on Entrepreneurship among former migrant workers

The experiences of migrant workers as explained above demonstrate the varying ways that social remittance is made and the varying use of economic remittance. The simultaneous development of the two have influenced the choices that the returned migrant workers made for their future productive economic activities as well as the ways they managed them. The factors external to economic and social remittances are not being discussed in the similar depth, but the following discussion elaborates how the ideas, skills, money, and social capital directly and indirectly shape the returned migrant workers' life when they decide to stay.

Social remittances that are identified in this research comprise of skills and social capital. It has been also established that social remittance produces a certain image for the former migrant workers, when being worked out well. However, explaining how social and economic remittances actually manifested into the creation of small and medium enterprise require our attention on a number of other factors. The first is the pre-migration planning about future economy. Elis was the one with the strongest vision of the plan for post migration in terms of the kinds of works she would do in the future, whereas she had worked in clothing industry as well before. Halim, who worked abroad for 15 years developed this plan along the way although there was no specific kind of business in mind, but he did eventually plan several different business that he also executed later. Supriyati also developed her interest and dream after working for a while, so it was not necessarily designed in advance. Sugeng on the other hand had been working in the industry for a long time, so it was natural for him to go back to the works after.

The second factor is family or close relatives' expectations of their working abroad. Transnational families take various forms with different nuances. In some families, a father or a mother leaves and the children stay with other relatives, but in some cases, it is the grown-up children who leave. In these different families, the migrating members leave behind or rather leave with expectations of improving the family's livelihood, securing properties for future plans, and for some, paying-off family's debts. These considerations guided them to determine how much they should save and how much they should send back home to spend. The case studies show that they send back more than half of their income for the above needs. They keep the rest to secure the production tools like in the case of Halim and Supriyati, or to travel and explore other opportunities, in the case of Elis.

The third is the intertwining of economic needs and the personal or family decision whether or not to work abroad again. Halim stopped going back to Malaysia in 2016 because of family-related considerations. Therefore, he started a couple of small businesses he could think of. He offered goods with instalments, he opened up a motorcycle-wash, and runs a goat farm before finally sticking to light steel. The light steel business that is currently his main income source was not initially planned out, but he started it given the interest of the people around him. He is still raising the goats on the side. Supriyati also did not work abroad for the second time despite her relatively good experience in Taiwan because she was concerned about her child. Elis did not go back to working in Malaysia but she travelled around Indonesia to work and eventually have children herself and decided to stay.

4 CONCLUSION

The case studies presented in this paper gave examples on how management of economic remittance and transmission of social remittance work particularly in making further economy decisions in migrant workers and their families' life. This paper does not suggest that all migrants do the same as the 'successful' migrant workers, yet pre-migration planning for income management as well as opportunities for migrants to absorb knowledge, skills and technology while working abroad are imperative. For decision makers especially in home countries like Indonesia, assistance for migrant workers' families are crucial and while now a number of programs are in place, they are still rooms for improvements.

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Contemplating IR's Future out of the Ruins

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Abstract

This year has turned out to be the series of disrupting challenges we have to deal with. The current global health crisis has shattered every policy maker and nation to their very nadir, forcing them to unite to protect the citizen; even what had been thought as a superpower cannot efficiently settle down the fiend. Nonetheless, there is still an ongoing conflict of interest among nations, heating security issues, prevailing social act, and the list goes on. This paper will be conducted in qualitative method which is library research-based study. The opening of this paper will seek and answer how this disruption bending international relations as there is more visible amity-enmity changing. The followed chapter will discuss the arousing traditional security issues happening in the middle east and later will discuss the culminating social movement. In the end, we will together foresee—at least theoretically—how these challenges conceivably shift the international relations in the following years as the concept of sovereignty appeared to be questioned.

Keywords: *Disrupting, Challenges, International Relations, Shift, Foresee*

1 INTRODUCTION

The fact is that difficult time will come and the global condition is recently in a destructive time. The concerned destructive time started from the end of 2019 when a mysterious respiratory disease appeared in China. This new disease quickly spread in the East Asian region, to Southeast Asia and American Continent; and within a short period the world health authority issued a statement that this disease became an epidemic, and in a short while became a pandemic. What was initially a health issue in a country quickly damage many global agendas.

In view of the problem above, the global world is on the verge of an unimaginable cooperation; but is that so? When the global health crisis is still going on indefinitely, many countries

are still in disputes with each another. The inter-nation conflicts in the Middle East are still continuing and there are controversial actions of major power which increase the political tension. This paper aims at contributing to International Relations Study with an approach which is capable of explaining the meaning behind the recent phenomena. This paper attempts to observe the countries' maneuvering actions, analyze the reason of such actions and explain—at least theoretically—how this disruptive era may change future international relations.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Many writings try to predict what future International Relations will be. This starts from renowned writing; a book written by a US political scholar, Francis Fukuyama—*The End of History and The Last Man* (1992)—stating that liberal democracy is the only remaining ideology. However, some events serve as a slap in his face, such as Tienanmen Square, Gulf War, and Berlin Wall (Fawcett, E., 1992 p. 103). Realists also give their ideas of how the future will be such as: *The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond* (Kevin J. Cooney &Yoichiro Sato, 2009), *The Empire of Lies: The Truth About China in the Twenty-First Century* (Guy Sorman, 2008), and *China's Assent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Robert S. &Zhue Feng, 2008); who initially predict the rise of China and predict the transition of power from US to China (Fourie, 2010, p. 829). There is also prophecy predicting that in the near future, the world will return into a multi polarity (Coetzee, 2013). Feminism also predicts the future of IR with strengthening gender equality in international politics following Sweden government's adoption of feminist foreign policy (Aggestam et al., 2018). Even there are some ambitious writings proposing IR scholars to think inter-conceptually following the emergence of issues: post-humanism; change in relations with climate and ecological condition; and shift of interconnection between human and technology (see, for example, Eroukhmanoff & Harker, 2017; (Efstathopoulos et al., 2020).

3 METHOD

This paper was composed using a qualitative research method. Qualitative research means analysis on the collected data by the researcher. The data taken might be in the form of document, note to observation, interview, video, picture and others—but in this research the sources were books, journals and international news. The qualitative also aimed at describing the community, acts and phenomena in social life (Neuman, 2013, p. 475). In this paper, however,

the subject studied was the existing phenomena in international relations.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 COVID-19 OUTBREAK

A new pneumonia disease emerged in the end of December 2019 in Mainland China and spread to many countries including South Korea, Thailand, Japan, United States, Vietnam, and Germany; in a period of less than one month after the first reported case, there were more than 20 thousand positive cases with more than 500 death cases (Wu et al., 2020, p. 217). The Chinese Lunar New Year celebration was also suspected to contribute to the global virus spreading after the Chinese diasporas from throughout the world returned to their country of origin. What was previously domestic health issue is currently a destructive multi-dimension issue.

The sudden emergence of disease which is caused by SARS-CoV2 virus makes there is no individual, country, or political entity ready for this devil. The European Union is currently facing a new crisis amidst the financial crisis, issue of migrant from war affected countries, and most recently UK's exit from the supranational organization. In this condition, the policy makers, governments and international organizations are forced to pay their attention to the health sector: in this context it means spending a large number of money, providing sufficient PPEs to health workers, and the list keeps continuing (Dodds et al., 2020, p. 291). Talking about health sector issue, we should see how China reacted—and at the same time compare the measures taken by other countries—as the epicentrum of the first COVID-19.

Immediately after the first officially confirmed case, the Government of China closed the market suspected to sell bat meat expected to be the cause of the virus; this was also taken by closing all meat trades. The Government of China also proactively traced its citizens such as putting surveillance cameras into use, which were capable of catching symptoms from face expression, and conducted house-to-house tracing and forcefully quarantined they who go sick. The next measure was to identify large scale case and supervision, city quarantine and social distancing, as well as building emergency hospital within only ten days. The measures above were claimed to be capable of suppressing the virus from spreading—even President Xi repeatedly announced that China had won the war against COVID-19 (Al Takarli, 2020, p. 44-47). However, appropriate measures to China are not necessarily appropriate to other countries.

Italia was one of the countries that were helped by Chinese health workers;

however, Italia found it difficult to convince its citizens to perform social distancing. The country, which was deemed to have the best health system in the world, was the European country which suffered the most because of its unfavorable demographic condition. Italia did not apply regional quarantine in the beginning of pandemic, which was basically a crucial measure. With regard to regional quarantine, this strategy seems to be quite dilemmatic. India also applied the regional quarantine policy, but it came at a high price. Although the regional quarantine had successfully reduced the spreading of COVID-19, but this was a burden to households that depended their living on daily wage; even worse, the regional quarantine had weakened mental health (Golechha, 2020, p. 830). Reflecting on this, the Indonesian Government did not apply regional quarantine but a policy called PSBB; President Jokowi said that quarantine was good, but not suitable to Indonesia considering that each country had their characters respectively (Ministry of Finance Republic of Indonesia, 2020). However, this policy was challenged by many parties since it was considered to prioritize market to the people's safety. Even the so called hegemony United States was stated by many to be defeated in the war against this pandemic. The Federal Government was accused the most responsible in this defeat: many officials did not take it seriously, for example; President Trump said that using masker was "voluntary" and would personally not to wear it (Time, 2020)—even though this is the best measure to cut off the chain of infection.

With the urgency of this problem, big countries competed to create vaccines in a short period and the small countries competed to obtain vaccine from the big countries. These vaccines were created to save humankind—but, is that so? This will be discussed in the chapter on international relations starting to change and see—at least theoretically—what future of IR will be.

4.2 SECURITY ISSUE IN MIDDLE EAST

In early 2020, United States launched rocket assault through drone on 3 January 2020 which killed Commander Major General Qassem Soleimani. This was deemed by the US Department of Defense as a "decisive action" (Kenneth et al., 2020). From this event, the media—both international and local—stated that this might potentially trigger the Third World War (see, for example, The Sun, 8 January 2020; CNN, 5 January 2020). This conflict culminated in the period of December 2019 to early January 2020; in December 2019 US claimed that Iran had supplied a number of defense

equipment to Iraq, on 27 December Iraq's air strike, with Iran's support, killed a number of US citizens. Previously, US Ministry of Defense stated that if Iran by any means attacked any US citizen, ally, and interest, it will receive decisive action (Kenneth et al., 2020). Thus, US's attack on last 3 January on US Military Commander was basically a series of attacks-counter attacks occurring all the time.

The tension between United States and Iran started from Iran's Islamic Revolution in 1979 and still continues until now. Actually, there are 3 problems which worsen United States-Iran relations: Iran's nuclear program, Iran's suspected support for "terrorist group", and Iran as the opposition to the security design in the Middle East (Hussain, 2015, p. 34). Iran initially cooperated with US in the nuclear program although it must cease in 1979 because of the revolution. However, Iran's interest in nuclear energy increased again in 1990 with assistance of Germany and Russia. From here on, the nuclear issue started when US did not trust Iran's use of nuclear for peace purpose. Iran's support for Palestine is also a difficult issue. The other matter which annoys US is Iran's regional influence has multiplied in Arab countries. US' declining influence in Arab world is a good mark to Iran's influence in the region. Teheran called this as "The Rise of Islam". In addition, Israel, an ally of US in the Middle East, was considered to be besieged by terrorist organizations supported by Iran such as Hamas and Hisbullah. This support certainly annoys US, especially when Washington has declared war against terrorism (Hussain, 2015, p. 34-37).

With regard to Israel and Palestine, the Middle East is indeed the hot spot of the armed conflicts. These conflicts also seem not to end with simple problem solving and—whether or not—peace in the Promised Land cannot be achieved in the near future. There were at least six underlying problems revealed in Camp David Summit: 1.) formation of the State of Palestine; 2.) location of the State of Palestine; 3.) evacuation of Israeli settlements; 4.) division of Jerusalem; 5.) Palestine's custodianship of Temple Mount; and 6.) refugee issue (Lewin & Bergh, 2016, p. 1).

This tension actually started from the end of the 19th century and the early the 20th century following the formation of States of Israel and Palestine consecutively. The British Mandate was then formed as a legal instrument to divide the border between the Independent Arab State and the independent Jewish state. The Mandate states that Jerusalem City is under a Special International Regime (UN Resolution 181,1947 in Lewin & Bergh, 2016, p. 4). Although the borders had been determined, but both

states did not come into an agreement. The Palestinians claimed it as their historical home; the Palestinians are the original descendant of Canaan, Het, Fenisia, and Filistin—long before the Israelis occupied it (Maoz, 2013 in Lewin & Bergh, 2016. p 16). However, Israel is currently occupying most of the land, with the State of Palestine at the West Bank, occupying Judean Mountains, and partial exclave on the edge of Mediterranean Sea, Southwest of Israel. It is interesting that Israel did not give much space to Palestine although the territory had been agreed on, and border wall had also been built—although the wall was in the West Bank territory. In the Palestinian territory, Israel established settlements for its citizens; These settlements were actually in violation of the Geneva Conventions related to protection of war victims and settlement prohibition (Article 49 paragraph (6), in Meron, 2017, p. 358). Recently, Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Donald Trump planned to capture the West Bank as an effort to enforce peace in the Middle East (Bateman, 2020)—however, this drew much criticism.

4.3 THE RISE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this time of crisis, there are arousing social movements in various parts of the world—therefore, it is suitable for this time to be called a disruptive era. After US police officer's amoral enforcement on the black citizens, social movements demanding justice spread quickly; from mainland America to European Continent. Such social movements may be associated with populism. While many scholars give their opinions, but it may be broadly understandable with political position placing the common people antagonistically facing political elites who are deemed corrupt; populism may give the people a hope that something may change (Muddle 2004, p. 542-563 in Darmawan, 2017, p. 2; Panizza et al., 2005, p. 56). This explanation may be definitive, but such social movements were expressed in the metropolitan streets throughout the world, they sued justice, equality rights, change of regime—although still in mild corridor—and rejected sentiment symbols of anti-specific race. The mass also attacked statues which are contradictory to their political view, and even destroyed buildings and statues which are considered holy by some people. Further, to the South America, demonstration also occurred in Bogota, Colombia. This protest expressed some reasons such as decent income, provision of better health services, and cessation of gender based violence (Al Jazeera, 2020).

These social movements occur everywhere, and even demonstration in Hong Kong is heating recently. The

current demonstrations have different path and objective: the demonstrations occur between those who "support democracy" and those who do not in the first place; but there are three poles: those who "support democracy", those who do not support democracy, and police. All of these riots occur in the time of global health crisis. These social movements may quickly spread and the catalyst is the same: they want a change. To the populists, these events occur because there are elites that are not in harmony with them (criticism to elites); and they claim to express the voice of coherent and united people (Béland, 2019, p. 174). In view of the explanation above, it is likely that we are experiencing a disruptive era in the midst of a global health crisis regarding these events.

5. CONCLUSSION

In a short period, the international world faces an unimaginable crisis. The international world is indeed no stranger to crisis, such as World War I-II, Spanish flue outbreak, SARS and MERS outbreaks occurring a while ago—however, no political entity is able to survive. Two big powers in the world—at least right now—are equally helpless: the one where the global health crisis started and the other in which suffers the most with the global health crisis. With the global crisis on hiatus, one alternative which may come into one's mind is to help each other. In the International Relations Study, there are Three Core Principles: dominance, reciprocity, and identity—the latter is the most suitable to be applied now. The Identity Principle definitively means a principle to settle issues for mutual good by changing participant's preference based on the sense of unity in the same community (Pevehouse & Goldstein, 2016, p. 3): humankind community. After all of this, is that so?

After the virus spread, the trade war between China and AS continued, one accused the other guilty in the health crisis; the US even made a controversial statement stated to exit from WHO, effective in July 2021. China which basically had a vision to be a superpower by 2050, pursuant to the blueprint issued by President Xi (Bloomberg News, 2017), participated and took this opportunity to broaden its dominance. China had attempted to change the narration from COVID-19. China stated that it was possible that the virus did not come from them, but from the US; China eventually also sent medical workers and health instruments, sent its experts with abundant "experiences"; China announced that they will give aid to 82 countries, WHO, and African Union (Verma, 2020, p. 253)—the latter is known with Mask Diplomacy. Thus, China once more wanted to confirm its

position in global stage to be a trusted power when European countries and United States failed to handle the case, and became the "Good Samaritan" (Verma, 2020, p. 254-256). COVID-19 successfully divided the international world into some poles, regarding this such condition, amity-enmity relations are prone to change.

There are many issues as explained above. Humans are truly in a disruptive era. Health issue which was initially on a national scale has become a global health crisis which brought many unprecedented problems. The pandemic is not crisis for only one sector, but a fundamental crisis suffered by humans. Many countries, if we may say so, is being stripped down in front of public—superpower such as United States evidently suffered the most with the pandemic that it was in the first list of the most confirmed cases of COVID-19 in the world, China becomes the epicenter of the spreading devil, other big economics such as India and Brazil are mutually having hard time to determine which policy is appropriate to prevent the rapid flow of this new pneumonia disease from spreading. State as a political entity is forced to its knees to their very nadir, forcing policy makers to unite and protect their citizens. Until now, readers may view the future International Relations—at least theoretically; although there have been non-state actors since decades ago, but state is the final policy maker capable of making a change. With fundamental criticism and attacks from many parties, readers may reflect from this disruptive era, with assistance of arguments given above, that state will remain existing, but in a weaker form. Cosmopolitanism will be echoed even more, environmental justice will become the main agenda in International Relations more, and finally, in the future, the concept of sovereignty will only serve as a complement to passport when one is going on a tour.

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The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC) in Maintaining Economic Stability of East Europe (2015-2018)

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Abstract

After the Cold War, the high intensity of conflict in Eastern Europe made it difficult for countries to develop. International organizations can play a role in reducing the potential for conflict and integrating countries into complex cooperative relationships. Based on the concept of regionalism, a country can enter into more than one regional organization. Several Eastern European countries are members of the European Union (EU) and also members and observers of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC) as a form of regional strengthening and safeguarding the national interests of countries in the Black Sea region, where the EU has Permanent Observer status with BSEC since 2007. Regional cooperation initiatives in 2015-2018 conducted by BSEC aim to encourage pragmatic, effective, and mutually beneficial cooperation among its member. This study aims to analyze the role of BSEC in the East European economy using the Harrod-Domar theory of economic growth, the concept of development by Peet and Hartwick, and regionalism according to Mansbaach as an analytical framework. This research is supported by an economic indicator data panel which includes nine variables using descriptive-quantitative research methods through literature study. The results show that the regional cooperation initiative by BSEC has a parallel effect in maintaining economic stability in Eastern Europe, and it is necessary to strengthen inter-regional relations between BSEC and the EU to maximize thepotential.

Keywords: *Regionalism, Eastern Europe, BSEC, The EU, EconomicStability.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Eastern Europe is the eastern part of the European continent which consists of small and developing countries and is part of the ex-Soviet Union. At first, Eastern Europe did not call themselves part of Eastern Europe itself, but they called themselves another Europe until finally, the countries in Eastern Europe decided to join as members of several organizations, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).) and the European Union (EU). Every country has its interests which tend to conflict with each other, this results in relations between countries that can lead to conflict. Global political conditions can affect the economies of countries in the world as a resultof globalization, therefore it is necessary to establish an internationally integrated cooperative relationship.

The rapid progress of the European Union in various fields is the driving force for Eastern Europe to improve itself, especially in the economic field amid competition from the countries of the region. The economy is very important for a country, especially for developing countries such as in Eastern Europe where most of the countries have low economic growth. To improve and achieve economic stability, a region needs to carry out international cooperation as a form of strengthening regionalism. These economic interests led to the formation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) with the signing of the Istanbul Summit Declaration and the Bosphorus Statement by the heads of state in the Black Sea region on June 25, 1992 (BSEC,2020).

The BSCE head office was officially built in Istanbul in March 1994 under the name The Permanent International Secretariat of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC PERMIS). BSEC just got an international legal identity and international recognition as a regional economic cooperation organization on May 1, 1999, after the enactment of the BSEC Charter (BSEC, 1999).

BSEC is a form of regional economic cooperation to increase commercial, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between countries in the Black Sea region where this region is an area rich in natural resources, especially oil and natural gas, and is located at a value point. strategic linking three continents: Europe; Asia; and Africa. However, the Black Sea region has a condition of political relations that tends to be less harmonious and unstable where these conditions affect the economies of the countries in the region so that among them the main objective of BSEC is to promote the Black Sea region as an area of peace, safety, cooperation and rich (DPT, 1995)

Until this research was conducted, there were twelve member countries of the BSEC organization, namely Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, and Ukraine. Countries that are members of the BSEC can negotiate their interests in various fields and form cooperation with several countries outside the region and other international organizations. Apart from member countries, several countries are granted observer status and the third party the BSEC. Countries or international organizations with observer status will have the right to contribute and play an active role in the BSEC, while third party status is given to countries or international organizations that are only interested in conducting dialogues and cooperation in a particular field.

Of the total BSEC member countries, five of them are countries in the Eastern European region, namely Albania, Moldova, Romania, Serbia, and Ukraine. And there are several countries in Eastern Europe which are also observer countries in the BSEC, namely Belarus, Czech Republic, Croatia, Poland, and Slovakia. Thus most of the countries in the Eastern European region were involved in the BSEC, except for Hungary, Latvia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Estonia. This shows that the involvement of most countries in Eastern Europe in the BSEC is the background for research in analyzing the role of BSEC which has an impact on the economy in the Eastern European region.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several previous studies that the author uses to help explain this research phenomenon. First, research written by Charalambos Tsardanidis (2005) entitled The BSEC: From New Regionalism to Inter-Regionalism. This study uses a qualitative method with a new regionalism concept to describe the BSEC organization as an example of new regionalism which focuses on the discussion of low politics, especially about the economics and politics of countries in the Black Searegion.

Second, research is written by Davut Han Aslan, et. al. (2014) with the title Turkey and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). The author uses the concepts of international security and regionalism with descriptive methods in explaining the relationship between Turkey and BSEC in integrating Turkey's relations with countries in the Black Sea region to minimize future conflicts.

The last study that became the reference for this study was related to the participation of the European Union (EU) in BSEC as an important partner since the Lisbon treaty in 2007 with the

title Participation of the EU Institutions in BSEC after the Lisbon Treaty (2012: 45) by Dr. Ioannis Stribis. The author analyzes how EU participation has implications for the development of the BSEC organization since the EU has become an important part of the BSEC and explains the development of the EU itself after the Lisbon Treaty in 2007.

Different from the three studies above, this study tries to explain how BSEC has an important role in maintaining economic stability in the Eastern European region during the implementation of regional cooperation initiatives that occurred from 2015 to 2018. This collaboration aims to integrate pragmatic, effective, and cooperative relations. mutual benefit among BSEC member countries. The research method that I use is descriptive-quantitative methods and data collection techniques through literature studies with the Harrod-Domar theory of economic growth, the concept of development by Peet and Hartwick, and regionalism according to Mansbaach as a framework for analysis. The author will examine whether or not the role of BSEC in maintaining stability in the Eastern European region by analyzing a panel of economic indicator data which includes nine variables, namely (1) GDP, (2) Investment, (3) Inflansi, and AverageConsumer Prices, (4) Exports, (5) Imports, (6) Unemployment Rate, (7) Population, (8) Government Income, and (9) Government Expenditure, where economic indicators can reflect economic stability in a region.

3. METHOD

This research uses a descriptive-quantitative method in analyzing panel data on economic growth in Eastern Europe according to the Harrod-Domar economic growth theory with economic indicators, namely Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, Export to Import coverage ratio, Income to Expenditure coverage ratio, Current Account Balance, Unemployment Rate, Inflansi Level and Average Consumer Prices, with data collection techniques through literature studies. This study will describe the role of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization on economic stability in Eastern Europe based on the researcher's interpretation of the results of statistical dataanalysis.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Regionalism according to Mansbaach, which states that the grouping of regions can be identified from the aspects of geographical proximity, culture, trade and economic interdependence, communication,

and state participation in international organizations (Hopkins and Mansbaach, 1973), in other words, regionalism is a form of integration of cooperation between countries in the region. to form the ideal international organization. Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) is a form of new regionalism that is more open to its agendas which are not limited to cooperation in the economic dimension but also multidimensional as a form of strengthening regionalism to solve low politics issues such as the economy, where the country's economic interests - countries around the Black Sea region which initiated the formation of the BSEC economic cooperation relationship.

The main objective of the BSEC organization is to improve and create reciprocal relations in the economic, social, and technological fields of multilateral members by taking advantage of geographical proximity and potential resources, this is none other than to create stability and prosperity in the Black Sea region. As for its development, BSEC moves from a regional organization to an inter- regional organization (Tsardanisdis, 2005:362), where the BSEC cooperation relationship does not only involve member countries but also regional organizations. Most BSEC member countries emphasize substantial inter-regional development cooperation relations with the EU and the European integration process. This is strongly supported by the EU's status as Permanent Observers with BSEC and most of the Balkan countries that are members of the BSEC are also members of the European Union. In which the inter-regional cooperation between BSEC and the EU is expected to be able to accelerate the economic integration of the Balkan countries with the EU (Tsardanisdis, 2005: 376-390) by using the BSEC strategic point values for Eastern European countries as a whole.

Cooperation in the fields of trade, foreign investment, technology transfer, communication, and transportation are important factors in accelerating the economic development of BSEC member countries which are implemented into many project agendas and bringing them into broad cooperative action. The regional cooperation initiative carried out by BSEC which began in 2015 is one of the efforts to establish a Free Trade Area as well as to encourage pragmatic, effective, and mutually beneficial cooperation among its member countries. Problems that become barriers to BSEC trade include border issues and coastal trade, trade liberalization, incentives for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), facilities for cross-border trade movement (export-import), and visa requirements for business purposes (Tatlidil and

Arslan, 2013: 3). BSEC also bridges the political interests of each member country and passes conflicts that occur in the Black Sea region, which encourages improvements in the economic conditions of member countries through the agenda of BSECactivities.

The development agenda by BSEC adheres toseveral principles, namely prioritizing friendly andgood neighborly state relations and not contradictinginstitutional values at the international level. Basedon the development concept by Peet and Hartwick(2009: 1), development is a way to make life betterfor everyone from an economic, political, cultural,social, environmental, legal, and security perspective.This is intended to show that the Black Sea region isa safe, peaceful, and synergic area as one of the mainobjectives of the formation of the BSEC organization. Despite its economic size, BSEC has not yetreached a position comparable to the EU, overallBSEC has been able to develop an effective structure. The level of development of BSEC member countriesshows that there is a transformation process thatincreases in each activity and the development ofcooperative relations carried out by BSEC. This has an impact on the dynamics of Eastern Europe, where the economic stability of the ten Eastern European countries that are members of the BSEC will also affect the economy throughout the Eastern European region. Countries in the Eastern European region that are BSEC member countries are Albania, Moldova, Romania, Serbia, and Ukraine, and there are as many as five countries, namely, Belarus, Czech, Croatia, Poland, and Slovakia who are observers in the BSEC. Conventionally, the concept of development is evaluated using the concept of economic growth belonging to Harrod-Domar (1959) which focuses on massive economic achievements and periods of steady growth economic stability. So to find out whether BSEC plays a role in maintaining economic stability in Eastern Europe, the researcher analyzes nine derivative variables of the main economic indicators, namely Gross Domestic Product (GDP); investigation; inflation and average consumer prices; export; import; unemployment rate; population; government revenue; and government spending sourced from the IMF database; World Bank. This variable can reflect the level of sustainable development and stable economic growth in a region.

$$R = \frac{(GDPt - GDPt - 1)}{GDPt - 1} \, x \, 100\% \qquad (1)$$

Based on the data panel that the researcher has analyzed using the economic growth formula (R), which

is the percentage result of the reduction in GDP in one year (GDPt) with the previous year's GDP (GDPt-1), as well as the division of GDP from the previous year and multiplied by 100 percent, the following results economic growth data in each of the Eastern European countries involved in theBSEC.

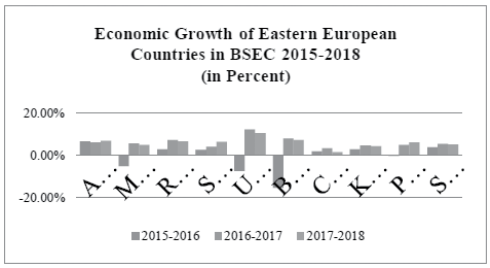

Figure 1. Economic Grow th of Eastern European Countries in BSEC 2015-2016 (in Percent)
Source: Compiled by authors from International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank, 2018

Judging from figure 1, the country's economic growth has experienced ups and downs annually where Albania, Romania, Serbia, Czech, Croatia, and Slovakia experienced positive economic growth in 2015-2018 which indicates that these countries managed to maintain their performance in the process of economic development. Meanwhile, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland experienced negative economic growth in 2015-2016, after which the economic growth of the four countries managed to increase rapidly in the following years.

After seeing the results of the exposure of the panel data on economic indicators of countries in Eastern Europe involved in the BSEC organization, we can see the final result of the economic growth rate of the Eastern European region which is shown in the figure below.

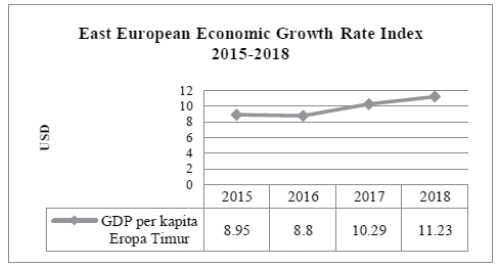

Figure 2. East European Economic Growth Rate Index 2015-2018 (in USD)
Source: Compiled by authors from International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank, 2018

It can be seen in figure 2., the Economic Growth Rate of East Europe shows a relatively stable graph movement. The increase in GDP per capita of the countries involved in the BSEC organization also affects the increase in economic growth in the Eastern European region, and vice versa, as happened in 2016, both the country's GDP and regional GDP experienced a decline. So it can be said that the BSEC organization has a role as one of the keys

to maintaining economic stability in EasternEurope.

5. CONCLUSSION

The involvement of most countries in Eastern Europe in the activity agenda and the development of the BSEC cooperation relationship shows the role of BSEC in economic dynamics in Eastern Europe. The regional cooperation initiatives carried out by BSEC in 2015-2018 brought commercial enhancement and created pragmatic and mutuallybeneficial cooperative relations among its member countries. The economic conditions of BSEC member countries which are also countries in the Eastern European region, take part in maintaining economic stability in the Eastern European region which can be seen from the economic growth graph of Eastern Europe which follows the direction of national economic growth of the countries that are members of the BSEC. So BSEC needs to strengthen inter-regional relations between BSEC and the EU in this globalization era to maximize the potential of countries in the region in increasing international cooperationrelations.

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Social Adaptions of Bonokeling Community Toward Modernity

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Abstract

Indigenous peoples face serious challenges in the era of disruption. Apart from the issue of recognition of the existence of the state, indigenous peoples experience cultural dynamics related to social transformation within their communities. Several studies state that indigenous peoples have systems and mechanisms to defend themselves in an era of disruption. Another study found that the increasingly massive co-optation of external cultures could threaten the existence of indigenous peoples in the future. Different from the studies above, this paper will show how the social and cultural adaptation of society in an era of disruption. Through case study research at the Bonokeling Community in Banyumas Regency, it was found that indigenous peoples were able to keep up with the times with their local wisdom. Referring to the concepts of social change, this study finds that indigenous peoples still exist and can adapt to the rapidly evolving social dynamics. Indigenous peoples do experience social transformation, but with the socio-cultural adaptation strategy they implement, indigenous peoples remain the subject, not the object of social transformation.

Keywords:*social transformation, social adaptation, indigenous peoples*

1 INTRODUCTION

The world is changing faster and faster. Distance and time, which are used to limit the space for human movement, can now be engineered with the presence of information technology. Geographical barriers have been successfully penetrated by various mass media, both print, electronic and social media. The massive use of information technology has made interactions between humans now develop into very complex networks; social stratification fades, anonymity becomes commonplace and norms in the interaction process become biased. In essence, social life experiences a leap

of motion that is far beyond what social scientists thought in the past. This condition is popularly known as the era of disruption.

Disruption, with its various problems, has not only occurred in communities with high levels of literacy and consumption of technology such as urban communities but has touched areas that have been known to have limited access to technology, namely indigenous peoples. The era of disruption presents tremendous challenges for indigenous peoples, after the difficulty of obtaining formal recognition from the state and the negative effects of modernization that are still being felt today. Formal recognition from the state regarding indigenous peoples is usually related to issues of personal identity, view of life, claims of territorial rights, conflicts over ownership of natural resources, etc. (Haba, 2010). Meanwhile, the negative impact of modernization is often associated with drastic changes in the life order of indigenous peoples in certain aspects, especially culture (Hatu, 2011).

Several studies on the relations of indigenous peoples state that the existence of society has been threatened since the advent of the modernization discourse. Indigenous peoples are positioned as a traditional group whose position is lower than in modern society. Therefore, it is not surprising that indigenous peoples perceive modernization as a bad thing and limit themselves from various things related to it. The indigenous peoples construct their local wisdom as a medium to survive and fight against modernization as well as to show their existence (Salim, 2016). Local wisdom is used as a shield from various bad influences from outside cultures, such as what happened to the people of Kampung Naga Tasikmalaya who have maintained their original culture until now. (As'ari & Hendriawan, 2016). In fact, in the village of Kemiren Banyuwangi, the indigenous people specifically reinforce local environmental wisdom to stem the negative impacts of modernization. (Sufia et al., 2016).

Even so, there is also a study of indigenous peoples who finds that modernization has changed many things so that indigenous people begin to lose their existence. Indigenous peoples, whether consciously or not, have experienced significant socio-cultural changes in the present era, when compared to several previous eras, such as the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul Sukabumi Indigenous Community. (Azri, 2018)gradually this traditional Kasepuhan society experienced a cultural change. Cultural changes that occur as a result of the challenge and response of Kasepuhan adat community to new things so that there has been

acculturation of culture.The purpose of this study is to find out how the general description of Desa Sirnaresmi and to know the cultural changes Kasepuhan Adat Banten Kidul people in the Village Sirnaresmi District Cisolok Sukabumi. The method used in this research is historical method. Historical research model is a method that studies events and events in the past based on abandoned sources. This research method is done through four stages, namely heuristic, critic, interpretation, and historiografi. The results of the research in the field can be concluded that there has been a cultural change in Kasepuhan Adat Banten Kidul in Sirnaresmi Village, Cisolok Subdistrict of Sukabumi Regency, this is indicated by changing aspects of language, technology, livelihood, religious system, community system, knowledge and art system. Changes in the culture of Kasepuhan Adat Banten Kidul in Sirnaresmi Village occurred significantly in the early 2000s, when it was repaired by road facilities connecting with the Kecamatan center and after the entry of electricity in the area. The existence of more adequate facilities, making the Kasepuhan Adat Banten Kidul more intensely interacting with the outsiders and the indigenous people of Kasepuhan have been able to follow the development of the outside community. The Kasepuhan Adat Banten Kidul, which is a traditional society that still preserves its ancestral tradition, initially did not respond positively to the new things but gradually they began to follow. This is further supported when the entry of the telecommunications network, so that interaction with the outside community is increasingly massive and make the indigenous people of Kasepuhan has started to leave the tradition of her ancestral heritage because it replaced by incoming outer culture. Acculturation between indigenous cultures and outside cultures that enter, create the birth of a new culture. Subastansial things begin to be abandoned and replaced by a new culture that comes from outside and is considered more modern. The same thing also happened to the Cireundeu Indigenous People who were very open to changes that came from outside because they were following the times (Nurhayanto & Wildan, 2016). In some places, the making of indigenous peoples as a cultural destination has resulted in drastic changes in various aspects, from waning customs, reduced intensity of interaction, weakening of social solidarity, and so on (Gunawan et al., 2015).

The studies above show that there are two contradictory findings when relating the issue of indigenous peoples to the current conditions. On the one hand, some people are firm against the hegemony of modernization, on the

other hand, they accept it with open arms and cause socio-cultural changes. In contrast to the two groups of findings above, this paper will explain that there are indigenous communities that tend to be in the middle line in responding to external cultural influences. They do not completely reject, nor completely accept. This means that cultural influences from outside do not necessarily respond reactively, but new things from outside are understood and discussed customarily so that the final result is carried out wholeheartedly by the customary community. The community in question is the Bonokeling Community in Banyumas Regency, precisely in Pekuncen Village, Jatilawang District. An indigenous community is known as followers of Javanism (Rachmadhani, 2015) which is resistant to Puritan Islam (Nawawi, et al, 2016) and still adhere to various traditions and rituals that are interesting to study.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Discussing the issue of indigenous peoples cannot be separated from the issue of local wisdom, because it is in indigenous peoples that various forms of local wisdom are stored, from various traditions, arts to various kinds of knowledge about the ways of everyday life. In some literature, local wisdom is often identified with local wisdom, local knowledge and some call it the invention of tradition). Hobsbawm (1983) said that the invented tradition is a set of practices, which are usually determined by clear or vague rules or a symbolic ritual, which wants to instill certain values and norms of behavior through repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. This definition implies that local wisdom has three dimensions of time, namely processing from the past, being applied to the present, and being used as a guide for future life. This means that local wisdom is in a setting and context that changes according to the times.

In simple terms, local wisdom can also be interpreted as local wisdom. Meanwhile, at a philosophical level, local wisdom is interpreted as a knowledge system of the local community / indigenous people (indigenous knowledge systems) which are empirical and pragmatic (Basyari, 2014). Local wisdom is empirical because it is the result of local people's thinking that departs from the facts that occur around them. Aiming pragmatically because all concepts that are embodied in local wisdom aim to solve problems of everyday life. Some forms of traditional knowledge emerge through stories, legends, songs, rituals, as well as local laws or regulations (Sartini, 2009).

In the context of indigenous peoples, local wisdom is very important

and useful because it has become part of their lives (Ade dan Affandi, 2016). Local wisdom can be referred to as the soul and identity of indigenous peoples. As a local knowledge system, it differentiates one indigenous community from another indigenous community (Suyatno, 2016). According to Haba (2010), the relationship between local wisdom and indigenous peoples is related to geographical conditions, the order of community relations, and the social changes they experience. The social change referred to includes changes in the social and physical environment which are fast-paced, which makes indigenous peoples have to anticipate and adapt.

In connection with the social changes that occur in indigenous peoples, this study will use several concepts from Sztompka (2004) regarding the process of social change in society, especially the dynamics of perspective and implementation of community traditions from time to time. Sztompka states that social change can occur at a macro or micro level. Changes at the macro level can take the form of economic, political, and cultural changes. Meanwhile, changes at the micro-level occur in daily interactions and individual behavior.

In Sztompka's perspective, the discussion about local wisdom that was presented was seen as a dynamic change that inevitably occurred in indigenous peoples. In various traditions of indigenous peoples, for example, their existence must be understood as the orientation and attitude of the indigenous community towards the various external influences it faces. Tradition is not interpreted as an artifact of the past but is a process that is ongoing since the past and will apply to the future. Therefore, traditions will always exist in varying degrees in each era and undergo adjustments depending on the policies and virtues of these indigenous peoples. That is, talking about tradition as a form of local wisdom is talking about a process that continues to be, not a result of a final one. These various traditions can include ideas, artifacts, and physical objects, and even ways of looking at certain things, including ways of looking at social change itself.

The following will explain how the transformation and adaptation of the Bonokeling community in the era of disruption, according to the path that Sztompka proposed, namely change and adaptation in traditions, daily behavior, and perspectives on change.

3 METHOD

The method used in this research is a qualitative method with a case study approach to the Bonokeling Traditional Community, in Pekuncen Village, Jatilawang District, Banyumas Regency.

Information gathering was carried out in a multi-stakeholder manner, namely figures and members of the Bonokeling Traditional Community, local village government officials and cultural observers, and historians in Banyumas Regency. Data analysis was performed interactively and dialogically following the flow of data analysis from Milles and Huberman. Data validation was carried out using simultaneous and rigorous data triangulation.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Adaptation and Policies in the Rituals of the Bonokeling Community

The Bonokeling Community constitutes the majority of the population who occupy the Pekuncen Village area. Information from the head of Pekuncen Village, that 70 percent of the population in Pekuncen are followers of the Bonokeling Community. Pekuncen Village is one of the villages in Jatilawang District and is only about 5 KM to the South from the Jatilawang District office.

The Bonokeling community has several unique traditions, such as developing Old Javanese songs to praise the Creator (Finesso, *Kompas*, 3 Agustus 2013). Besides, in the Bonokeling Community, there are also various traditional rituals and ceremonies, typical clothing in the form of all-black suits, traditional houses, and others. According to Iswinarno (2013), the various rituals and beliefs of the Bonokeling community are acculturations of Hindu and Islamic culture, which in some cases contradict puritan Muslims. While Ridwan (2008) revealed that the Bonokeling community's beliefs are a unique blend of Islam, Hindu-Buddhism, and local religions. However, this combination has not been completed until now, resulting in a new variant. From the Hindu side, it can be seen from the style of the clothes that are still used in the traditional ceremonies that are held. Then, the local tradition is manifested in the *slametan* ritual. Meanwhile, Islamic values are embedded only to the point of belief in the oneness of Allah.

The most interesting thing about the Bonokeling community is its consistency in carrying out traditions through various forms of ritual. In one year, there are more than 20 rituals performed, both large and small scale. This large-scale ritual is usually followed by all children of Bonokeling descent, including those who have migrated outside the Pekuncen area. Meanwhile, small scale rituals are usually carried out by a small part of the community in the Pekuncen area. An example of a large-scale ritual is "upload", which

is a ritual to welcome the month of Ramadan which is carried out a week before the month of Ramadan. In this ritual, all children of Bonokeling descent are required to come, even those from outside the region, such as Jakarta, Bandung, including those outside Java. Meanwhile, an example of a small-scale ritual is Perlon Kyai Gunung, which is the activity of cleaning the graves of Kyai Gunung, who is said to have been one of Mbah Bonokeling's trusted people in the past. There is also a ritual prayer together every Monday Pahing according to the Javanese calendar system and a praise ritual every Friday night during the month of Shuro.

Although these various rituals are still carried out and do not change in the way they are performed, there are several things related to this ritual that transforms. One of the things that experienced a transformation was the use of modern technology which the Banokeling community considered could not be categorized as a violation of custom. For example, the use of footwear for upload rituals. In the past, if some Bonokeling children and followers would follow the upload ritual and they came from outside Banyumas, especially Banajrnegara, Cilacap, and Purbalingga, then they had to walk barefoot. Their journey to Pekuncen Village from their place of origin can take a long time, even along the road for a day. Currently, there is a policy from adat, that they are allowed to use footwear, namely flip-flops and that does not violate custom. The reason is rational because now all the roads have been sealed so that if they walk barefoot, it will hurt their feet and they cannot participate in the rituals.

Next is the use of smartphones in ritual events. If in the past rituals were not allowed to carry electronic devices, now the offspring of the Bonokeling breed who participate in the ritual can carry electronic devices, so the phenomenon of Bonokeling children doing selfies in the middle of ritual pickles has become a common sight.

Then in terms of publication and documentation. The Bonokeling Community has allowed its community to be exposed outside. Apart from empowering their members, the Bonokeling community has collaborated with outsiders to document Bonokeling ritual activities. The parties that have been working together come from government agencies, universities, schools, and the private sector. The forms of cooperation carried out include making videos, publishing books, articles in scientific journals, and others. So far the Baonokeling community has also been quite careful in responding to various publications about Bonokeling and if there is information that is not quite right, usually the Bonokeling community tries to clarify and correct it.

Transformation in the System and Daily Interaction of Bonokeling Community

The changes in the daily system of society can be seen, among others, from the achievements and distribution of education, employment, and migration levels. For education, now many Bonokeling communities have attained secondary education and even higher education in Banyumas, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and other cities. Likewise with the type of work, if the seniors are still struggling with the world of agriculture, the young generation of the Bonokeling Community has a variety of jobs, from civil servants, teachers, entrepreneurs, entrepreneurs, and others. Even one of the voters of the "Ngapak t-Shirt" Franchise product which is a typical Banyumasan t-shirt, is a native of Bonokeling and has taken part nationally in the development of MSMEs in Indonesia.

Another change is the issue of migration. If in the past the Bonokeling community was only concentrated in Pekuncen Village, now its followers have spread to various regions. This cannot be separated from the policy of the Bonokeling elders who allowed their citizens to marry outsiders. Whereas in the past, Bonokeling people had to marry fellow Bonokeling people, the change in policy that allowed members of their community to marry non-Bonokeling people had unconsciously spread the belief of the Bonokeling Community to various regions, even outside Java.

The Bonokeling Community's Attitude Towards Change

Since 2015, the Banyumas Regency Government has planned the Bonokeling area to become one of the cultural tourism destinations in Banyumas. This is based on the fact that every moment of large-scale Bonokeling rituals such as uploads, the public interest is relatively large. This is evidenced by the large number of visitors who come and witness the ritual, both visitors who just watch and academics who research and journalists who devote these moments. The plan to develop Bonokeling into a cultural tourism destination will, of course, have an impact on the people of Pekuncen Village and the Bonokeling Community itself, especially threats to their cultural existence.

The Bonokeling community themselves responded wisely to this plan. They stated that they did not reject the existence of a program to make Bonikeling a cultural tourism destination as long as the plan did not change and destroy existing traditions. They also try to work together with the government by forming Pokmas (community groups) related to the plan to develop Banokeling into a

cultural tourism destination. The Pokmas consists of elements from the Bonokeling traditional community and figures as well as the Pekuncen Village Government. This Pokmas has a role as a space to exchange ideas and ideas between the Bonokeling Community and the Government regarding various matters related to cultural tourism, both in terms of the substance of the tour, facilities, and infrastructure and promotion. Although it was only formed in 2016, Pokmas have been able to bridge the interests of the government and the Banokeling community regarding which cultures can be used as tourism commodities and which are not allowed.

5. CONCLUSSION

Change is a necessity. But for the Bonokeling indigenous people, change is not always interpreted as being towards something completely new. Change is interpreted as adjustments in which local traditions are still implemented in such a way but still wisely keep up with the times. The dynamics of the fast-paced world can still be followed without leaving the various traditions that guide them in their daily lives. The presence of technology is accepted with certain limitations. Changes to cultural tourism destinations are accepted with certain conditions. Changes in people's lives are running in balance so that the various traditions in the Bonokeling community have been preserved until today.

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Competitive Strategy of Small Micro Businesses Industry Cluster in the Middle of Pandemic COVID-19

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Abstract

The shift in patterns of economic activity during the COVID-19 pandemic had an impact on the performance of Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) from the demand side, namely consumption and purchasing power which then disrupted the production and trade processes. MSEs that are affected include the sector, services, culinary, transportation, tourism, hotels, heavy equipment, automotive, agriculture and plantations. This article briefly discusses the competitive strategy of MSEs in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic for industrial clusters in the Kota Bengkulu area.

Keywords: *Covid 19, competitive strategy, performance of MSEs, digital technology*

1. INTRODUCTION

The economic growth of Bengkulu province for the period of March 2020 grew by around 3.82%, slowing down when compared to the previous period which grew by 5.08%. The slowdown in economic growth has resulted in an increase in the number of poor people. Based on the release of the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in March 2020, Bengkulu province experienced an increase in the number of poor people with a poverty percentage of 15.03. This means that Bengkulu province has shifted the position of Aceh province, which has so far occupied the poorest province on the island of Sumatra, which was replaced by Bengkulu province in 2020 to become the poorest province in the island of Sumatra.

The increase in the number of poor people is due to disrupted community economic activities and has an impact on the income of the population. One of the causes of disruption of economic activity is the large-scale social restriction (PSBB) policy in order to prevent the corona virus (Covid-19) from spreading

widely in society. PSBB policies and health protocols (keep your distance) have implications for economic sector activities (Pakpahan, 2020).

A shift in the pattern of economic activity has also occurred in Bengkulu province, since the Covid 19 pandemic and the implementation of the PSBB. The problems faced by MSEs, on average, MSEs are difficult to find new customers, they do not have online promotional media. This means that during Covid 19, SMEs did not innovate and be creative and have not been able to adapt to changing conditions or shifting economic patterns.

The Covid 19 incident, created a new civilization called a new normal. The new normal has implications for the pattern of consumers who switch to making purchases with low contact (online). Closed traditional shops are making consumers switch to buying online. To meet needs such as health equipment, health supplements, clothing, kitchen utensils, to food ingredients they buy online, take away, or home delivery.

Changes or shifts in economic patterns also have an impact on changing patterns of consumer behavior. This change has an impact on the growth of industrial cluster MSEs. who have not adopted digital or online-based governance.

MSME is an economic sector which during the economic crisis in 1998 became the driving force for Indonesia's economic growth, while MSMEs were the saviors of the nation's economy. (T. Tambunan, 2008), However, during the Covid 19 pandemic, UMK was the worst hit.

Shifting economic patterns due to Covid 19 have caused most people to have to carry out daily activities from home alone, whether for shopping, work or studying. This shift in the pattern of economic activity has negative implications for the domestic economy, such as a decrease in public consumption and purchasing powert (Pakpahan, 2020).

The uncertainty of the end of Covid 19, is a necessity for humans as servants of Allah to realize that whatever is on this earth is His creation. That is, as a creation of Allah, we human beings who have reason are able to take wisdom and be able to protect ourselves / the environment, istiqomah and innovative and remain productive in the face of any form of disaster that is befallen to humans, so that life can survive.

The sustainability of the growth and development of MSEs is important to analyze and can determine the right competitive strategy in the hope that Micro and Small Enterprises will be able to contribute to the economic growth of Bengkulu, especially Indonesia in general during the Covid 19 pandemic.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature related to the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic has been widely published by journals both national and international journals. International journals explain that the impact of Covid 19 spreads to all lines of life (Ma et al., 2020), This article explains that Covid 19 has psychological implications for humans, namely humans experience stress. The social economic impact caused by Covid 19 is as in the article (Nicola et al., 2020).

The impact of Covid 19 is very much felt by low-income groups and for people who are involved in the small and medium scale business world (Aziz, Othman, Lugova, & Suleiman, 2020). For the sustainability of Small and Medium Enterprises it is important to have a strategy with the use of digital technology (Papadopoulos, Baltas, & Balta, 2020)there is limited evidence on the use of DT for dealing with the consequences of extreme events, such as COVID-19. We discuss this gap by (i.

Journals in Indonesia have also published many articles discussing the impact of Covid on the business world, for example (Awali & Rohmah, 2020; Pakpahan, 2020). This paper explains the impact and strategies for small and medium enterprises in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic tragedy, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises had a high contribution to the economic growth of the Indonesian nation, especially MSMEs that were able to absorb labor. Many articles discuss this, for example (Situmorang, 2015; T. Tambunan, 2009; T. T. H. Tambunan, 2012; Tedjasuksmana, 2014). The authors agree that MSMEs play an important role in economic growth, and can even reduce poverty levels. Even when Indonesia experienced a crisis, MSMEs were able to grow and develop significantly.

The decline of MSEs during the Covid 19 pandemic can be overcome, if Micro and Small Enterprises can increase the capacity of MSE managing HR (Darmi,Titi & Suwitri, 2017). One of the factors in low organizational performance is that it has not utilized technology (Darmi, Suwitri, Yuwanto, & Sundarso, 2017), in the context of MSE management, the use of digital technology is a necessity (Papadopoulos et al., 2020)there is limited evidence on the use of DT for dealing with the consequences of extreme events, such as COVID-19. We discuss this gap by (i the use of technology is the right strategy to increase the performance of MSEs during the Covid 19 pandemic (Hardilawati, 2020). There is also an article explaining that innovative human resources can increase marketing capacity in managing SMEs (Nuryakin & Retnawati, 2016).

Capacity is indicated by the capability of human resources in dealing with unusual situations, but still surviving. This means that if MSEs have HR capabilities, MSEs can adapt to any situation, including during the COVID-19 pandemic.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This research comes from primary data and secondary data. Secondary data refer to the results of previous research and reports from both the authorities and the media. Primary data comes from the answers to the questionnaire using google form. There were 285 respondents consisting of industrial cluster MSEs domiciled in the city of Bengkulu. The technique of taking respondents using purposive sampling, the researcher takes the sample because it is considered to have met the predetermined indicators. The statement given is based on indicators of how MSEs' competitive strategies are in a covid pandemic 19. Indicators of competitive strategy are translated into 6 questions. Using a number scale (1) is very poor, number (2) is lacking, number (3) is moderate, number (4) is good, number (5) is very good.

The data analysis used the frequency distribution statistics as follows:

1) The cumulative number of the largest weight value = Number of respondents × largest measurement weight = 285 × 5 = 1,425
2) The cumulative number of the smallest weight value = Number of respondents × the smallest measurement weight = 285 × 1 = 285
3) Largest percentage value = 1,425 / 1,425 × 100% = 100%.
4) The smallest percentage value = 285 / 1,425 × 100% = 20%

The assessment criteria of each variable used in this study are shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Assessment Criteria

Percentage interval	Assessment Criteria
20 – 35	Very less
31 – 51	Less
52 – 67	Moderate
68 – 83	Good
84 -100	Very good

Source: compiled by the author

Determination of indicators that are considered dominant is done by adding up all the answers to questions / statements made by respondents from the MSE competitive strategy indicator statements at the time of the Covid 19 pandemic.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Human resources (HR) are the main or basic resources in carrying out all management activities for the industrial

cluster MSEs The availability of HR is a fundamental standard, however, HR standards can be innovative, creative and able to adapt to any atmosphere or condition that can survive in an emergency. Below are the characteristics of the respondents based on gender as in Table 2.

Table 2. Gender of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Mile	72	2.3
	Women	213	74.7
	Total	285	100

Source: Google Form, 2020

Table 2 provides information that the HR management of the industrial cluster MSEs based on gender consists of 72 men (2.3%) and 213 women (74.7%). The majority of respondents in this study were women.

Table 3. Age of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	≤25 year	7	2.5
	26 - 30 year	21	7.4
	31 - 35 year	24	8.4
	36 - 40 year	46	16.1
	41 - 45 year	131	46.0
	> 46 year	56	19.6
	Total	285	100

Source: Google Form, 2020

Then, the characteristics of respondents were seen from age, consisting of 7 people less than 25 years old (2.5%), 21 people between 26-30 years old (7.4%), 24 people between 31 - 35 years old (8.4 %), and those aged between 41 - 45 years were 131 people (74.7%), and over 46 years old were 56 people (19.6%).

Table 4 shows the education level of the respondents consisting of 10 people (3.5%) who have primary school education, seen from the junior high school education level as many as 22 people (7.7%), from the senior high school education level as many as 204 people (71.6%) , from the diploma level there were 18 respondents (6.3%), and 29 people from the undergraduate level (10.3%), meanwhile, at the postgraduate level there were only 2 respondents (0.7%).

Table 4. Respondents Education Level

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Primary school	10	3.5
	Junior high school	22	7.7
	Senior High School	204	71.6
	diploma	18	6,3
	Bachelor	29	10.2
	Postgraduate	2	0.7
	Total	285	100

Source: Google Form, 2020

Tabel 4. Strategi Bersaing UKM Klaster Industry

Statement	Very Good		Good		Moderate		Less		Very Less		F
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
1	20	7.018	128	44.91	102	35.79	32	11.23	3	1.053	285
2	24	8.421	162	56.84	76	26.67	21	7.368	2	0.702	285
3	11	3.86	98	34.39	148	51.93	27	18.6	1	0.351	285
4	14	4.912	65	22.81	129	45.26	71	9.474	6	2.105	285
5	13	4.561	161	56.49	86	30.18	25	24.91	0	0	285
6	20	7.018	196	68.77	59	20.7	9	8.772	1	0.351	285
		5.965		47.368		35.08		13.392		0.760	

Source: Google Form, 2020

Primary data based on responses from respondents 'answers have indicators of MSEs' competitive strategies in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. This is stated by 6 questions, namely 1) I have easy access to cheap labor; 2) I have easy access to cheap raw materials; 3) I am able to keep production and administrative costs cheaper than my competitors; 4) I have easy access to working capital; 5) I have easy access to selling products in the market; 6) I do inexpensive promotional activities in selling my products. Respondents' answers are as in table 4 below.

Table 4 provides information that for statement number 1, namely 'I have easy access to cheap labor', respondents answered 'very good' as much as 7,018%, then, those who answered 'good' were 44.91%, respondents answered 'moderate 'as much as 35.79%, answered' less' as much as 11.23% and 1.053% of respondents answered 'very less'.

For question number 2 with the statement 'I have easy access to cheap sources of raw materials', data in the field shows that the respondents answered 'very good' as many as 8,421% of people, answered 56.84% 'good', answered 'moderate' 26.67%, and answered 'less' as much as 7,368%, and answered 'very poor' as much as 0.702%

The table above also explains that the responses to statement number 3 with the statement 'I am able to reduce production and administrative costs cheaper than my competitors' were 3.86% answered 'very good', 34.39% answered 'good', 51.93% answered 'moderate', and respondents answered as much as 18.6% 'less', and respondents gave a response of 0.351% for the' 'very less' category.

For statement number 4, namely I have easy access to business capital, respondents gave 4,912% responses with 'very good' responses, 22.81% of

respondents gave 'good' responses, as many as 45.26% of respondents gave 'moderate' responses, and 9,474% of respondents gave a 'less' response, and 0.351% of respondents said 'very poor'.

Statement no.5, I have easy access to selling products in the market, data in the field shows 4,561% of respondents gave 'very good' answers, 56.49% of respondents gave 'good' answers, 30.18% of respondents answered 'moderate', and 24.91% of respondents memneri the answer is' less, and none of the respondents answered 'very poor'.

Statement no.6, namely 'I carry out cheap promotional activities in selling my products', received a response of 7,018% answered' very good ', 68.77% answered' good ', 20.7% answered' moderate ', and 8,772% responded' less ', and 0.351 respondents gave a' very poor 'response.

Data in the field confirms that the MSEs competitive strategy during the COVID-19 pandemic is the total score of the answers to the 6 items, which is 5,933 with the highest total score of 5 × 285 × 6 = 8,550. Thus the comparison result is 5,9550: 8,550 = 0.6939 or 0.6939 × 100% = 69.39%.

Based on the assessment criteria, the MSE competitive strategy value is 69.39% in the range of percentage intervals between 68 - 83. The data in the field shows that the MSE industrial cluster competitive strategy at the time of the Covid 19 pandemic was categorized as "good".

The COVID-19 pandemic has hampered the growth and development of MSEs in all parts of the world, Indonesia including Bengkulu City. One of them is the industrial cluster UMK. In general, the industrial cluster UMK in Bengkulu City complained about the decline in turnover during the Covid 19 period. This decrease in turnover was because all events that had been scheduled were postponed until an undetermined time.

The impact of the cancellation of all scheduled events is due to the PSBB policy and the application of social distancing in order to avoid wider transmission of the Corona virus. In general, the impact of this policy, of course, has implications for decreasing the income of industrial cluster MSEs.

This study wants to find out how the competitive strategy of MSEs in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. Data in the field confirms that in general the industrial cluster MSEs in Bengkulu City can compete, even in an uncertain business climate.

Indicators of labor, raw materials, production costs, marketing can be overcome with various innovations and creativity. This is in line with the results of previous research, these indicators are part that cannot be avoided so that MSEs can be the body in a sustainable

manner (Awali & Rohmah, 2020; El Hasanah, 2018; Pakpahan, 2020; Shafi, Liu, & Ren, 2020).

Capital problems that often become obstacles to the management process of MSEs, it is confirmed from data in the field that the majority agree that MSEs have difficulty accessing banks to obtain capital loans. This difficulty is due to the difficulty of fulfilling banking requirements by MSEs, for example, they must have an agent, this is supported by the article (Darmi & Agussalim, 2017; Tedjasuksmana, 2014).

To overcome the problems and conditions of the uncertain business climate in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic, MSEs should have an organizational strategy. MSE development strategy, in addition to the 6 indicators which are the most important research statements, MSEs should improve the quality of human resources, mastery of technology, and develop business management and strengthen cooperation and partnerships between SMEs.

5. CONCLUSSION

In the midst of an uncertain business climate, coupled with the spread of the Covid 19 pandemic, there has been a shift in economic activity. Shifting patterns of economic activity have an impact on the growth of industrial cluster MSEs. To minimize the impact that will occur, it is important for MSEs to have a competitive strategy for business sustainability in the future.

In general, the industrial cluster MSEs competitive strategy at the time of the Covid 19 pandemic in the city of Bengkulu was in the 'good' category with the indicator that MSEs were able to have a competitive strategy between having easy access to labor, having easy access to sources of raw materials. cheap, able to reduce production and administrative costs cheaper than competitors, able to reduce production costs, has marketing capacity.

Acknowledgements

This article is a small part of a research entitled "Strategies for Strengthening the Management Capacity of MSMEs in order to Improve the Family Economy of Business Actors" sponsored by the Ministry of Research and Technology's DRPM with an Applied Research scheme. For this reason, the authors would like to thank DRPM Kemenristekbrin who has provided facilities and support, thanks also to the Bengkulu Province KUMKM Office which is represented by the Integrated Business Service Center (PLUT) which has been the discussion team during research activities.

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The Changing Landscape of Terrorism in The United States After 9/11: The Transnational Network of White Supremacist Extremist Movement

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Abstract

This article will discuss the rising cases of White Supremacist Extremist (WSE) movement in the United States, particularly since the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 or known as the 9/11 terrorist attack. There are several official reports on the rising incident of attacks perpetrated by American inside the American soil, including Charleston Church's shooting in 2015, Tree of Life Synagogue shooting in 2018, and El Paso Texas shooting in 2019. Those shootings are motivated by hatred toward different races, religions, and ethnicities, and can be categorized as domestic terrorism. There are also WSE organizations such as the Atomwaffen Division and the Rise Above Movement (R.A. M) which has transnational network with other WSE based in Europe. This article will analyze the shifting paradigm of terrorism study in the US, from focusing on Islamist-motivated terrorism to the White Supremacist Extremist nurtured domestically in the US, it also offers insight into the transnational network of WSE between the US and Europe.

Keywords: *White Supremacist Extremist, Domestic Terrorism, Atomwaffen Division, Rise Above Movement.*

1 INTRODUCTION

The White Supremacist Extremist Movement (WSEM) is not a new phenomenon in the world politics. In the dawn of World War II, the world witnessed the rising of Nazi, an ultra-nationalist political party in Germany, during the 1930s. Its leader, Hitler, has published *Mein Kampf,* which has become the main source of political ideology for Nazi during its reign (Holborn, 1964). The main ideology

of Nazi is to conduct a genocide and eradicate the whole population of Jews and other minorities in Europe. Nazi wants to eradicate the so-called lesser races, the sub-human, and the fears that the non-white or non-Aryan race will contaminate the greatness of German people is what motivated Hitler to wrote "the strength of the Germanic race may be sapped by the admixture of other races. Once the true Germanic elements will have gained full power over the people, it will be possible to eliminate racially inferior groups and to enhance the breeding of the superior racial stock (Holborn, 1964:545)." This belief is the driving force behind every White Supremacy Movement in the US, the perception that they are the superior race and now they are under siege within their own states because of the coming influx of immigrants from all over the world. Mostly the non-white immigrants and the descendants of Black slaves, which nowadays known as the Black American people.

The Soufan Center, a reputable non-partisan strategy and security research centre based in the United States, in its September 2019's report stated "From Pittsburgh to Poway and Charleston to El Paso, white supremacist Extremists (WSEs) pose a clear terrorist threat to the United States…this report will demonstrate that they maintain links to transnational networks of like-minded organizations and individuals, from Australia, Canada, Russia, South Africa, and elsewhere (The Soufan Center, 2019)." The danger pose by this type of terrorist organizations is no less dangerous than the Islamist or Jihadist form of terrorist acts. Based on the same report by the Soufan Center "white supremacy extremists were responsible for three time as many deaths in the United States as were Islamists (the Soufan Center, 2019)." There were several hate-related attacks perpetrated by the member of this group, for example the killing of 11 people at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, US, on October 27, 2018 (Beauchamp, 2020). Beauchamp's report also mentioned that after the Pittsburgh's massacre "there were shootings at two more American synagogues: one in Poway, California, and another in Miami.. There's been an epidemic of physical assaults on Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn. The number of anti-Semitic incidents nationwide, ranging from violence to swastika graffiti on synagogues and on campuses, has been at historic highs for two straight years (Beauchamp, 2019)." Robert Bowers, the perpetrator of the attack at the Tree of Life Synagogue, is a former truck driver who allegedly has a link with one of the WSEM in the US.

Those shootings and other incidents are perpetrated by White Supremacist Extremist members, as similar incidents

also happened in 1957 and 1958, when White Supremacist targeted eight American Synagogues (Beauchamp, 2019). The attacks were motivated by the American Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement that gained its peak within that decade. The United States Government Accountability Office (GAO), conducted a research between September 12, 200, through December 31, 2017, using the US Extremist Crime Database, found that the WSE has done no less than sixty-two violence acts, which is thirty-nine more than the incidents perpetrated by the Jihadist groups (The Soufan Center, 2019). his research highlights a changing narrative of the terrorist threat in the US after 9/11, from Islamist extremist groups threats to the White Supremacy Extremist Movement groups, already incited several high-profile attacks on American soil.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This research will use the definition of terrorism and the WSEM to analyse the research question. The definition of terrorism according to the Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656 d is "Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience. The term' international terrorism means terrorism involving citizens of the territory of more than one country. The term 'terrorist group' means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism (Schmid, 2013, p.138)." This definition is relevant to the discussion of the transnational network of WSEM in several states, including in the United States. The definition of WSEM itself is found not in a theoretical conception but in its working definition as "a transnational challenge-its tentacle reach from Canada to Australia, and the United States to Ukraine-but it has evolved at a different pace in different parts of the world (The Soufan Center, 2019). The two definitions above will be utilized to analyse the WSEM, its transnational network and its impact on the security in the US in the recent years.

3 METHOD

This research is a qualitative method research, in the form of descriptive explanation. The research method to be used is a qualitative method. Qualitative methods are carried out by capturing various facts or social phenomena, through observation, then analyzing them and trying to carry out theorization based on what is observed (Bungin, 2007).The method used to collect data in this study is through literature research by going through

documents. The available documents are reports, letters, research journals, articles on the site, and other sources that have been confirmed to be credible.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The threats posed by the WSEM, especially in the United States is said to be compounded by the attitude of Trump administration, since he is officially held office in the early 2017. Bergengruen and Hennigan (2019) wrote that "as President, Trump has repeatedly downplayed the threat posed by white supremacists. He famously blamed "both sides" for violence at a white-nationalist rally in Charlottesville, Va., in 2017." The Trump administration also created several efforts to steer away the WSEM from being spotlighted as the growing threat in domestic terrorism, not only by downplaying the violence acts perpetrated by the members of WSE, but by insisting that the focus of terrorist threat in the US is still the Jihadist or Islamist extremists. The Trump administration has tried to change the name of the Countering Violent Extremism program to Countering Radical Islamic Extremism within the first week of its holding the office at the White House (Bergengruen and Hennigan, 2019). In the same report, it was also explained that the Justice Department, the Department of Homeland Security, criminal justice apparatuses including lawyers and district attorneys, have reacted more swiftly in condemning the terrorist attacks done by WSE as domestic terrorism. The Soufan Center (2019) has examined that there are "two of the United States' most prominent white supremacy extremist groups, the Atomwaffen Division (AWD) and the Rise Above Movement (R.A.M). "

These two groups have members who were the veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars in the early global war on terrorism or after the US launched military operations to Iraq and Afghanistan after 9/11. The report also mentioned the facts that R.A.M members have attended the celebration of Adolf Hitler's birthday and visited Germany, Ukraine, and Italy to strengthen R.A.M ties with other white supremacy extremist groups, based in Europe. A founding member of the Atomwaffen Division, who is a member of the Florida National Guard, Brandon Clint Russell, was apprehended by the authorities because he has many explosive devices and materials in his possession. The AWD is "a dangerous white supremacy extremist group that taps into explicit and even tacit acceptance of racist views and encourages violence to intimidate minority populations in pursuit of its goal of destabilizing society to instigate a race

war (The Soufan Center, 2020)." AWD also a neo-Nazi extremist group that has extensive network with like-minded groups across Europe. Both AWD and R.A.M can also be designated as foreign terrorist organization due to their extensive transnational networks, which is something that the US government is considering to do for their next step to eradicate threats posed by these two groups. However, there are massive challenges in The Atomwaffen Division and R.A.M have several financial resources to fund their activities. Mostly self-financed or requiring donations from their members, they also use cyber activities or online mechanism to create more funds, such as: online shop selling the group's paraphernalias, crowdfunding, cryptocurrencies, and other methods, both licit and illicit (The Soufan Center, 2019). Besides financing, these groups also use several methods as their recruitment ground, both offline and online. The groups use music, specifically white rock neo-Nazi kind of music that actively "trumpeted their racist, neo-Nazi, and white supremacist beliefs through song lyrics…the internet has allowed white supremacist and neo-Nazi music groups to gain further traction…as the music has become accessible worldwide (the Soufan Center, 2019)." Other recruitment method including using Youtube, encrypted chat apps, gaming culture, and internet boards to attract potential new members online.

Based on their extensive network overseas, their wide ranging of financial sources and recruitment grounds, it is very legitimate to conclude that the US government still has a long way to go to eradicate the terror threats posed by the WSEM inside its jurisdiction.

5. CONCLUSION

This research has examined and analyses the changing landscape of terrorist threats in the US, especially after 9/11. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the alleged culprit of terrorist is the radical Islamists, people with middle-eastern descent face harsher judgments because of their supposedly radical leaning ideology. However, the most recent researches on terrorism revealed the fact that White Supremacy Extremism has gained its momentum during the Trump's administration and has spread its movement transnationally. The Atomwaffen Division and Rise Above Movement are two most prominent WSE groups in the US, which also have extensive network with other WSEM in across Europe. These groups have launched several terror acts within the US soil and the US government must establish more sophisticated strategies to deal with white supremacy extremists.

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Village Budgeting in Banyumas District

Domination of Policy Actors in Determining Budget Policy Priorities

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Abstract.

Village budgeting has an important role in the entire village financial cycle. Amid demands for transparency in the use of village transfer funds, research on public budgeting is very urgent to do. Based on the results of previous research, the performance of budgeting carried out by the village government has been running optimally in terms of the planning process, implementation, and budget benefits. However, the good performance of this budgeting has not been matched by efforts to map priority basic service needs of rural communities. So, the conditions are still not aligned between priorities and budget allocations against preferences for basic service needs for the community. The research method used consists of quantitative research methods. This research showed that there is a missing link between the needs of the village community and the activity programs contained in the APBDes. After polling the aspirations, there was limited discussion at the level of village government elite.

Keywords: *Local Autonomy, Mass Elite Model Policy Actor Public Budgeting, Rural Development*

1 INTRODUCTION

There is a growing awareness that policies are unsuccessfully implemented due to their own inadequacies. In a complex and messy system, it is not clear how well to ensure effective policy design and implementation. However, instead of allowing a policy to become a complete or even partial failure, the government is now starting to pay attention to how the policy process - especially the implementation stage - can be strengthened and supported. This article contributes to the debate in three ways: by exposing the key factors behind policy failures; by exploring different approaches to policy support; and by identifying key messages for policy practitioners.

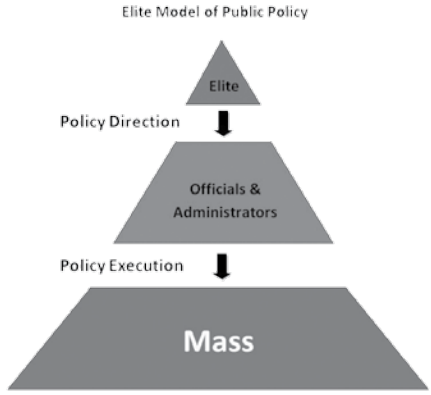
Budgeting has an important role in determining the direction and policies of the organization, in this case, the village government. Through budgeting, the village government has guidelines for carrying out various activities. Also, budgeting has a decision-making function related to the many needs and wants of the community. Not all the needs and desires of the community can be accommodated in the budget, therefore budgeting is also a political tool that functions to determine budget priorities (Miller, 2002; Morphet, 2008; Malgwi and Unegbu, 2012 Struic and Bratic, 2017).

Based on the results of research that has been conducted, Thomas (2013) found that most of the village fund allocations were only used for building construction and procurement of goods. This has increased the welfare of the village community that has not been able to be realized through village funds. Whereas in theory, the existence of fiscal decentralization such as village funds should be able to create more efficient community services, increase public participation, democracy, and equity, and in turn will encourage local economic growth and the welfare of local communities (Oates, 1993; Gramlich, 1993 in Khusaini, 2006). The APBDes, which is a fiscal instrument, is not in line with the demands of the village community's needs. This article aims to find the reasons why there is a missing link between the needs of the village community and the activity programs contained in the APBDes.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Public policy can be defined as the relationship of a government unit with its environment (Smith & Larimer, 2018; Stout, 2011). Meanwhile, public policy is the direction of action by public actors in overcoming public problems or problems (Anderson, 2011). Public policy is generally understood as the action of public actors in solving public problems or problems. Meanwhile, the social welfare policy is a government action that has an impact on the welfare of the community through the provision of public services (Blau, 2010; Messinger, 2006; Rochefort, 2019; Tropman et al., 1983)this sixth edition is intended to introduce students to the major social welfare policies and programs in the United States and to stimulate them to think about major conflicts in social welfare today. The book focuses on issues and emphasizes that social welfare in the United States involves a series of political questions about what should be done for those who are poor, near poor, and not poor and other individuals and groups--or whether anything should be done at all. This edition increasingly recognizes issues that international events and

globalization pose for social welfare policy. Social Welfare: Politics and Public Policy describes the major social welfare programs--their histories, trends, and current problems and prospects. But more importantly, it tackles the difficult conflicts and controversies that surround these programs. Social welfare policy is not presented as a series of solutions to social problems. Instead, social policy is portrayed as public conflict over the nature and causes of social welfare problems, over what, if anything, should be done about them, over who should do it, and over who should decide about it. This book is designed for undergraduate and beginning graduate courses in social welfare policy. It does not require prior knowledge of social welfare, and it will hopefully spur further interest in social welfare policies and programs. (PsycINFO Database Record (c. Public policies are made by stakeholders who are authorized to make them, which are better known as policy actors. Policy actors as disclosed by Knoepfel et al. (2007) are those who are inside and outside the policy system, who make, are involved, and are affected by a policy. To find out who is involved in a policy, then Knoepfel et al. (2007) noted that there are at least three main actors in the policy process or better known as the triangle of actors. Which consists of the policy arena, public actors, and affected actors. Policy arena, are those who are directly involved formally in every public policy process, such as political officials and bureaucrats. Meanwhile, public actors are those who are involved indirectly in the policy process, but their influence as public representatives is very much taken into account, such as academics, mass organizations, etc. Affected actors are those who are the target group or target group of a policy.



Source: Stewart & Lester (2008)

Policies made by public actors in their journey cannot always be said to be good or can always be effective in overcoming public problems. This cannot be separated from the concept by Bounded Rationality (Simon, 1991; 2004), where in this theory it is stated that every human being has limited rationality or has limitations in absorbing information and understanding social problems so that decisions are made by humans are imperfect. Thus, a policy can be made to be changed due to the imperfection of

the previous policy which is a result of the limited capacity or rationality of the individual maker. Therefore we need a series of efforts to improve the previous policy. Improvements that are made by correcting those that are deemed insufficient and maintaining those that are considered good are known as incremental approaches in public policy. This concept was introduced by Lindblom (2004) which emphasizes more on "patchy" changes, in this case still maintaining the sustainability commitment of the previous policy. Public policy does not always change in incremental conditions, public policy can also change radically, drastically, and at a fast tempo. This condition is known as the concept of Punctuated Equilibrium (Weible et al., 2018) Baumgartner, Jones, and Mortenson describe Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET. This model assumes that the political equilibrium condition of a policy (monopoly policy) will not be able to be in a stable condition continuously for a relatively long time. Because there are times when certain conditions occur that cause sudden and radical changes (the opening of an issue network). To understand public policy, thus, Stewart & Lester (2008) noted that there is an elitist public policy model, there is a pluralist theory. The elitist model explains that policy always rests on the political elite, while the pluralist model rests on the role of subsystems in the democratic system.

3 METHOD

The research was conducted with a combination of qualitative approaches (Creswell, 2013). The research locations were in several villages in Banyumas Regency, which were selected purposively. The targets of this research are stakeholders in the formulation of budgeting policies at the village level. Data collection was carried out using a Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The informants in this study consisted of Village Government Officials, Village Institutions, Community and Religious Figures, NGOs, and other organizations involved in the formulation of Banyumas District Village Budgeting policies selected by purposive sampling. Data analysis techniques are tailored to the objectives of the study (Bryman, 2008) For that, we used qualitative data analysis interactive analysis model (Miles et al., 2014; Williamson et al., 2017)

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research has shown a missing link between the needs of the village community and the activity programs contained in the APBDes. This happened because the process of

discussion and determining the priority scale was only discussed by the Village Government and the BPD. This means that after passing the deliberative deliberation stage, the next process has entered the domain of the Village Government and the BPD or in this case the Village Government elite. public policy is defined as the relationship of a government unit with its environment (Smith & Larimer, 2018; Stout, 2011). By looking at this phenomenon, the village budgeting policy is a form of the relationship between the village government and its environment, namely the village community itself to overcome the main problems of the village community. Because, public policy is the direction of action by public actors in overcoming public problems or problems (Anderson, 2011). However, the facts have shown that the discussion process and determining the priority scale is only limited by the Village Government elite.

Public policies are made by stakeholders who are authorized to make them, which are better known as policy actors. Policy actors as disclosed by Knoepfel et al. (2007) are those who are inside and outside the policy system, who make, are involved, and are affected by a policy. By definition by Knoepfel et al. (2007) about the triangle of actors, then it is classified as:

1. *Policy Arena* include Village Government and Village Consultative Body (BPD) because they are directly involved formally in each village budgeting policy process;
2. *Public Actors* include community leaders, religious leaders, and community institutions as well as academics, where they are indirectly involved in the policy process, but their influence as public representation is taken into account in village budgeting policies;
3. *Affected Actors* include: the village community itself who is the target group or target group of the village budgeting policy;

Based on the research findings, that in the discussion process and determining the priority scale was only discussed by the Village Government and the BPD. This shows an imbalance in the role capacities of the three main components of the policy actors. Parties belonging to the Policy Arena dominate the discussion and determination of the priority scale of village budgeting. Meanwhile, Public Actors and Affected Actors are not directly involved in the discussion and determination of village budgeting priorities. Public Actors and Affected Actors are asked for their consideration only up to the stage of gathering the aspirations of the public.

Policies made by public actors in their journey cannot always be said to be good or can always be effective in overcoming public problems. This cannot be separated from the concept of bounded rationality (Kelly, 2004; Rubinstein, 2020; Secchi, 2010; Velupillai, 2017), wherein this theory it is stated that every human being has limited rationality or has limitations in absorbing information and understanding social problems so that decisions made by humans are imperfect (Bazerman & Moore, 2013)identify the criteria, weight the criteria, generate alternatives, rate each alternative, & compute the optimal decision. Thus, a policy can be made to be changed due to the imperfection of the previous policy which is a result of the limited capacity or rationality of the individual maker. In the context of this research, it can be seen that the dominance of elements of village government allows Bounded Rationality to occur. This means that the incomplete discussion and determination of budgeting policy priorities is the result of the limited ability of the makers or the Policy Arena to absorb information and understand social problems.

In line with this, if viewed from the elite-mass model in public policy. Then it is seen that there is the dominance of Elite elements in the Village Government in discussing and determining the priority scale of village budgeting. The village community can provide program suggestions and aspirations, however, the determination of priorities and final decisions rests with the elite element in the Village Government. The elitist model explains that policy always rests on the political elite, while the pluralist model rests on the role of subsystems in the democratic system. The results of this study indicate that there is a political imbalance of a policy, known as the concept of monopoly policy (Fraussen & Halpin, 2018; Weible et al., 2018) Baumgartner, Jones, and Mortenson describe Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET. Where the policy network has not been able to be opened more widely to all stakeholders (Cairney & Cairney, 2016; Fyall & McGuire, 2015; Green-Pedersen & Mortensen, 2012; Hadden, 2018; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2015)

5. CONCLUSION

This research has shown a missing link between the needs of the village community and the activity programs contained in the APBDes. This occurs because the decision-making process and determining the priority scale of village budgeting are carried out in an elitist manner, where there is an imbalance in the capacity of the roles of the policy actors, where the policy arena elements dominate the course of the

decision-making process and determine the priority scale of village budgeting.

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Global Cybersecurity Measure in International Security

A Case Study of Russia's Independent Network in 2014-2018

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Abstract

Cybersecurity measure is a critical matter in combating threats in cyberspace (e.g. cyber-attacks or cybercrime) which can result in loss of the material and non-material asset. Many cybersecurity strategies applied differently contingent upon the system of the country, priorities of the threat and many other circumstances. Russia has distinguished themselves in cybersecurity measure by establishing an independent network. This paper aims to examine the phenomena of cybersecurity measure carried out by Russia by establishing the independent network under the concept of international security. Qualitative method is performed in this paper through documentary research and case study's selection. This paper concluded that Russia's independent network would like to: 1) address the rising trend of cyber threats issue, and the unpredictability and the inclining preparedness of Russia's partners; 2) be the escape mechanism in case the global internet is in chaos and unreliable; 3) complete its legal framework on cybersecurity measure; 4) address the international security i.e. protecting the national security, achieving privacy and data security as the fundamental rights, protecting Russia's whole entities e.g. people, private and government, at all level from various cyber threats; 5) possibly contribute significantly on the BRICS Cable Project and China's BRI.

Keywords: *International security, cybersecurity, Russia, independent network*

1 INTRODUCTION

Ponemon Institute's research in 2019 on Cyber Resilient Organization reported that global average cost for a data breach in the worldwide company reaching US$3.86 million, increased 6.4 percent of last year. It also stated that the world needs approximately 196 days on average to identify a data breach (Ponemon Institute, 2019). In addition, Asia-Pacific suffered a

potential total loss of US$1.745 trillion or approximately seven percent of the current region's GDP in 2017 from cyber-attacks, according to a study commissioned by Microsoft reported (Woolgar, 2018). Cybercrime had cost Africa approximately US$3.5 billion, and 96 percent of the incidents were unreported (Dahir, 2018) and 90 percent of African business are unable to protect themselves from vulnerability and losses (The Africa Cyber Immersion Centre, 2017). The above-mentioned data is some of consequences from the rising trend and movement of digitization and the internet as the backbone of the operation (Singh, 2018).

Concerning that consequences, many strategies applied differently as cybersecurity measure, contingent upon the system of the country, priorities of the threat and many other circumstances. The European Union (EU), or the U.S., performed data security and privacy by enforcing companies and other entities to invest more time and resources to develop and maintain a firm cybersecurity infrastructure (Singh, 2018). The contrast situation can be found in most of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Asia Pacific, where digitization and technology-based business is growing rapidly but not supported by the regulations and cybersecurity-focused policy, environment, and enforcement. It makes economic growth and business development become vulnerable and prone to disruptions (Singh, 2018).

Russia and China have distinguished themselves in the cybersecurity measure as more protective than other states and regions (Raul, 2018). They demand their cyberspace users (i.e., companies and government) to localize the data (i.e., the data needs to be saved or operated in servers within their border) in combating the cyber-attacks. They have set the standard of cybersecurity that needs to be met by any government institutions and business entities, so that they can prevent cyber-attacks as early as possible (Raul, 2018).

The measure taken by Russia seems to be the opposite of the majority situation. Therefore, this paper would like to discuss the global cybersecurity measure, using Russia's independent network as a case study under the lens of international security to answer a question of why Russia would like to establish an independent network as the cybersecurity measure?

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 State Capacity and Contemporary International Security

Security concept is comprised of, mostly, scholars who have interested in the military and the state, during the cold war (Baldwin, 1997). Baldwin's article implies that there is a shifting

in security concept, from the state and army-centric into wider perspective after the end of the cold war. There is no longer state apparatus or traditional security (i.e., the state and army) could handle the phenomenon, due to the interconnectedness of the involved actors and the issues (Aydın & Ifantis, 2006; Osisanya, 2014).

Without specifically mention about cyber-attacks related issue, but Aydin and Ifantis trying to explain about the capacity of the state to deal with the transnational activities which could be meant to the degrading capacity of the state to control, undermining the sovereignty and acknowledge the existence of non-state actor. WannaCry ransomware attack in the mid-2017 could be one of the examples to support this assumption. It happened in the cyberspace, which the state, technically and physically does not have any sovereignty over, and therefore, cannot control. Not only control over the user but also the impact caused by the disruption. The fact that none of law enforcer entities could reveal the real culprit of the incident, proves that there is some space in the current world that the state is unable to perform its power and authority.

2.2 Cyberspace and Global Cybersecurity

The word cyberspace was first mentioned by William Gibson in his book "Neuromancer" in 1984 (Christensson, 2006). In his science-fiction novel, he described cyberspace as a consensual hallucination daily experienced by many legitimate operators of computer network filled with artificial intelligent being (Christensson, 2006).

In more contextual definition, cyberspace means the space where the communication among the computer occur due to its connectivity (ITU, n.d.). That was in 1969 when the United States military funded a research network under the name of Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) (Marsan, 2009). Now, the development has come to the fifth-generation network which refers to a set of technologies and standard for a significantly faster wireless internet connection (Fruhlinger, 2019).

Due to the people's dependency to the internet in their daily life, it brings a boomerang for themselves. In the case of WannaCry, a ransomware, attack in mid-2017 for example. The attack targeting high profile and high connectivity network by encrypting the existing file in the targeted computer and asked the victim to pay ransom amounted US$300 in a form of Bitcoin in order to get their file back (Hern & Gibbs, 2017). Ukraine, Russia, the United Kingdom (U.K.), Spain, Taiwan, and India are the most affected countries, while there are estimated

approximately 150 countries and more than 300,000 computers affected by this ransomware (Graham, 2017).

Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) (2018) stated that in the international level, the Budapest Convention was adopted by the Council of Europe in 2001 as the most internationally binding instrument in cybersecurity (Dominioni, 2018). Budapest Convention is widely open to another country to adopt as its global cybersecurity regime (Dominioni, 2018). The EU, further, adopted the EU Council Framework Decision on Combating Fraud and Counterfeiting of Non-cash Means of Payment in 2001, and e-Privacy Directive focuses on the personal data processing and privacy protection in the electronic communication sector which allows the state to limit the use of electronic communications rights.

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) adopted the Agreement on Cooperation in Combating Offences Related to Computer Information. Shanghai Cooperation Organization also address the information security in Yekaterinburg Declaration in 2009 (Dominioni, 2018). The African Union following the other regional organization addressing the cybersecurity by adopting the framework inspired by the Budapest Convention in identifying the form of offensive operations in cyberspace (Dominioni, 2018).

So far, there are not a single internationally recognized, and binding framework adopted by all United Nations (UN) member states dedicated to cybersecurity (Dominioni, 2018). In 2010, Russia proposed a draft for the UN Cybercrime convention, but it was not successfully passed because the U.S., the UK, Canada, and the EU prefer to use the Budapest Convention. Ilya Rogachev, the Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry' Department for New Challenges and Threats, said that Article 32 Paragraph B in the Budapest Convention does not suit the interest of Russia (Vyshinskiy, 2018). It is in regard to trans-border access to stored computer data with consent or where policy available which relates to copyright, private property, and interference to other states' sovereignty (Council of Europe, 2001). Russia cannot stand on that point because if Russia agrees on the Budapest Convention, that means that Russia shall surrender all the data, and it could possibly pose a threat to Russia's national security and sovereignty by giving the counterparts free access to the stored data in Russia. On the contrary, the proposal from Russia, as they believed, comprise of provisions which could bring a better situation under equal interaction and legal cooperation (Vyshinskiy, 2018).

3 METHOD

This paper aims to examine the independent network as a cybersecurity measure carried out by Russia since 2014 under the concept of cybersecurity using the lens of international security.

This paper will apply qualitative research method through documentary and case study's selection. It is expected to give a new perspective on global cybersecurity issue.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Russia's Capacity in Cybersecurity Measure

Between 2015-2017, Russia is the sixth most targeted country for cyber-attacks accounted for four percent of the global share (Symantec, 2018). The report also shows the increase of malware i.e., malicious software in 2017 accounted for 54 percent which 27 percent of it found in lifestyle category (Symantec, 2018).

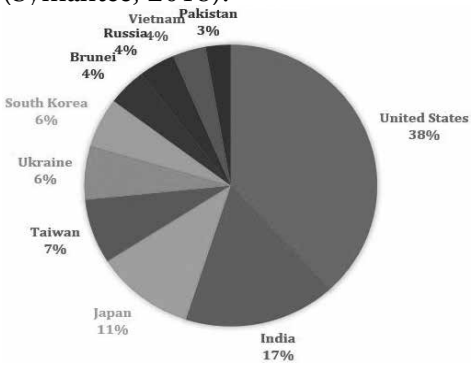

Figure 1. Top ten countries affected by cyber-attacks in 2015-2017 from (Symantec, 2018)

The ransomware attack like WannaCry, and Petwrap/Petya, the U.S. election hack alleged and Edward Snowden, have awakened Russia about the importance of cybersecurity measure. Russia affected as much as 20 percent of the global total loss due to the WannaCry attack (Stubbs, 2017). State-owned bank, Sberbank, has recognized that there is an increasing trend in cyber-attacks, account for twenty percent, since the beginning of 2017 (Kukhmar, 2017). In the bigger picture, the Russian economy as a whole incised US$10.3 – 11.1 billion of annual lost (Kukhmar, 2017). In addition, the 20th Global Information Security Survey by Ernst & Young (EY) in 2017 shows that 71 percent of the companies in Russia believe that they need to increase their cybersecurity budget up to 50 percent (EY, 2017-2018). It is due to the fact that their existing systems are not strong enough to counter cyber-attacks, which confirmed by 98 percent of the surveyed companies. Only 30 percent of the companies in Russia recognized the kind of cyber-attacks and followed by the fact that 42 percent of the companies did not create information security centers and 69 percent have no special program dealing with the cyber threats. Phishing and malicious software become the major cyber threats confirmed by 64 percent of respondents, while negligence

and lack of information by employee become other major factors contribute to the weakness of their system against cyber threats (EY, 2017-2018). Besides, software piracy which has been become a common practice since the Soviet Union era becomes another weakness point for Russia's cyberspace infrastructure (Morgan, 2019).

4.2 The Beginning of Independent Network

The amendment of Federal Law No. 149-FZ dated 27 July 2006 on Information, Information and Technologies and Protection of Information (the Information Law) to Federal Law No. 97-FZ dated 5 May 2014 was the beginning of the cybersecurity measure taken by Russia in addressing the above-mentioned issue (Khayryuzov, 2018). Well known as the Yarovaya Law, taken from the author of the law Irina Yarovaya, or Big Brother Law, a name called by Edward Snowden, require the mobile operator to store all of the phone calls and content of text messages recording for six months in the Russia based server. While the internet companies (e.g., messenger) also require storing for one year including the metadata (Khayryuzov, 2018). In addition, the amendment of Federal Law No. 152-FZ dated 27 July 2006, known as Personal Data Law to Data Localization Law in 2014 strengthen the cybersecurity measure in Russia.

This way, Russia constitutes as going fairly protectionist in its cybersecurity measure (Khayryuzov, 2018). The prohibition of Blackberry messenger, IMO, VChat, WeChat, and Telegram to operate in Russia by the Federal Service for Supervision in the Sphere of Communication, Information, and Mass Communication (DPA) was due to the failure to comply with the Yarovaya Law and the standard of cybersecurity measure in Russia. The prohibition of some messenger application operation in Russia had trigger critics from Russian. It says that Russia nowadays has declined its internet freedoms under the notion of data privacy and security (Cuthbertson, 2019). Furthermore, the personal data and localization data law has triggered a protest from small-medium companies because they are subject to comply with the law to protect the data and localized the operation, but they are also subject to limited capacity in providing such facility. Besides, they need to change their existing system into the new one, and that can cause a temporal disruption towards their operations (Khayryuzov, 2018).

In 2014, the Russian Ministry of Communication exercised a simulation to use the Russian backup system in supporting the web operations in Russia by switching off the global internet services (RT News, 2017). In October

2018, Russia's top consultative body on national security, Security Council noted that western nations have increased its capabilities in performing offensive operations in the cyberspace, along with the readiness to exercise the operations. These capabilities, thus, poses a serious threat to Russia's security (RT News, 2017). President Vladimir Putin has set the deadline of 1 August 2018 to complete the task. Dmitry Peskov said that it is only as a backup mechanism as the unpredictability of the Russian partners is inclining. So, Russia needs to be prepared for any turn of events to ensure national security and protecting Russia from possible external influence (RT News, 2017).

The protective movement of Russia allegedly inspired by Chinese's first firewall project, further called Golden Shield Project or China's Great Firewall, since the 2000s aiming to access every citizen's record and connecting China's security organizations (Bloomberg News, 2018; Kovachich, 2019). With a population of 800 million people, have no access to Google, Facebook, YouTube, New York Times and many other websites, making China cybersecurity measure as the biggest censorship system in the world. These cybersecurity measure held by a cooperation between the government and technology and telecommunication companies and first initiated by Fang Binxing along with the sovereign internet at the CyberSecurity International Symposium in Changsha, China (Bloomberg News, 2018; Kovachich, 2019).

In December 2018, Senator Andrei Klishas, Lyudmila Bokovaya, and Andrei Lugovoi drafted a "sovereign internet" bill (Kovachich, 2019). The bill stated that Russia needs to establish an intranet independently which uses the Russian language in case the network has to disconnect from the global internet. This bill has received support from the Russian giant technology company, Yandex and Mail.Ru.

4.3 Independent Network and Its Implication in Global Cyberspace

From the previous section, it can be concluded that the independent network functioned as the complement of the existing legal framework on cybersecurity. The independent network aims to protect Russia's national security from the cyber-threat and any other possible disruption in cyberspace. The independent network functioned as the last resort for Russia in case the global internet is in chaos and no longer reliable in supporting Russia's operations.

However, the independent network is not only going to take an effect within Russia's border but also to the international stage. Countries such as Israel, Singapore, Brazil, Ukraine, India, South Korea, and others have more

tendency to develop more protective cybersecurity measure (Morgus, Woolbright, & Sherman, 2018). But they are still on the progress on finding the best way in addressing the issue (Adee, 2019). Therefore, the movement made by Russia and China on protecting their cybersecurity could be the role model.

the official said that the Russia's independent network would be implemented in Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) through BRICS Cable project (RT News, 2017). The project was recognized in the 4th BRICS Summit in New Delhi India, in March 2012 as the strategic important project and been included in the joint declaration (Sharma, 2013). BRICS Cable Project refer to 34,000 km long of fiber optic cable that would connect BRICS member states which worth US$1.5 billion project. Through this cable, it is expected to perform 12.8 Terabit per second of transfer data capacity (Lee S. , 2016).

In addition, Russia's independent network could also play an important role in China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Central Asia and Russia are the two areas which certainly will be passed by the BRI, and so, the telecommunication network will also be included. As Russia and China are the protective typical country for their cybersecurity, it is possible that Russia's independent network will be implemented in order to support the connection in BRI.

5. CONCLUSSION

In conclusion, the cybersecurity measure taken by Russia in a form of establishing the independent network meant to address the rising trend of cyber threats, as well as the unpredictability of Russia's partner not to mention the increasing preparedness in doing aggressive operations in cyberspace. Functioned as the last resort of escape mechanism in case of facing the chaos in cyberspace and unreliable network of the global internet, the independent network keeps moving forward in a legal manner. In addition, this network will complete Russia's legal framework in cybersecurity measure which has been started to distinguish its direction to be more protective since 2014.

Russia's independent network will not only taking an effect in national but also possibly affect global internet governance. Recognizing the spectrum of states in regard to internet governance, Russia's independent network could become an alternative measure in protecting the national cyberspace aside from China's Great Firewall. Furthermore, this network could also become a significant complementary project for BRICS Cable Project and China's BRI.

The case of Russia gives an example of the need to have a synchronized or common understanding on the internet for the whole state in the beginning before defining the direction of the cybersecurity measure. Further, as the technology and civilization keep evolve so flexibility or at least adaptability of government policy is needed to in order to properly respond to any upcoming threats.

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The Importance of Digital Literacy in Minimizing the Impact of Hoax during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Sleman, Yogyakarta

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Abstract

This research aims to describe the importance of digital literacy in minimizing the negative impact of hoax consumed by the society through various contents of social media during the Covid-19 pandemic in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta. This research uses qualitative descriptive method by observing the ongoing phenomena. Paul Gilster's Theory of Digital Literacy is used as the scientific approach to analyze the perception and attitude of the society toward hoax on social media during the Covid-19 pandemic. The research results conclude several assumptions, which are: first, hoax lead the society to wrong perceptions and actions in responding to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic. Second, mastery of digital literacy needs to be developed continuously in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta because most of the society tends to be affected by hoax information which circulates on social media. Third, minimizing the negative impact of hoax is one way to build people's positive attitude in facing the pandemic.

Keywords: *Digital Literacy, Hoax, Covid-19 Pandemic*

1 INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 Pandemic strikes Indonesia in March 2020. Thousands of people diagnosed with Covid-19 appeared in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. It doesn't take a long time for the virus to spread to other major cities in Indonesia, including Yogyakarta. According to Yogyakarta Health Office, most cases of Covid-19 in Yogyakarta are found in Sleman Regency, as it's the most populated area in Yogyakarta, the home of many local and non-local inhabitants, educational institutions, tourist and

culinary destinations (https://corona.jogjaprov.go.id/ data-statistik. Updated in November 8, 2020).

During the transmission of Covid-19, various invalid news or fake information circulate freely through social media platforms and messaging apps. Most of the hoaxes related to the Covid-19 are very convincing but actually false and fooling the society. During this Covid-19 pandemic, we are not only fighting the virus, but also the misleading information that spread massively.

The Government of Yogyakarta is quite responsive in dealing with the spread of hoax. One of their creative efforts is socialization through a video entitled "Stop Hoax" which is posted in Yogyakarta Government's official web portal (https://corona.jogjaprov.go.id/rilis/infografik/item/95-stop-hoax-covid19. Updated in May 22, 2020).

The Anti-Hoax Civil Society Organization of Yogyakarta (MAFINDO) also gives special consideration to overcome the spreading of hoax related to Covid-19 in Yogyakarta. The Chairman of MAFINDO, Septiaji Eko Nugroho, stated that the organization will stand against the infodemic, which are the false news or fake information about Covid-19. He considers the infodemic is as dangerous as the Covid-19 itself (https://www.gatra. com/detail/news/486241/gaya-hidup/corona/-di-diy-meledak-aliansi-warga-siap-perangi-hoaks. Updated in August 1, 2020).

Surprisingly, The Ministry of Communication and Informatics of Indonesia noted there were 2.020 hoaxes related to the Covid-19 circulated in Indonesia from January 23 to October 19, 2020. A total of 1.759 hoaxes have been taken down. The Director General of Informatics Application, Samuel Pangarepan, said that the ministry is in effort to straighten out the false news, especially those which related to the Covid-19 pandemic, to reduce the public anxiety and misunderstanding in facing the ongoing pandemic (https://lingkarkediri.pikiran- rakyat.com/nasional/pr-67850161/takedown-ribuan-hoax-soal-covid-19-kominfo-telah-lakukan-uji-fakta-dan-literasi-digital).

However, no matter how hard the efforts of the government and community alliances in handling the spread of hoax, it will be fruitless without the digital literacy skill. The public needs to have a proper ability in using digital media and communication tools. This includes the ability to find, create, and make use of information in a healthy and smart way. It is in line with the statement of The Director General of Informatics Application, Samuel Pangarepan, which state that

The Ministry of Communication and Informatics of Indonesia also use the digital literacy approach to cope with the spread of hoaxes in Indonesia (https://lingkarkediri.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-67850161/takedown-ribuan-hoax-soal-covid-19-kominfo-telah-lakukan-uji-fakta-dan-literasi-digital).

Based on the description above, the researchers perceive the importance of digital literacy in minimizing the negative impact of hoax during the Covid-19 pandemic in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Digital literacy and its development continuously become an important discourse in the midst of this fast-paced digital information era. Susilo, Afifi, Yustitia (2019) in their proceeding paper, "Hoax as a Reflection on the Low Digital Literacy in Indonesia" describe how hoaxes affect the social media users' emotion in consuming and react toward the information. They found that many groups of society in Indonesia are still vulnerable to hoaxes, which showed the level of digital literacy in Indonesia is still very low.

Widiatmojo (2020) in his article "Literasi Visual Sebagai Penangkal Foto Hoax Covid-19" highlights the spread of fake photos related to Covid-19 news in social media which affects many internet users in Indonesia. He strongly suggests the digital literacy skill as a tool to educate the society about fake information during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Virga, Andriadi (2019), in their proceeding paper "Digital Literacy and HOAX on Social Media" discuss the role of social organization in educating the youth in overcoming the spreading of hoax on social media. They argue that social and educational organizations have the urge to equip the society with digital literacy skill.

3 METHOD

The researchers use a qualitative method to address the issue. One of the characteristics of qualitative research is, it usually use a multiple forms of data such as interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual information rather than rely on a single data source. The qualitative researchers organize and analyze the data into categories that cut across all off the data sources (Creswell, 2014). Therefore, this research uses a structured interview to obtain the primary data. The research respondents are four residents of Sleman Regency, who are active social media users and often interact with wide community in their daily activities. The respondents are 20 - 37 years old.

The secondary data is obtained through literature review, and the

researchers' observation on social media and in public places of Sleman Regency. The observation focuses on the circulation of hoax related to Covid-19 and the people's attitudes in dealing with the pandemic. Finally, The Paul Gilster's theory of Digital Literacy is used as a theoretical approach in analyzing the data and addressing the issue.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 The Impact of Hoax on People's Attitudes in Perceiving the Covid-19 Pandemic in Sleman Regency

Among the five sub divisions of Yogyakarta, Sleman Regency has the highest number of Covid-19 infection (Public Relation Office of Yogyakarta Local Government, 2020). Based on the report of Sleman Regency Health Office, the transmission of Covid-19 infection in Sleman Regency is rapidly increasing. Most districts in Sleman Regency are at low risk level of Covid-19 transmission in July 2020, the status then increase to the level of low and moderate risk in August 2020. In October 2020, the status increase even higher to moderate and high risk level, with a continuous growing number of people infected (Sleman Regency Health Office, 2020). Despite the high level of Covid-19 transmission, most people in Sleman Regency seem to ignore the Covid-19 health protocols. The all four research respondents admit that they and their primary family still cautious with the transmission of Covid-19 and stick to the health protocols. While in the context of wider environment, two respondents who work in public service say their working environment apply the Covid-19 health protocol with great discipline, but most of the people who come to their offices do not properly adhere to the Covid-19 health protocols, like disobeying the rule of physical distancing, or using a mask only as a formality. One research respondent say most of his friends in their boarding house tend to ignore the Covid-19 health protocols, for example they don't wear mask when going out of the house, they also not washing their hand when returning back to the house. Furthermore, the all four research respondents state that there are still a lot of people crowding in public places without wearing masks and practicing the rule of physical distancing.

The conditions revealed by the research respondents are in line with the researchers' findings in observing several public spaces in Sleman Regency. Coffee shops, restaurants, and picnic area are often crowded by visitors who are less likely to practice the Covid-19 health protocols. However, the research respondents consider that there are many social and psychological factors which influence those condition, such as the society could be bored with the

Covid-19 pandemic that has been going on for seven months; feeling tired in applying discipline to the Covid-19 health protocols; and for some groups of society, complying the Covid-19 health protocol needs like buying mask or hand sanitizer is not always affordable. Besides, the spreading of hoax about the Covid-19 in social media is also a factor that should be considered in observing people's attitudes toward the Covid-19 pandemic in Sleman Regency.

Based on the researchers' observation, there are a lot of hoaxes about the Covid-19 pandemic spread massively through social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, and Whatsapp broadcast message. Some of them are information which convincing the public that the Covid-19 can be easily cured only by consuming food like fried eggs, garlic, or eucalyptus oil in a certain dose. Others are the information that speculates the Covid-19 is merely a political conspiracy. The researchers find these kind of hoax are re-shared by hundreds of social media users. In addition, one of the research respondents state that she often saw many people arguing with security officers because they did not want their body temperature to be checked using a thermometer gun, they believe in the viral hoax which says the thermometer gun can cause a brain damage or brain cancer. Thus, it shows that many people perceive fake information as an accurate fact and mislead them in dealing with, or lowering their awareness of the Covid-19 transmission in their social environments.

As we all acknowledge that the wave of covid-19 is still ongoing and the antidote has not yet been found, in this time of uncertainty, people could easily get emotionally affected by the flow of information they received, including hoax, as stated by Hosova that the creators and distributors of misinformation, hoax and fake news consciously use emotional pressure on the recipient (Hosova, 2018).

4.2 Digital Literacy Mastery to Minimize the Impact of Hoax during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Sleman Regency

Paul Gilster defines digital literacy as the ability to understand and use information in multiple formats from a wide variety of sources when it is presented via computers and particularly through the medium of the Internet (Gilster in Pool, 1997). He also specifically states that digital literacy is about mastering ideas, not keystrokes (Gilster in Bawden, 2001). Based on Gilster's book, "Digital Literacy", David Bawden summarizes seven competencies of digital literacy, as follows:

- Knowledge assembly, building a reliable information hoard from diverse sources,

- Retrieval skills, plus "critical thinking" for making informed judgements about retrieved information, with wariness about the validity and completeness of internet sources,
- Reading and understanding non-sequential and dynamic material,
- Awareness of the value of traditional tools in conjunction with networked media,
- Awareness of "people networks" as sources of advice and help,
- Using filters and agents to manage incoming information,
- Being comfortable with publishing and communicating information, as well as accessing it (Bawden, 2001).

The researchers comprehend Gilster's explanation of digital literacy as a framework in building the proper attitude of people in consuming various information via the internet, like people should not taking granted or immediately believe the content of information before they fully understand the discourse conveyed in the information, also, people should have critical evaluation before they decide to react toward the information, for example *does the information make sense?, does the information come from trusted source?, does the information meet the ethical values?, will the information cause a good or bad impact to people?*.

Based on the discussion in the previous section, it is important to promote the mastery of digital literacy to the society of Sleman Regency in order to minimize the impact of misleading hoax during the Covid-19 pandemic. We cannot hardly control the massive circulating of hoax during the Covid-19 pandemic, but through digital literacy, people will get a much better understanding in sorting the accurate information and hoax, and lead them to the proper attitude in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. By mastering the digital literacy, people will build the ability to manage the information they get on social media, as stated by Karpati, "Through digital literacy, someone can manage information and communication. By digital literacy, it means the abilities needed to evolve and beyond education, in an age when digital forms of information and communication predominate" (Karpati, 2011). Furthermore, taking into account that Sleman Regency is the home of diverse educational, social, and cultural institutions, the mastery of digital literacy in society might be promoted through various forms of cooperation between those institutions and local government.

5 CONCLUSION

The continuously growing number of Covid-19 transmission in Sleman Regency doesn't make most of its society become more aware of the ongoing

condition. There are still many people in Sleman Regency who tend to ignore the Covid-19 health protocols. In this research, the researchers consider the spread of hoax related to Covid-19 as one of the factors that affect the people ignorant in dealing with the Covid-19 transmission in Sleman Regency. The researchers propose the mastery of digital literacy to improve the public understanding of hoax during the Covid-19 pandemic, so that people can be wiser in consuming the information and being well informed in facing the current and future condition of Covid-19 pandemic.

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Gendis : Change the Stigma of Pity into Independence of People with Disabilities

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Abstract

This study observes the impact of Gendis (Successful Gate of People with Disability) toward the independence of people with disabilities so that they have the same economic opportunities according to the concept of inclusive development. People with disabilities are one of the neglected elements in society altough they are the largest minority in the world. There are 2500 people with disabilities in Banyumas Regency who supposed to have the same opportunity and rights as the others. However, they live under stigma which mentions that they are unproductive so that it causes their fundamental rights, as the right to live independently and be involved in society, have not been fulfilled. Therefore, the government is commited to create an innovation named Gendis which aims to alleviate people with disabilities to become independent and productive. Gendis implements collaborative governance concept through some programs. The metod in this study is qualitative descriptive method. The result showed that the existence of Gendis was able to increase the independence of people with disabilities. Based on the explanation, it can be concluded that Gendis is able to alleviate people with disabilities to become financially independent so that Gendis can be used as a pilot program for other regions to fulfill the rights of people with disabilities.

Keywords: *Gendis, disability, inclusive development, collaborative governance.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, discrimination is still badly felt by groups with physical or mental limitation, who are officially called persons with disabilities. However, persons with disabilities are the greatest minority group in the world. This is proven with the data of the International Labour Organization (2016), that

about 15 percent of total population worldwide are persons with disabilities, who are more than one billion people. Although persons with disabilities are called the greatest minority group in the world, but they are often marginalized.

Many persons with disabilities are underestimated because of the negative stigma, which indirectly affects their life, such as in finding job. One example of the form of different treatment is as reported in a news of tirto.id that a dentist named Romi Syofpa Ismael was eliminated by the Government of South Solok Regency from becoming a Civil Servant on the reason of disability, although he was a candidate with the best score and ranked first (Accessed from https://tirto.id/penolakan-dokter-disabilitas-komitmen-hapus-diskriminasi-disoal-eeXh on 27 October 2020 at 00.39). The case example is not the first one experienced by persons with disabilities in Indonesia. Similar issues are often found, making the majority of persons with disabilities jobless. This conforms to the data of the Central Statistics Body (2019) that there were 20.0 million working-age persons with disabilities and 10.19 million labor force persons with disabilities. Meanwhile, there were only 9.91 million working persons with disabilities. This means that there were 289 thousand jobless persons with disabilities.

The World Health Organization states that the factors causing persons with disabilities find it difficult to enter the working world include lack of education and training, working environment and individual's response to disability who is not convinced of their working capability (Rozali et al, 2017). The factors are the reason why persons with disabilities in Banyumas Regency are jobless. This conforms to Bowo's statement, a person with disability in Banyumas Regency, that low education level makes the majority of persons with disabilities find it difficult to have a job (Source: Interview on 17 October 2020).

The Social and Village Empowerment Agency (Dinsospermades) is an institution tasked to improve the social welfare of the community, including persons with disabilities. The reality of social gap between the community and persons with disabilities encourages Dinsospermades to solve the problem. The effort made is to improve the skill of persons with disabilities through training programs, which are later called the Gate of Success for Persons with Disabilities (Gendis).

Gendis (Gate of Success for Persons with Disabilities) is an innovation to improve the social-economic life of persons with disabilities so that they will be more independent and productive. The other purpose to be achieved by this program is to reduce discrimination

against persons with disabilities through an inclusive development. In its implementation, Gendis applies the concept of collaborative governance, thus it promotes success in achieving the objective of the program. The innovation which was officially established in 2016 has evidently, successfully handled 681 persons with disabilities (Accessed from https://rri.co.id/purwokerto/berita/banyumas/864277/gendis-banyumas-masuk- top-99-inovasi-pelayanan-publik-nasional on 26 October 2020 at 22.38). Therefore, it is interesting to study how Gendis influences persons with disabilities.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Persons with Disabilities

Persons with disabilities are those with long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory limitation, that because of having various constraints, they are prevented from full participation and effectiveness in the society (Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2006). In line with the convention, the definition of persons with disabilities in accordance with Law Number 8 Year 2016 is that every person experiencing long-term physical, intellectual, mental, and/or sensory limitations who in their interaction with the environment may be constrained from and find difficulty in fully and effectively participating with other citizens by equality of rights. The types of persons with disabilities are:

Table 1. Type of Persons with Disabilities

Type	Definition
Persons with Physical Disabilities	Functional movement disorder, including amputation, paralysis of stiffness, paraplegia, celebral palsy (CP), effect of stroke, effect of leprosy, and dwarfism.
Persons with Intellectual Disabilities	Thinking function disorder because of intelligence level below average, including slow learning, mental disability and down syndrome.
Persons with Mental Disabilities	Thinking, emotional and behavioral functions disorder, including: Psychosocial, including schizophrenia, bipolar, depression, anxiety, and personality disorder; and Growth disability which influence social interaction capability, such as autism and hyperactivity.
Persons with Sensory Disabilities	Disorder of one function of five senses, such as visual disability, hearing disability, and/or speech disability.

(Source: Law No. 8 Year 2016)

The choice of the term persons with disabilities is not an instant process. Widinarsih (2019) states that since the beginning of the independence of Indonesia to 2011, there were about ten official terms used to refer or address to persons with disabilities in their public daily interaction in Indonesia

and in legal documents at national and local levels. Persons with disabilities are finally chosen to replace 'handicapped persons' since 'handicap' tends to be negative, which leads to the implication in the form of discriminative behavior and stigmatization towards them.

Based on Law Number 8 Year 2016, persons with disabilities have 22 rights as expressed in article 5. The rights highlighted based on the relevance to the topic of discussion in this paper include:

(1) right to freedom from stigma; (2) right to employment, entrepreneurship and cooperative; (3) right to social welfare; (4) right to public service; and (5) right to independent life and involvement in the community.

2.2 Inclusive Development

According to Prasetyantoko (2012) in Henny (2017), inclusive development is an alternative development model which specifically emerges in response to various negative impacts of development policies deemed to be focusing too much on the economic growth and in favor of fulfillment of elite group's interest, and at the same time marginalizing lower community's interest, such as that of the poor, marginal and minority groups. In more detail, the Ministry of National Development Planning (PPN)/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) (2019) explains that inclusive economic development is an economic growth which creates wide access and opportunity to the whole society equitably, enhances prosperity and reduces the gap between groups and regions.

2.3 Collaborative Governance

Collaborative governance, according to Jung, et.al (2009:1), is the process of establishing, driving, facilitating, operating and monitoring cross-sectoral organizations regulation in settling public policies which cannot be settled only by one organization or public. In more detail, Balogh (2011:2), explains that collaborative governance is a process and structure in the management and formulation of public policy decision by involving actors who are constructively from various levels of governmental and/or public agencies, private institutions and civil society in achieving the public purpose which cannot be achieved when it is implemented only by one party.

2.4 Role of the Commuity Worker

Ife (1997:53) in Maspitella and Rahakbauwi (2014) states that there are at least four main roles and skills which will later specifically lead to certain techniques and skills that community workers must master as society empowerment. The four roles and skills are:

1. Facilitative role and skill. The Ministry of Empowerment of State Apparatuses (2014) in Sri, et al. (2017) explains that facilitative role is an activity performed by a person to facilitate others or a group of people to learn or do something.
2. Educational role and skill. According to Ife (1997:53) in Maspitella and Rahakbauwi (2014), this role covers improving community's awareness, delivering information, confronting and training.
3. Representative role and skill. This role, according to Ife (1997:53) in Maspitella and Rahakbauwi (2014), is made by society developer in its interaction with external institutions on behalf of the society and for the sake of the society. This role covers the effort to obtain sources, perform public advocacy, establish partner or network, sharing experience and knowledge and serving as public spokesperson.
4. Technical role and skill. Noe, et al. (1994) in Sri, et al. (2017) state that technical capability is the important factor in performance. This factor is then transformed into objective through employee's behavior by showing their achievement only if they have sufficient knowledge, expertise and other characteristics.

3 METHOD

This research employed a qualitative approach, which means that the researcher explained, described and analyzed critically and objectively the impacts of Gendis on the independence of persons with disabilities in Banyumas Regency. The research was conducted from September to October 2020 in Banyumas Regency. The location was chosen since Banyumas Regency was where the Gendis innovation was applied in, which was one of the Top 99 Innovations of Public Services at National Level. The Gendis innovation was expected to raise the economy of persons with disabilities' family in Banyumas Regency.

The research informants were chosen by employing the purposive sampling technique. The research data source was from primary data and secondary data. The research primary data were obtained from the concerned informants such as Mr. Apri Hartanto as the Head of the Indonesian Association of Persons with Disabilities (PPDI) of Banyumas Regency, Mrs. Thalita as the One in Charge of Gendis Program of Dinsospermades, Mr. Mukti Wibowo as the representative of persons with quadriplegic disabilities and Mr. Bowo as the representative of persons with visual disabilities. The secondary data were the supporting data obtained from books and journals related to the research. In

addition, the researcher obtained the data from relevant department, namely the Social, Community and Village Empowerment Department.

The data were collected through observation, interview, literature study and documentation. The research data were analyzed using the interactive analysis method of Miles, Huberman and Saldana (1983). The analysis method of this model consists of four stages of data analysis, namely Data Collection, Data Condensations, Data Display and Data Conclusion Drawing/ Verification.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gendis is the innovation created by Dinsospermades of Banyumas Regency to raise the economy of persons with disabilities to be more independent and productive. Gendis bears the following duties:

a. Perform social issue handling services for persons with disabilities in synergy and collaboration between stakeholders;
b. collect, move, provide and use local resources and society effectively and efficiently to handle social welfare issue of persons with disabilities;
c. perform oriented, integrated and continuous efforts to fulfill basic needs covering social rehabilitation, social security, social empowerment and social protection of persons with disabilities;
d. help solve social problems of persons with disabilities, provide provincial social services, develop case handling plan, handle individual and family, group and community problems;
e. perform empowerment by giving life skill to realize independence and welfare of persons with disabilities;
f. coordinate the implementation of duties and functions of respective institutions engaged in the membership of Public Services of Gate of Success for Persons with Disabilities (Gendis);
g. perform assessment, psychosocial, advocacy, facilitation and mediation (Source: Decision of Regent of Banyumas Number 130/80/Tahun 2020 on the Public Service of Gate of Success for Persons with Disabilities).

The background of Gendis establishment is the vulnerability of persons with disabilities in regard with social issues, such as lack of family support to work, becoming street musician, beggar, unemployed and having no life skill. In addition, there is stigmatization of persons with disabilities which leads to discriminative behaviors. One form of discrimination often taking place is inequality between people in general and persons with

disabilities in finding job. Therefore, one of the essences of Gendis is to decrease the practice of discrimination through inclusive development. The achieved objective is proven with the statement of the Head of Dinsospermades as reported by rri.co.id that the innovation which was officially established in 2016 has successfully handled 681 persons with disabilities.

The success of Gendis program in providing facilities and infrastructure to persons with disabilities, especially visual disability, is reflected with the establishment of Gendis Massage Parlor located at Dinsospermades (Jl. Pemuda Number 24, Kober, West Purwokerto Subdistrict, Banyumas Regency, Central Java 53131). The facilities available include rooms along with supporting accessories like massage bed and waiting sofa. In addition, to support the operation of the massage parlor, Gendis provided massage training to persons with visual disabilities working there. Positive impacts are also felt by Mr. Bowo who participated in the Gendis program, including cellular phone service training, so that he is able to establish a joint counter „Bo cell" located at Jalan Pramuka Neighborhood Association/Neighborhood Council 01/04, South Puwokerto Subdistrict. The other training that Mr. Bowo participated in was making of piggy bank, so that he may have additional income as piggy bank maker (Source: Interview on 17 October 2020).

As the form of accommodation of some of Gendis duties, the implementation given to persons with disabilities is in the form of providing facilities in the form of programs through independence building, skill training, entrepreneurial training and providing business capital and guidance activities. In support of the duties implementation, Gendis serves as a partnership model. This partnership consists of the government element, private sector and society element.

a. Government Element

Referring to article 28 Law No. 8 Year 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, the government is obligated to ensure and protect the rights of Persons with Disabilities as a legal subject to perform legal act equally to others. The government's efforts to fulfill the persons with disabilities' rights are through:

1. Government's role as the one to give persons with disabilities with the opportunity to participate in training and skill programs, as contained in article 46 is realized in the training programs under guidance of Dinsospermades which are organized regularly and is called Gendis. To ensure continuation of Gendis program, the government as the regulator stipulates Decision

No. 130/80/Tahun 2020 as the legal umbrella for the implementation of Gendis program.

2. The Government and Local Government's obligation to provide assistance and access to capitalization for independent business, business entity and/or cooperative organized by Persons with Disabilities, as contained in article 57 Law No. 8 Year 2016 has been implemented. This is proven with the statement of some informants that to operate the businesses, they were given access to capitalization. Capital was given in rotation annually, intending that all persons with disabilities will take the benefit so that fulfillment of right may be performed evenly.

Table 2. Actors of Government Element

1. Bappedalitbang of Banyumas Regency	21. Banyumas Regional Public Hospital
2. Dinsospermades of Banyumas Regency	22. Ajibarang Regional Public Hospital
3. Health office of Banyumas Regency	23. BPJS Health of Purwokerto
4. Education Office of Banyumas Regency	24. Research and Community Service Institution (LPPM) of Unsoed
5. Employment, Cooperative, and SME Office of Banyumas Regency	25. Children Social Prosperity Institutions (LKSA) in Banyumas Regency
6. Demography and Civil Registration (Dukcapil) Office of Banyumas Regency	26. Baznas of Banyumas Regency
7. Satpol PP of Banyumas Regecy	27. Tagana Forum
8. Residence Office of Banyumas Regency	28. TKSK Forum
9. General Working Office of Banyumas Regency	29. Class Prosperity Consultation Institution (LK3)
10. Transportation Office of Banyumas Regency	30. Keluarga Harapan program Supervising Forum
11. Communication and Information Office of Banyumas Regency	31. Kwarcab-Aware Scout of Banyumas
12. Bimas Unit of Banyumas Resort Police	32. Bank Jateng Branch of Purwokerto
13. Kesra Setda Section of Banyumas Regency	33. BRI Branch of Purwokerto
14. Mininsty of Religious Affairs of Banyumas Regency	34. BNI Branch of Purwokerto
15. Disticts in Banyumas Regency	35. BPR BKK of Purwokerto Utara
16. Sector Polices in Banyumas Regency	36. BPR BKK of Purwokerto Selatan
17. Military Rayon Commands (Koramil) in Banyumas Regency	37. GOW of Banyumas Regency
18. Community Health Centers in Banyumas Regency	38. RSBK Cadres of Banyumas Regency
19. Village/Sub-district Offices in Banyumas Regency	39. Working Training Center of Banyumas Regency
20. Prof Margono Soekrdjo Regional Public Hospital	40. Social Prosperity Coordination Institution of Banyumas Regency
	41. Social Prosperity Coordination Institution of Banyumas Regency

(Source: Decision of Regent of Banyumas Number 130/80/Year 2020)

b. Private Sector

Private sector serves to support the government and the society to operate Gendis through financial and non-financial assistance. The financial assistance may be in the form of capital assistance to develop the businesses of persons with disabilities and supporting instruments they may need. For example, provision of motor vehicle in the form of car by PT. KAI. In addition, together with the government and the society, they provide accompaniment, give motivation as realization of encouragement which may give positive energy in raising persons with disabilities' confidence and empowerment for their improved standard of living. Private sector also serves to give positive input based on their knowledge and experience to help improve persons with disabilities' awareness and capabilities.

Table 3. Actors of Private Sector

1. Social Service Elderly House of Martani Kroya	18. Dadi Keluarga Hospital
2. Research and Community Service Institution (LPPM) of UMP Purwokerto	19. Wiradadi Husada Hospital
3. Research and Community Service Institution (LPPM) of Unwiku	20. Ananda Hospital
4. LAZ Muhammadiyah Banyumas	21. Hermina Hospital
5. LAZ Nahdatul Ulama Banyumas	22. Elisabeth Hospital of Purwokerto
6. LAZ Al Irsyad	23. Siaga Medika Hospital
7. Orari Peduli	24. Purwokerto Islamic Hospital
8. PKPU Purwokerto	25. Bank Mandiri Branch of Purwokerto
9. Yatim Mandiri Purwokerto	26. HIMPI of Banyumas regency
10. Dompet Dhuafa Purwokerto	27. HIMPSI Branch of Purwokerto
11. Sedekah Rombongan Purwokerto	28. Extraordinary School of Yakut B Purwokerto
12. Salsabila Foundation	29. Extraordinary School of Yakut C Purwokerto
13. Siaga Ambulan Networks	30. Extraordinary School of Kuncup Mas Banyumas
14. Nurul Huda Islamic Boarding House of Purwokerto	31. Junior High School of Permata Hati Purwokerto
15. Komda Elderly of Banyumas Regency	32. Access Supervising Purwokerto
16. CSR Pringsewu Group	33. Puntadewa Fondation
17. Orthoupedi Hospital of Purwokerto	34. Jamur Kesuma Fondation

(Source: Decision of Regent of Banyumas Number 130/80/Year 2020)

c. Society

The society element serves as an association of persons with disabilities to share of information, experience and connect the aspirations of persons with disabilities to the government. One of community groups with strategic role in Gendis program implementation is the Indonesian Association of Persons with Disabilities (PPDI) of Banyumas Regency. As a forum of persons with disabilities, PPDI Banyumas serves to support the implementation of Gendis program in providing briefing of certain techniques and skills community workers should have. This is in line with the research conducted by Ife (1997:53) in Maspitella and Rahakbauwi (2014) that there are at least four main roles and skills, namely:

1) Facilitative role and skill

Facilitative role is provided by PPDI by providing communities of persons with disabilities incorporated therein with access. The existence of PPDI as the forum/ecosystem serves as the facility for persons with disabilities to coordinate with each other, exchange information and share support/motivation. PPDI's role as the coordination medium is indicated with regular meeting organized monthly. This regular meeting serves as the forum of coordination to find solution to problems faced by each community of persons with disabilities.

Moreover, PPDI has social media Whatsapp Group which is used as the forum to exchange information between members. PPDI serves as the distributor of information between external parties (such as government, non-governmental organization, organization and community operating in social sector, etc.) and persons with disabilities in Banyumas Regency. The information distributed is in the form of official announcements from the Government of Banyumas Regency, training information, seminar and workshop information, etc. In addition, PPDI also serves as the mediator in case external party wants to have cooperation or give assistance. For example, PT. KAI gives its assistance in the form of vehicle to persons with disabilities through PPDI.

2) Educational role and skill

As a community of persons with disabilities, PPDI serves to educate them of any matters of disabilities, from changing negative stigma in the community regarding persons with disabilities, discriminative behavior against persons with disabilities and persons with disabilities' rights. For example, PPDI socializes to the society of disabilities through the Caring Festival: Goes to Campus. The other example is socialization performed by Sinar Kasih Purwokerto Hospital of accessibility needed by persons with disabilities to go to disability-friendly inclusive hospitals.

3) Representative role and skill

Representative role puts PPDI as the mouthpiece to convey aspirations, ideas, constraints, problems, criticism and suggestions of community to others. For example, audience of delivering the aspirations of persons with disabilities to Regent of Banyumas Regency. In addition, PPDI serves to add relation and network. For example, meeting between PPDI Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, Cilacap and Kebumen which makes members of PPDI from the five regions to meet.

4) Technical role and skill

To develop its members' skills, PPDI organizes training programs with support of other parties. For example, training program held through cooperation with the Social and Village Empowerment Department of Banyumas Regency.

Table 3. Actors of Society

1. Karang Taruna Forum 2. Community Social Workers *3. Sakti Pekos* 4. Social Community of PUC Purwokerto 5. Social Community of *Kowbassciber* 6. Social Community of *Lembah Pintar Pandan Sari* Ajibarang 7. Social Community of *Lelang Bronies Shodaqah* 8. HIMPSI Branch of *Barlingmascakeb*	*9. PKK* of Banyumas Regency 10. Pertuni *11. Ikatan Tuna Netra Muslim Indonesia* *12. Gergatin* *13. PPDI* of Banyumas Regency *14. Sahabat Tuli Purwokerto* 15. Disability Supervision 16. Social watch/ activist

(Source: Decision of Regent of Banyumas Number 130/80/Year 2020)

The three elements are interrelated to and collaborate with each other in implementing their respective duties and roles. This has the implication of Gendis's achieved objective of helping persons with disabilities be more independent and productive. In this case, the author conducted a survey using questionnaires distributed to persons with disabilities in Banyumas Regency who have participated in Gendis training program. Therefore, the result of survey was obtained based on

the respondents' real experience which is explained through the narration below.

In skill empowerment, Gendis has training programs for persons with disabilities. From the survey result, there are five Gendis programs the respondents have participated in, namely cake making training, entrepreneurial training, cooperative management training, State-Owned Enterprise employee institution program and t-shirt (clothing) screen printing management and world seminar. These training programs are held regularly every year with different types of training based on the types of persons with disabilities' limitation. These trainings are usually held only a day free of charge for persons with disabilities. Training persons with disabilities' skill, Gendis cooperates with expert units for each certain training sector. The facilities provided in training depend on the equipment and tools of the type of training held. In this case, the quality of training facilities and infrastructure is good since with the training program, the persons with disabilities feel they obtain benefit from the training, such as additional insight and higher optimism. In terms of skill, persons with disabilities are independent and productive, which may be proven with persons with disabilities' capability to make a work to help them improve their economy. In overall, based on the result of questionnaire, Gendis presents good impacts to improve the persons with disabilities' skills and economy.

5 CONCLUSION

Gendis is an innovation created by Dinsospermades of Banyumas Regency to raise persons with disabilities' economy to be more independent and productive. The vulnerability of persons with disabilities of social issues is the background of Gendis establishment. In addition, stigmatization and discrimination are often experienced by persons with disabilities, particularly in finding job. Therefore, one of the essences of Gendis is to decrease the practice of discrimination through inclusive development.

Gendis employs a partnership model consisting of government element, private sector and society element. The three elements are interrelated to and collaborate with each other in operating their respective duties and roles. This has the implication of Gendis's achieved objective of helping persons with disabilities be more independent and productive. The government serves as the regulator in providing legal umbrella, coordinator of the parties involved in the program and facilitator in providing assistance and access to capitalization. The private sector serves to support the Gendis program through financial and non-financial assistance. The society serves to

connect the aspiration of persons with disabilities to the government. The three elements are connected and collaborate with each other in implementing their respective duties and roles. This has the implication of Gendis's achieved objective of helping persons with disabilities be more independent and productive.

In its development, the Gendis program conforms to the initial objective of its establishment, which is proven with the benefits received by persons with disabilities, such as additional insights and improved skills in improvement of persons with disabilities' productivity and independence. The positive impacts of Gendis on the persons with disabilities make Gendis appropriate to be an example for other regions in fulfillment of persons with disabilities' rights.

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In Defending ASEAN's Talk Shops: Navigating International Society in Indo-Pacific

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Abstract

ASEAN mostly misunderstood as an institution which just provides a place to exchange insights on many issues such as security and regional economy, the so-called talk shop because it fails to solve the puzzle. For most realists, ASEAN is a group of small and middle power which has limitations in implementing and projecting regional agenda. In fact, ASEAN can be a primary manager in Southeast Asia region and regional conductors to dialogue partners can enjoy discussions. ASEAN could absorb universal values and norms that are appropriate to member state characteristics but also has origin norms such as consultations (musyawarah) and consensus (mufakat). By using English School as a tool and desk research method, this article shows two reasons why ASEAN's talk shop is one of important concepts from many to bring success in maintaining peace and stability to the Indo-Pacific region. First, ASEAN held forums or initiatives to respond to critical atmosphere such as confrontations between China and the United States of America and Sino-ASEAN borders dispute. Second, talk shops can be described as a way for ASEAN to reclaim its centrality. As a result, international society in the region that has common interest and shared identity can be reached.

Keywords: *ASEAN, Talk-Shop, International Society, Indo-Pacific*

1 INTRODUCTION

In the midst of critics of ASEAN's forums as talk shops which say good on papers but bad in implementation. ASEAN builds its progress by hosting annual forums and summits to its ten-member and dialog partners. Meetings including formal and informal to aim *musyawarah* and *mufakat* that constitute regional cooperation which have a main role in international relations even in different forms.

Based on the Notional Calendar in 2019 when Thailand was a chairman, ASEAN held more than 447 meetings annually (ASEAN Secretariat 2019).

In fact, ASEAN lacks execution and coordination to what decisions they made. Range meetings from summit. ministerial meeting, senior officials meeting, and including bilateral and trilateral meetings conducted by the grouping.

Challenges for ASEAN come from the strategic two layer of competition between two major powers in Indo-Pacific region. First layer is the United States pursues its external policy to balance the rapid expansion of China's influence in the region. This containment policy led to trade war between USA and China. As a hub between Indian and Pacific Ocean, ASEAN member states have a strategic position to both the USA and China. Second layer is territorial dispute in the South China Sea among states in the region that bring up freedom of navigation issues.

Geographical definitions of Indo-Pacific are flexible and can change over time based on policy changes. Understanding the definition of Indo-Pacific region from each country leads to possible collaboration and identifying reasons behind it (Haruko 2020: 1).

The objective of this article is to explain the relevance of ASEAN initiatives and meetings in making order in Indo-Pacific. In doing so, this essay advances its arguments through three parts. First section discusses the controversy regarding the meeting process to ASEAN's role in the region. Second part describes a methodological framework for finding roles behind so-called talk shops. Third segment then applies the framework to two current ASEAN's traditions such dialogue and initiatives to reach aims as a primary manager among ASEAN member states and a regional conductor between USA and China. This paper concludes that achieving rule-based order by seeking consensus through dialog and forum in the region will provide a stability and peaceful region.

2. DEBATING ASEAN's TALK SHOP

2.1. Not Only just a Talk Shop

While other scholars such as Ba (2009a: 5) stressed ASEAN talk shops have formed new social and institutional practises, new norms, and new culture of regional dialogue. Cossa (2009b: 5) observes the slow progression of ASEAN Regional Forum from a confidence-building "talk shop" to a true preventive diplomacy mechanism that needs time.

"The criticism he associated with the 1990s, 'a period when the liberal convergence of value systems was widely judged to be as unstoppable as the rising economic prosperity', and ASEAN's sensitivities, 'all this talk-talk', seemed to be 'a waste of time' (Tarling 2006: 226). ASEAN's role as a 'talk shop' still has some value, especially in light

of the ARF series of foreign ministers' meetings (Basu 2005: 125).

Ba argues these dialogues, meetings or summit have some values in the process:

"…provide evidence that talking-arguing, debating, consensus seeking, reiterating-can have some significant and complex effects on politics and social systems. Not only can talking help loosen the normative barriers in the way of particular ideas, produce clarifications and modifications that are critical to new agreement, and maintain existing agreement, but it can also create new social realities. Indeed, it is through talking that ASEAN states have promoted, reinforced, and reproduced a particular conception of region and a particular politics" (Ba: 230).

Talk shop was an act as consensus-seeking (mufakat) which was a part of regional architecture. Based on the second ASEAN Regional Forum in 1995, the forum had three steps firstly confidence building, secondly preventive diplomacy, and lastly elaboration of approach to conflict (The Second ASEAN Regional Forum 1995). ASEAN leaders realized a final product to apply those steps in a good way among major powers (Yue & Pacini 1997: 155).

2.2. English School

One of the main concepts in English School (ES) is International Society which a group states are bound by norms, rules, and institutions they form (Bull 2002: 25). Norms, rules, and institutions do not form overnight but precisely through interactions continuously and sometimes mountainous. Stability and harmony will come when each individual in society follows the rules and norms. Kratochwil (1989: 10) mentioned important functions of rules and norms in the world that actors have to interact with each other is the reduction in the complexity of the choice-situations in which the actors find themselves. Norms at particular points can become critical when the standardizing guideline they reflect presents actors with elective political tactics to reach their objective (Bjorkdahl 13-15).

Defining norms depends on context and time because of different lenses. Bjorkdahl resumed definitions of norms; in perspective of rationalist, norms are understood as determiner of particular behaviour, defined in terms of right and obligations; Raymond stated that international norms are 'generalized standards of conduct that delineate the scope of a state's entitlements, the extent of its obligations, and the range of its jurisdiction'; Axelrod argued that norm 'exist in a given social setting to the extent that individuals usually act in a certain way'; in sociological

perspective norms are 'result from common practices among states', 'shared understandings of standards for behaviour', and 'standards can have functional and non-ethical origins and purposes'; in normative views put attention norms as moral prescriptions stressing justice and rights through moral or ethical norms of behaviour; and norms are generally considered as a set of understanding intersubjectivity and collective expectations regarding the proper behaviour of states and other actors in a given context or identity (Bjorkdahl 13-15).

Ideational conditions such as stability and harmony construct everyone in society to define common goals. In ASEAN's experiences show how actors constitute norms and rules by meeting and dialogue and further norms and rules define actors to behave as consequence. In the big picture, the role of the norms and rules in shaping state behaviour. States consider a set of values or norms to conduct foreign policies and to engage international society.

Opposite to Realism, ES argued that social interaction is more crucial in international society than just depending on material dimensions as important as ideas, identity, and norms. As middle powers, ASEAN member states cannot rely on material dimensions but maximizing ideas in making regional architecture. As a result, ASEAN member states set up norms and rules then back and forth norms and rules shape state behaviour. Griffiths (2008: 123) argues "state interaction mirrors a learning process in which activity creates, vice versa, and is created by, identities, interests, and norms over time".

While constructivists perceive states like people, English School scholars believe real agents in international society are leaders (presidents, PMs, or king) and national representatives such as diplomats who consider and behave as the state (Dunne 2013: 137). At this point, a leaders meeting is necessary in ASEAN multilateralism.

3. METHOD

In the midst of COVID-19 pandemic, the article uses the desk research methodology by gathering resources related to the topic online. Data collected from documents, books, journals, and official websites.

4. IMPORTANCE OF DIALOGUE

As ASEAN defines itself as a dependent variable which member states influence ASEAN, then ASEAN talk shops act as reminders of all ASEAN principles, norms, and rules. As a result, ASEAN as an organization

can affect member states behavior. Meetings/talk shops are symbolic where we cannot expect more from that but institutionalize engagement among regional leaders for ex ZOPFAN, EAS, AOIP. Talk Shops are political gestures where all parties are willing to have discussions (Linda Quayle: 2013).

ASEAN is an adaptable multilateralism which upholds some principles such as inclusiveness and openness. ASEAN will not take aside but member states can build and strengthen their bilateral relationships with any superpowers. This condition is perceived as building blocks. Navigating relations among power houses in Indo-Pacific by ASEAN-led mechanism at least has two intentions: to utilize ASEAN in the driving seat (centrality) and to retain the stability in the region.

4.1 Reclaiming ASEAN Centrality

ASEAN centrality is more likely an outcome of ASEAN interaction among internal and external states. The process can be described as a way for ASEAN to reclaim its centrality in an era of uncertainty. ASEAN centrality means ASEAN has a central role as a main driving force in the existing regional mechanism. ASEAN centrality has been accepted as the institutional hub to consolidate a framework in developing regional architecture of East Asia. Natalegawa (2018) observes ASEAN to some degree can provide the only venues for several power houses to assemble.

ASEAN can be a primary manager in Southeast Asia region and regional conductor to dialogue partners where they can enjoy discussions. Primary manager means ASEAN could absorb universal values and norms that are appropriate to member state characteristics but also has origin norms such as consultations (musyawarah) and consensus (mufakat). Indeed, major powers can join in several regional initiatives but ASEAN who has agenda-setting.

In the context of Indo-Pacific, major powers proposed policies and initiatives towards Indo-Pacific such as USA Quad 4, Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), India's Act East Policy, China's Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI). China as a rising power sees Indo-Pacific concept as a containment strategy from the USA. ASEAN member states could not be forced to choose one side.

4.2 Reducing Tension in Indo-Pacific Region

Trust deficit among major powers could be perceived as an opportunity for ASEAN as a game changer. Since it held forums or initiatives that responded to critical atmosphere such as confrontations between China and the United States of America. As a geo-politic matter, Indo-Pacific has no clearly

defined boundaries. Indo-Pacific region is encountered by wider scepticism and challenges to multilateral cooperation since every nation pursues its wealth and prosperity through foreign policies.

All parties demand stability and peace in terms of political security and economy cooperation. If developing or developed countries desire to maintain their survival, they must be cooperated. Traditional security is less relevant today in the middle of non-traditional security actors such as terrorists and pirates. This essay's objective is to explain the importance of forums and meetings conducted by ASEAN in the context of political security and economic interest in Indo-Pacific region. The usage of talk-shop to build trust and reduce tension is worth trying.

5. CONCLUSION

Through dialog and mutual understanding, ASEAN member states have enjoyed a peaceful region and stability in the last several decades. ASEAN must work as a solid ASEAN institution rather than as a member state. As a result, international society in the region that has common interest and shared identity can be reached. Talk shop then should be read as the part of the process that ASEAN holds into, but the grouping should advance this more progressively. Talk shops as a part of the process which ASEAN member states should turn documents to policies making.

One should bear in mind that the grouping is an intergovernmental organization not a supra-state authority which has power limitations and implementation are domestic domains. Rather see that as residue, talk shops can be considered as a connecting tool in constituting regional order and facing those challenges. The decline of global institutions capacity in dealing with global problems is such an opportunity for ASEAN. Talk shops alongside critics can maintain and navigate regional order and cooperation in Indo-Pacific as President's statement during the 75th UNGA "There is no point celebrating victory among ruins" (kemlu.co.id, 2020).

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Problems in Humanitarian Colaboration? (The Case Study of the Collaboration between RUDENIM UNHCR and IOM in Balikpapan Indonesia)

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Abstract

The unprecedented growing wave of Illegal immigrants around the world due to the violence conflict and civil wars has without question become the problem concerned by the international society and amongst them is Indonesia. Especially in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan province, the management of illegal Immigrant are in the RUDENIM (Rumah Detensi Migrasi) Balikpanan that is in accordance with Indonesian high commissioner of Immigration, UNHCR and IOM. This research aims to cast light on how the collaboration between those institution is undergone. By using the theory of Interdependence and phenomenology approach, this research highlights on the use of systematical observation on the efficiency of collaboration between RUDENIM, UNHCR and IOM as the manifestation between Indonesia and International commitment on combating immigration problem. This research finds that there were two main problems faced by these authorities, namely: (1) there was the lack of Lack of Facilities of Detention House for the Refugees and (2) there was only few legal instruments that are adequate for the immigrants to reside in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Illegal immigrants, RUDENIM, UNHCR, IOM, Humanitarian Collaboration*

1 INTRODUCTION

In accordance with the increasing intensity of armed conflicts and civil wars in several countries in the world, as what happened in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Myanmar, and Syria, the issue of a wave of illegal refugees seeking security protection and political asylum

become one of major problems seizing the attention of the international community. This humanitarian crisis motivated by several factors such as political pressure, racial and religious sentiments, as well as armed conflict and war forces groups of people to leave their home countries and seek new life in other countries by becoming illegal refugees.

The growing wave of illegal refugee is an inevitable issue faced by Indonesia due to the geographical position on the crossing of the world that places Indonesia's territory as a vital path for the movement of worldly goods and services, including a global scale of illegal crime activities. The lack of supervision in the border of the outer islands also increases the chances of illegal crime activities to enter Indonesia's territory such as narcotics trade, arms trade, piracy, terrorism, and human trafficking. In the context of illegal refugees, as a country of a strategic geographical position, especially with the characteristics of the island nation of Indonesia, Indonesia is one of the transit destinations for illegal refugees from the Asia and Middle East seeking political asylum and security protection to Australia (Supriadi, 2017). The Indonesian government, with the potential social problems and national security threats they have, cannot ignore this matter. If there is no effort to tackle it seriously, the existence of illegal refugees will be very vulnerable and lead to a more serious problem for Indonesian security, such as the rise of syndicates of the human trafficking network entering Indonesia, the illegal arms trafficking, as well as the expansion of terrorist networks in the Southeast Asia.

Indonesia is not amongst nations that ratified the 1951 and 1967 protocols on refugee status. Still, Indonesia have a commitment to humanitarian issues especially in dealing with the problem of illegal refugees. This effort is immediately apparent from the signing of Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 125 concerning the handling of refugees from abroad under the administration of President Joko Widodo at the end of 2016 even though it was not a compulsory action for Indonesia. However, as a country that has a tradition of upholding human values, as well as the insistence of various institutions that support humanitarian activist groups, Indonesia decided to participate to combat this problem. Through the Perpres, Indonesia sought to provide a legal protection in handling the problem of illegal refugees. The Perpres is also a symbol of Indonesia's commitment in addressing the issue through the role of Rumah Detensi Migrasi Indonesia (the Detention Migration House (RUDENIM)). It is also an Indonesian government's mandate to international

agencies authorized to handle refugee services, namely the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) or IOM (International Migration Organization) to collaborate with the government to deal with illegal refugees in Indonesia.

This article is based on the research we had that aims to determine the work of the Directorate General of Immigration's work unit, namely the Immigration Detention Center (Rumah Detensi Migrasi) (RUDENIM) in Balikpapan and its cooperation and the coordination with two international institutions namely UNHCR and IOM to deal with the problem of illegal refugees in Indonesia. The subject of this study, RUDENIM Balikpapan was chosen because this unit represents the reality of the detention of illegal refugees in Indonesia. However, this collaborative action to handle refugees RUDENIM Balikpapan did not necessarily going well. There are some problems in this collaboration because of various causes. In general, the humanitarian collaboration problems in Rudenim Balikpapan will be elaborated in the discussion paragraphs.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Complex Interdependence Theory: Reading the Role of State in Handling the Wave of Illegal Refugees

The Interdependence theory is a very well-known concept of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. This theory is their most famous contribution that leading to a new approach to see the international relations called International Political Economy. It is famous because it challenged the dominant hegemonic approach of Realism perspective (Moravcsik, 2009: 257). As mentioned in a book entitled *Power and Interdependence* in 1977, citing by Kal Hosti, this book become one of the most significant works in the theoretical realm of International Relations in the last twenty years. This book also changed the way writers see international phenomena (Walker TC: 2013: 148).

The interdependence theory come from the philosophy of Liberalism that opposes the basic assumption of realism saying that the international relations is conflictual spectrum because each country pursues its own interests. Realism also argued that the State is the only actor in international politics (Mudzalifah, 2016: 365). Reversely the liberalism perspective sees the complexity of the relationships which exist between countries, international non-state actors and interrelated societies in international politics. This relationship base is on a strong motivation to cooperate with each other because of the stakeholders' awareness

of the inability of states to solve all state problems by themselves.

The complex Interdependence Theory summarizes the various relations between countries. Then, Kohane and Nye put the accentuation on three things; (1) the state is no longer a dominant actor in international relations (2) there are new non-state actors such as NGOs and IGOs (3) the military instruments such as hard power are no longer the dominant instrument, but still the welfare can be created by the states through the existence of cooperation mechanisms by using international institutions (Nye & Koehane, 2003). The reduced role of countries that they previously had in the international landscape is due to the massive role of non-state actors who are more flexible in resolving international problems. Non-state actors interact with the state with a cooperation mechanism and they are legal due to the agreement they had with the stakeholders. By these agreements, they are able to help each other in solving a specific problem on which the interest parties have an attention in it. With this agreement, the non-state international actors will have the access to deal with various problems. Moreover, the actors can interact directly with problems that often involve the community to create interconnected interactions with country, people and international actors. This paper summarized the relations in the picture below:

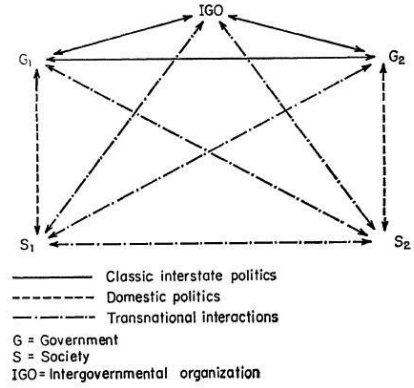

Figure 1. Transnational and interstate interactions
Source: Nye & Koehane, 1971: 334

UNHCR is one of the organizations operating under the administration of the United Nations while IOM is an International Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) of which manifested in the human rights enforcement, especially in the handling of refugees and immigrants. UNHCR and IOM are until now working together within Indonesia territory through the signing agreements to help Indonesia deal with refugee issues in Indonesia which signed in 1979. When we look at the table of classic Interstate Politics above, the signing agreement is the opportunity for UNHCR and IOM to enter Indonesia and interact directly with immigrants in society to deal with their problems, and vice versa, Indonesia get the hand to solve the immigrant issue. Thus, in

this case RUDENIM has a position as a representative of Government so that they interact together to solve refugees' problems in the detention canter. In other words, RUDENIM, UNHCR, and IOM interact in coordination to deal with immigrant problems.

2.2 The Humanitarian Collaboration of Indonesian Government, UNHCR and IOM

The humanitarian collaboration between the Indonesian government and UNHCR and IOM to deal with the problem of migration in Indonesia has actually been widely discussed in various research journals. The journals generally discuss the role of NGOs and IGOs in working with countries to overcome various problems. Researches on the role of NGOs and IGOs in international politics are currently increasing. In general, the research sees at the role of these two international organizations in the world politics. Historically, there has been a significant increase in this activity by these non-state agencies in the past three decades. This was what makes them to be one of the most significant actors in world politics. Agreed with this, Kim D Reimann. In his journal, *A view from the top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs*, explained that there is an increase in the number of activities of NGOs and IGOs in their efforts to cooperate with the state in contributing to specific problems in various fields. The existence of policies carries out opportunities for cooperation, founding, and political access provided by the state to these institutions into one, citing the Reimann, *structural environment of the growing role of NGOs and IGOs*. The existence of this cooperation is one of the results of the effects of globalization at the level of international politics where there were problems that the states cannot resolve by themselves. Besides, globalization also provided the opportunity for the state to be able to work with other countries as well as other non-state actors to build joint commitments to solve problems (Reimann, 2006: 45).

Another related research came from Louise Aubin (2009) with her contribution entitled *UNHCR and Human Security*. Theoretically, His writing talks about the role of UNHCR in the context of *Human Security*. It is a specific concept in the International relations study, mainly discuss about the Security. In classical international relations, the state as the dominant actor tended to care about the security of state entities as a priority rather than the individual. So that many adverse state policies more often than not jeopardize human life in the country. In its development, the notion of state security was questionable. Due to the existence of the state, in essence it was a

deliberation from humans in the country. So the concept of Human security tried to review how the security concepts and threats are formulated. It have the concern to save and protect humans from threats, more than the concern of state security. Refugees, for example, are a human entity that expelled from their country due to their life threat caused by conflict. Whereas the destination country is a state entity that considers refugees to be a potential threat if they enter the territory of the country. Here, there is a gap between the concept of threats and security from state security (traditional security) and Human security. In his work, it explained how far UNHCR has contributed practically related to the handling of refugees in their efforts to fill the gap. The first contribution of the UNCHR was to protect Human security by establishing refugee status as a Refugee and Internally displace people in-ex Yugoslavia and Afghanistan and Promoting Rights that should be obtained by human security by cooperating with countries and communities to provide temporary detention houses, management and coordinating the return of refugees, and still giving their rights as human beings and they will do so as long as they can.

An article from Maja Smrkolj (2009) specifically sees the technical implementation of the awarding of immigrant status by UNHCR. This article entitled *International Institution and Individualized Decision Making: An example of UNHCR's refugee status determination* described the aspects that IGOs need to deal with refugees and provide immigrant status to refugees procedurally. This duty was taken from the legal basis that underlies the actions of UNHCR such as International Refugee law in the Convention relating to the status of refugees in 1951 and additional protocols in 1967. (Smrkolj, 2009: 170) The implementation of a status called the Refugee Status Determination (RDS) of which in 2006 alone has reached 80,000 people worldwide. As well as a special UN mandate for UNHCR to work with countries that have not / have not signed the convention to create a joint procedure to deal with refugees in the country (Smrkolj, 2009: 171).

The handling of refugees in Indonesia involves various parties, both Indonesia as State, UNHCR and IOM as IGOs and refugees and the community as a society. In general, these various institutions interacted and shared coordination to resolve refugee problems. The various processes, procedures and mechanisms listed in the above researches have various challenges and their own problems to be solved together. In this case, the author tried to look at the coordination built by Indonesia, the IGO, which has a special mandate and society in handling

refugee cases, which are specifically located in the Balikpapan Rudenim as well as the problems they faced in their collaboration.

Several aspects generally cause the problems of refugees faced by the Indonesian government, first, Indonesia's geographical position lies in the crossing of the world which is passed as a vital route for transportation. Moreover, Indonesia is very close to Australia, which is known as a destination for asylum seekers other than Europe. Second, the lack of supervision in the border areas and outermost islands increases the risk of illegal activities such as drug trafficking, the sale of rare animals, and the entry of illegal immigrants. Third, the increasing intensity of the conflict caused by soaring radicalism and terrorism in many regions of the world as happened in the Middle East and Myanmar has created a wave of diaspora refugees in the scale that hitherto undreamt of. Related to that, some countries providing asylum reduce the number of immigrant families who can enter their countries due to concerns about national security threats, including the threat of radicalism and terrorism that spread along with the entry of immigrants into the country.

In general, illegal immigrants in Indonesia come from many countries, such as Syria, Myanmar, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. As evidence, based on statistical data at the Balikpapan Detention Center, there are 315 refugees, the majority of whom are from Afghanistan. They came from Afghanistan and transit through Malaysia and then headed for Indonesia. Actually, Indonesia is not their main destination to evacuate, but countries that so-called as "third country", which refers to countries that open asylum to immigrants and stateless people such as Australia and Canada. They use Indonesia as a transit point for them to be able to wait for their status to be determined by UNHCR.

3 METHOD

This research is a qualitative research. Methodologically, qualitative research methods can be understood as a type of research that seeks to reconstruct reality and understand its meaning. So, this type of research will really consider a chronological process, a series of events, and the authenticity of the object under study (Somantri, 2005). In addition, qualitative research is focused on individual interpretation in understanding the complexity of the problem. Therefore, the involvement of researchers in the reality of the problem under study is inseparable. In other words, the involvement of researchers' values in this study becomes very explicit even in limited situations. Thus,

what is commonly done in this research is a thematic analysis.

This study will use open interviews as a basis for understanding the reality that occurs. Of course, the analysis based on the conversation of the subjects that have been selected based on competencies that meet the requirements is part of the researcher's involvement in the observation process and qualitative research orientation to obtain the authenticity of the reality being researched (Somantri, 2005). The method in this study consists of two methods, Library Research and Interview with Purposive Sampling.

The library research method is a research method that aims to find secondary data that has been generated through previous quantitative reports. The technique of collecting data through interviews is intended so that researchers get in-depth information on the problems studied even though only with limited subjects or respondents. The interview technique used was unstructured interviews. This aims to identify more clearly what core problems or variables should be studied based on information obtained through respondents (Sugiyono, 2008).

The technique used in determining primary informants is purposive sampling through key persons. Purposive sampling technique is in accordance with qualitative research with deep characteristics and avoids generalization (Sugiyono, 2008: 124). Selection of informants who have the capacity and capability according to the needs of research data will have implications for the more complete and valid data obtained. To facilitate the determination of informants in the field, researchers targeted key informants. This study will interview various stakeholders such as Rudenim Representative, Immigrants, and many other related informants.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Problem 1 : Lack of Facilities of Detention House for the Refugees

Based on the data from the UNHCR Indonesia, there are at least 13,800 refugees resides in Indonesia, of which 25% of them are children whom some of them are separated from their parents. This data also find that most of the refugees entering Indonesia dominated by Afghan refugees with a percentage reaching 55%, followed by Somalia 11%, and Iraq 6%.(UNHCR, 2019). The immigration offices and the immigration detention centers throughout Indonesia accommodated most of the refugees in Indonesia. Another data from the Directorate General of Immigration at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights in 2018, there are at least 3,200 refugees resided in

the detention centers and immigration offices in 13 cities throughout Indonesia (Tobing, 2019). These thirteen detention centers are the Immigration Detention Centers of Tanjung Pinang, Balikpapan, Denpasar, DKI Jakarta, Kupang, Makassar, Manado, Medan, Pekanbaru, Pontianak, Semarang, Surabaya, and Jayapura (Directorate General of Immigration Kemenkumham). As a consequence of the increasing number of refugees, several Rudenim are overwhelmed and cannot fully isolate refugees. Accordingly, many of the refugees felt uncomfortable and fled away.

RUDENIM Balikpapan, is one of those detention centers that overwhelmed in terms of capacity. Ideally, the capacity of the Balikpapan inhabitation can only accommodate 150 refugees. However, the refugees living in the inhabitation have reached 187 people (Alidona, 2017). As a result, many of the Balikpapan Rudenim residents fled away and were outside the supervision of Immigration officers. In fact, due to the demands of those who did not immediately get a response from the Rudenim, the refugees often carried out anarchic actions, vandalism, and destruction of the Rudenim facilities as a form of protest so that their guidance was immediately accommodated. (Ramadani, 2019)

If observed, the anarchic actions taken by the residents of the detention center are due to the length of the process of arranging new citizenship status, which UNHCR and IOM strive for as two international institutions responsible for processing the placement of refugees in third world countries. In addition, protective policies adopted by several countries which have even signed the 1951 and 1967 conventions, such as the United States, Australia and several other European countries, have reduced the chances of refugees getting new citizenship. This is in line with the statement of the head of the UNHCR mission for Indonesia; Thomas Vargas stated that there was a drastic decline in the success rate of the placement of refugees towards third world countries who were willing to accept them. In fact, in 2017, the UNHCR Indonesia only managed to place around 322 refugees, which is far below the figure achieved in previous years, which is around 800 refugees each year (Marhaenjati & Yasmin, 2019).

Considering that the presence of thousands of foreign aliens illegally scattered in several regions of Indonesia, one of them in the East Kalimantan region, it cannot solely be seen as the the consequences of humanitarian disasters that occur in the region. Moreover, looking from the perspective of sovereignty and security, the presence

of illegal refugees considered as a form of threat to sovereignty and national security for Indonesia. Especially in the East Kalimantan region, as the area located near one of the 'hot spots' in the Southeast Asia region, namely the Sulu Strait, known as the largest terrorist network activity traffic in Southeast Asia, the presence of thousands of foreign nationals from countries that being hit by conflict, such as Afghanistan, Myanmar, Iraq, to Syria, has opened the potential for the entry of security threats for Indonesia. (Yulizar, S.H, Personal Interview, November 01, 2018)

4.2 Problems 2 : The Lack of Legal Binding

Regarding the handling of refugees, Indonesia is actually legally not yet joined by countries that have ratified the 1951 and 1967 conventions on refugee status. However, Indonesia remains committed to contributing to this humanitarian issue by participating in signing the Perpes No. 125 of 2016 concerning the handling of refugees from abroad. With this legal shade, the government can help deal with the problem of illegal refugees. The manifestation of moral responsibility as a country that concerns about humanitarian issues is evidently seen by looking to the function of RUDENIM in several regions in Indonesia, as well as cooperation built with the local government to create a community house for refugees involving collaboration from three institutions. Rudenim also collaborate with regional governments to provide refugees shelthers and they play a role supervisors and implementers and the police are responsible for security. Furthermore, the Perpres is also a symbol of Indonesia's commitment in addressing the issue, as well as the Indonesian government's mandate to international agencies authorized to handle refugee services, namely UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) or IOM (International Migration Organization) to collaborate with government to deal with illegal refugees in Indonesia. (Rosmawati, 2015)

However, the promulgation of Presidential Regulation (Perpres) as a sole legal standard is in fact not enough. There is no a strong and sufficient legal force to resolve the problem of illegal refugees in Indonesia such as the signing or the ratification of convention. The weak legal tool available ultimately affects the effectiveness of the performance of state units carried out immigration functions, one of which is the Immigration Detention House or the so-called (Rumah Detensi Migrasi) Rudenim. As a technical implementation unit functioning as a temporary shelter for people involved in violating immigration laws, the movement of the detention center in taking strict policies

against violators permits entry into the Indonesian territory is limited, both in the quarantine process of repatriation or deportation. It relates to the efforts of cooperation and coordination of Detention Centers with international institutions in pursuing policies and accommodating the demands of illegal refugees. As a result, various problems arise due to the absence of, for example, a shelter deadline or clarity of new citizenship status or the lack capacity of the Detention house which cannot afford the the increasing number of illegal refugees. (Supriyadi, 2017)

This condition is illustrated by the recent riots in RUDENIM Balikpapan, East Kalimantan at the beginning of 2018, there were so many administrative problems there. Such as there was no clarity in isolation deadlines, the lack of spaces for refugees or the authorities could not accommodate their demands well. These results a various protests by the illegal refugees and it will potentially disrupt security (Wibisono, 2018). In addition, with the large number of refugees dwelling within the Indonesian territory, the government's discourse to seek policies dealing with illegal refugees is also an immediate issue needed an ultimate realization in order to provide legitimacy and legal basis for the Directorate General of Immigration work units. (Yulizar, S.H, Personal Interview, November 01, 2018)

4.3 The role of the Rudenim as an implementation unit in handling refugees

There is a limit in handling illegal refugees have been unoptimal and of course need to involve various parties and an adequate legal shade. However, as an institution that is only an integrated implementer in the field under the ministry of law and human rights, the Rudenim has done almost everything what can be done. According to the Chairman of the Balikpapan Rudenim, the handling of refugees in Rudemin is based on a high sense of moral responsibility. Balikpapan Rudenim in collaboration with IOM facilitates daily needs from 315 immigrants from various countries with a majority from Afghanistan. However, there are still obstacles faced by Rudenim in dealing with refugees in Balikpapan that will be elaborated more in the following parahraphs

Firstly, the function of the Balikpapan detention center as a place to shelter immigrants is actually not its actual function. Before the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 125 regarding the handling of refugees, RUDENIM is only an office that carried out the reports of migration violation done by foreigners in Indonesia. Secondly, there are limited resources and facilities. When there were 315 refugees in 2014, the detainees took the initiative

to make the Rudenim office a save haven for them while they are waiting for the coordination process with IOM and UNHCR. However, the lack of existing facilities, especially regarding the detention capacity of the detention center that can only accommodate around 115 people, make refugees feel uncomfortable. On the other hand, factors related to security and lack of community acceptance requires refugees to always been in detention centers. For example, the differences in religious beliefs between Muslim Balikpapan residents and Shiite Afghan immigrants make them reluctant to accept their presence in society. Thus, retaining immigrants at detention centers is the only option held by the detention center. (Wijay Kumar, S.H., Personal Interview, October 16, 2018)

In an effort to deal with this problem, the Balikpapan Rudenim has done several things, they are ; Firstly, coordinating with various agencies both International and regional to be able to collaborate in dealing with this problem. For example, in 2014, when Afghan refugees flocked to the Balikpapan immigration office, the Rudenim overcame this problem by gathering several institutions such as the Immigration Office, Angkasa pura and the police to discuss the causes and the best solutions for them. These refugees were finally accommodated at the detention center, arguing that the refugees could not directly occupy the detention center before completing the detention, data collection and licensing process at the Immigration Office. (Wijay Kumar, S.H., Personal Interview, October 16, 2018)

Secondly, the Balikpapan Rudenim also opened a space for refugees who refused to seek asylum and were interested in returning to their home countries. The detainees work with IOM and the immigration office to facilitate some refugees who are interested in returning to their countries. According to our interview with the head of the Rudenim, some refugees usually intermittently want to go home voluntarily, and they can go home facilitated by IOM and the Immigration Office. Reducing the motivation to get a new citizenship status in their destination country due to uncertainty about their status, besides they have to wait years without clarity from the process carried out by UNHCR that is the only institution that has the mandate to determine their status. (Yulizar, S.H, Personal Interview, November 01, 2018)

Thirdly, Rudenim Balikapapan also seeks the best facilities for refugees amid the lack of available facilities. Several things to illustrate this: the detention center and related agencies has done several coordinations with the local government to be able to create

a community house to accommodate refugees in Balikpapan, but there has been no positive response obtained. Do not stop there, in order to think about the mental and psychological conditions of immigrants, the Balikpapan Rudenim took the initiative to coordinate with the Rudenim in other regions to facilitate the transfer of refugees to more suitable places in other parts of Indonesia that have community houses. Based on the latest developments regarding efforts to establish community houses in each region, the Rudenim clearly cannot accept refugees anymore. Whereas, if they have to be accommodated in a community house, there are only a few regions that have these facilities. (Yulizar, S.H, Personal Interview, November 01, 2018)

Fourthly, the detention center also provides structured activities for detainees to occasionally leave the detention center and socialize with the community while remaining under the supervision of the detention center and police. They were given several times the opportunity to do activities outside such as cleaning the beach, teaching their various skills in schools, making improvements to public facilities such as health centers and so on. The detention center also provides health facilities for sick immigrants to consult with doctors, although it still must be consider by the authorities that the limited resources, consul process and control to the doctor are usually time-consuming and not costly. (Yulizar, S.H, Personal Interview, November 01, 2018)

4.3 Rudenim Balikpapan: Efforts to coordinate with UNHCR and IOM

The coordination of the detention centre with UNHCR and IOM is one of the most vital progress when dealing with refugees. The detention centre routinely coordinates with the UNCHR to monitor the extent to which the progress of the process of determining refugee status. This coordination turns out to require a short amount of time; this is due to the difficulty of communicating with authorities in third countries to provide immigrants with an asylum immediately. This situation somehow exacerbated by the fact that there was no UNHCR office in Kalimantan. The nearest office is in Makassar in addition to Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Even though this status determination involves a tiring process such as interviewing for 17 hours per refugee, even more so if the number of refugees is very large. After the interview took place and the data was recapitulated, the next process was to wait for whether the third country allowed the immigrants to enter the country. If they refuse, then there is no chance for the immigrants to enter the country. They are among the choices to

go home or look for a new country. This will have implications for the length of their stay in Indonesia. Some technical matters in this field have exacerbated the conditions on the field in terms of coordination between the Rudenim and the UNCHR. (Wijay Kumar, S.H., Personal Interview, October 16, 2018)

No less important coordination is coordination with IOM. IOM is an institution that deals with immigrant needs in general. Starting from the cost of living immigrants, consumption, and health are all the responsibility of this institution. IOM even visited the Balikpapan Rudenim office almost every day to control and monitor the situation of immigrants there. IOM also routinely communicates with immigrants to ensure that they are fine. (Suastha, 2018).

If the coordination carried out by UNHCR and Rudenim related to the completeness of the immigrant administration to get their asylum is constrained, coordination conducted by the Rudenim and IOM regarding the fulfillment of the needs of illegal refugees will not go well. Therefore, it cannot be denied that the problems related to the handling of illegal refugees in Indonesia are increasingly long and complex.

5. CONCLUSSION

As the country that still has not ratified the 1961 convention and the 1967 protocol relating to the handling of illegal refugees, Indonesia has not been able to take a clear stance and policy regarding the problems they currently faced. The wave of illegal refugees that entered massively into several countries, including Indonesia, as a consequence of armed conflict and civil war in several regions of the world, has undeniably raised new problems for third world countries. Indonesia as the favorite transit destination country for asylum seekers who will cross to Australia does not have enough capability and a sufficient legal umbrella to help deal with the problem. Therefore, the Indonesian government authorities, in this case the Directorate General of Immigration through the Detention House as the implementing unit authorized to handle all issues relating to immigration violations, are unable to resolve this problem. The absence of adequate policies and legal umbrella, overlapping authority of the work units under the Directorate General of Immigration, to the limited coordination involving IOM and UNHCR in responding to the problem of illegal refugees in Indonesia, are several key factors in the ineffective handling of illegal refugees. This research shows how complex the problems faced by the Indonesian government are in dealing with the problem of illegal refugees. The moral responsibility that Indonesia carries out as a country that

upholds humanity values, in the end, is still unable to be realized in the form of adequate policies and laws.

This is evidenced by not accommodating the aspirations of asylum seekers by the Indonesian government. Furthermore, the absence of an adequate policy and legal umbrella also has implications for the limited scope of movement of the Immigration Detention Center in coordinating with the institution that handles illegal refugees from the UNHCR and IOM. This has resulted in increasingly complex and complex handling of illegal refugees in Indonesia.

6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The acknowledgement of this study goes to; firstly, LPPM UMKT for their supports financially, Secondly : to RUDENIM Balikpapan for their time to discuss about this matter, and the last is for the Students of International Relations of UMKT for their efforts administratively.

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THE NEED OF INTERNATIONAL REGIME SUPPORT TO COMBAT FISHERIES CRIME

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Abstract

Fisheries crime is a crime in fishery sector involving many activities from illegal fishing to money laundering and is typically transnational and well organized. Fisheries crime has caused a lot of damages and posed threat to multiple sectors ecologically, socially and economically. However, despite the obviously enormous harms caused by fisheries crime, a very little attention had been paid to the initiatives and efforts to combat it. This issue does not seem to gain a lot of concern from the international community as proved with the lack of acknowledgement of fisheries crime as a Transnational Organized Crime (TOC), causing the absence of potent regime support to fight the ominous practice. Therefore, to examine the phenomena further, using the renewed concept "the international fisheries crime complex", this paper will try to elaborate the intricate nature of international fisheries crime and the international society's response to the efforts to combat it, including the challenges to establishing a regime to fight thecrime

Keywords: *fisheries crime, international regime, transnational organized crime*

1. INTRODUCTION

Fisheries crime is frequently simply regarded as an act of illegal fishing or known as IUUF (Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing). However, in reality it has a very complex dimension which is more than merely an idea of taking and selling fish illicitly. According to the report by the US National Intelligence Council in 2016, Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing refers to an extensive set of fishing activities which undercuts sustainable fisheries management. The US National Intelligence Council states that the 'illegal' aspect of IUUF refers to fishing activities performed by vessels from a particular country in the jurisdiction of another country without permission or

fishing activities by vessels in violation of fisheries law, the 'unreported' aspect refers to activities performed by fishing vessels which are misreported or even not reported to the authorities and the 'unregulated' aspect refers to fishing activities performed in an area where there are no appropriate supervisory or management measures by the responsible authorities (US National Intelligence Council 2016).

Meanwhile, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) declares fisheries crime as an ill-defined legal concept referring to a range of illegal activities in the fisheries sector, which are mostly transnational and organized (UNODC, n.d.). The serious crimes in the fisheries value chain stated by UNODC include:

- DocumentForgery
  The fisheries sector is very susceptible to document forgery due to its great reliance on reporting, documentation and verification affairs.
- Registration or IdentityFraud
  To cover their illegitimate acts, illegal fishing vessels often re-flag their vessel flag or duplicate/fake vessel identity and nationality.
- Food Fraud
  Dirty practices to cover up catches information—such as their origin, species and quantity—using export/import, food or sanitation documents are often committed by illegal fishers.
- DocumentFraud
  High-valued documents such as vessel registration document and fishing license are often involved in document fraud provided by corruption practice.
- InsuranceFraud
  Using this scheme, owners of sunk illegal fishing vessels when caught doing IUU fishing claim insurance payout for the concerned vessels.
- MoneyLaundering
  An enormous amount of illegitimate money obtained from IUUF is secretly reinvested in anonymous companies that are beyond the authority's reach.
- TaxCrime
  With a large amount of money transferred to anonymously controlled company and many types of frauds committed, violations or crimes areunavoidable.
- Corruption andBribery
  Corruption and bribery play a significant role in facilitating and making sure these ill- practices to continue.
- Human trafficking
  Slavery, forced labors and human trafficking also exist in this sector, adding to the complex nature of this chain of crimes.

- Smuggling
  Capable of easily sailing across the oceans from country to country, illegal fishing vessels are also often loaded not only with illegal fish catches or marine resources, but also other illegal commodities such us drugs and weapons.
- IllegalFishing
  The decreasing stock and high consumption demand for fish make fish more profitable and illegal fishing practice to increase. The huge profit gained from this sector has tempted criminals to perform those contemptible acts, moreover when the said profit has far exceeded the impending risks they need to take.

These crimes are closely related to each other that they become a chain of crimes that is hard to break and may harm multiple aspects at the same time. The weak control and management of related authorities—both domestic and international—over the sector has somehow become a loophole for criminals to perform and maintain the illicit practices excellently.Illegal fishing and all the remaining vile crimes have become a threat which does not only cause economic loss, but also damages the ecosystem and violates human rights.

An example is presented by Indonesia with its attempt to fight illegal fishing. According to the ASEAN News released in 2017, a rough amount of USD 3 billion was estimated to be the IUU Fishing annual cost in Indonesia (Chapsos and Hamilton 2018). Indonesia's own projection of total amount of loss, including lost tariff and the risk of permanent damage to about 65% of its coral reefs, was even higher of about USD 20 billion (Parameswaran & Santosa in Chapsos and Hamilton 2018). However, the Indonesian government's concern about combating illegal fishing is not only because of the economic loss and ecological factors. Indonesia in fact has a high concern over illegal fishing as well as possible ominous crimes behind it. As stated by Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of Indonesia, Susi Pudjiastuti, combating illegal fishing has become her main priority not only because of the trillions of Rupiahs lost due to this practice, but also because illegal fishing is often a medium for other crimes, such as human smuggling, drugs smuggling and slavery (IOM Indonesia, n.d.). A bold initiative has been taken by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries to combat IUU fishing by shooting down and sinking illegal fishing vessels caught in Indonesia's territorial water and it is claimed that it has reduced the number of illegal fishing practices in Indonesia. Despite the claim, however, the action does not seem to be enough

to make illegal fishing practice to cease. As mentioned before, the huge profit of IUU fishing is the strong factor that attracts illegal fishing vessels to keep coming back, moreover when the said profit far exceeds the cost of the risks. Sinking illegal fishing vessels may have reduced the number of IUU fishing practices, but many crimes behind this obscure sector are still growing and operating just likebefore.

Two surprising interlinked events revealed in 2015 in Indonesia become an overview of the bad side of fishing industry. The incidents occurred in two Indonesia's remote islands, Benjina on Aru Island and on Ambon Island, displaying extensive human trafficking and forced labors in line with IUU fishing practice (Townsend & Salim in Chapsos and Hamilton 2018). The cases were first brought up by Associated Press (AP) that highlighted the plight of stranded foreign fishers in Benjina in investigation into the link between human trafficking and the global fishing industry. The fishers, who came from the neighboring countries such as Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Thailand, stated that they suffered from vicious working conditions where they were confined and kept as forced labors with extreme working hours and no wage and they were abandoned without any hope that they would be able to return to their home (IOM Indonesia, n.d.). According to the investigation carried out by the Associated Press, the catches acquired by the fishers in Benjina were shipped to Thailand and then exported to some other countries, including US, and in US the fish was labeled by the importers and distributed to some supermarkets and other retailers for sale (Khabibi, n.d.). The catches obtained from Benjima covered almost all varieties of fishes, but squids and shrimps were the most favorable catches since they sold very well. AP also stated that there was a strong relation between companies in US and Thailand in this practice.

The investigation conducted by AP regarding the Benjina's case above has well shown the chain of crimes in fishing sector that is practically very extensive, complex and also terrible. Illegal fishing is just like the top of an ice berg that is visible on the surface, but there is a huge pile of linked crimes under the surface that most likely has not been touched or exposed. The Benjina case clearly shows that illegal fishing has been closely associated with human trafficking, slavery, document forgery and food fraud practices. However, Benjina case is surely not the only one, that there must be many other criminal cases in this delicate sector that have not yet been revealed. Therefore, some serious and concrete actions should be taken to properly address these fisheries

crime issues given the huge damage and loss caused by the evildeeds.

2. METHOD

Researcher use descriptive qualitative methods to describe the importance of international regime support to combat fisheries crime. This paper analysed based on literature review. Data taken from text, journal, books and internet-based sources.

3. RESULT ANDDISCUSSION

3.1 Fisheries Crime as a Transnational Organized Crime: Why ItMatters

UNODC has described fisheries crime as transnational organized criminal activities due to some elements derived therefrom, such as: fishers' multiple nationalities; the fishing vessel's flag; waters where the fisheries crime occurs, the port where the vessel harbors or where the catch is shipped to, etc. (UNODC, n.d.). Fisheries crimes are in fact elusive and complex with extremely broader range of operation. However, many still simply regard and refer as criminal practices in fisheries sector only to illegal fishing. Besides, many countries also plainly consider illegal fishing as a non- traditional security challenge since it does not seem to threaten state's physical sustainability and usually involves non-state actors (Chapsos and Hamilton 2018). However, as shown in the Benjina case above, a range of fisheries crimes from illegal fishing, human trafficking and slavery, document forgery and food fraud has been committed and clearly presents some serious threats to the countries' economic, ecological and human security.

3.2 The Loss Caused by IllegalFishing

Continued practices of fisheries crime are hazardous to developing countries, especially coastal countries, which notably depend on their fisheries industry as their source of food and livelihood. The IUU fishing practices have disturbed some economic activities of small countries that depend on fisheries. For example, due to the immensely increasing number of Chinese vessels performing illegal fishing in the Gulf of Guinea from 2008, local fishermen in Guinea hardly kept their livelihood (US National Intelligence Council, 2016). IUU fishing also greatly harms the survival of people who depend on fish as their food. Fisheries sector has also played an integral role as food source, in which the FAO's (Food and Agriculture Organization) 2012 data show that fish consumption is higher in the small islands of developing countries and in the tropical Low-Income Food-

Deficit Countries (LIFDCs) in Asia and sub- Saharan Africa (Bene et al., 2016). Another case that has brought economic loss for coastal state can also be identified in Indonesia. Indonesia stated that according to FAO, in 2014 it was placed as the second largest producer of marine fish which contributed 6.8% of the world's total production. However, due to IUU fishing practice, the Indonesian government claimed to have lost USD 20 billion annually (Lewerissa,2018).

Aside from the economical aspect, the IUU fishing practices that tend to perform overfishing and pay no attention to the sustainability of fish stock and marine ecosystem also seriously harms the environment. For example, blast or dynamite fishing has damaged over 50% of the coral reef system in Southeast Asia's Coral Triangle, from which 130 million people obtain their primary food or livelihood from fishing. The productive capacity of the coral reefs, which essentially support various ecosystems, has dropped to 20% of their biological potential and 95% of the coral reefs in the said region is estimated to be potentially endangered by human activities (US National Intelligence Council, 2016). Furthermore, IUU fishing can also cause tension between countries which may surely pose a threat to the national security. A sample of case may be easily taken from the situation in South China Sea where tensions between countries often escalate because of the presence of fishing vessels in the disputed area. A tension between Indonesia and China arose in 2016 following the Indonesian Government's pursuit of illegal Chinese fishing vessels near Natuna Islands. The local authorities apprehended eight Chinese fishermen for conducting illegal fishing in Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in the contested South China Sea (IV, n.d.). The tension arose due to Chinese coast guard vessel's intervention in the apprehension of Chinese fishing vessels. The Indonesian Government later sent a protest to the Chinese authority because a national governmentis not supposed to step in to support illegal fishing.

3.3 Multifaceted Crimes in Fishing Industry

As stated before, illegal fishing is like the top of an iceberg where under the surface there are numerous crimes following the practice. If illegal fishing alone has already caused some serious damages as mentioned above, when the crimes which follow the said practice are explored, bigger damages and threats will surely surface. The Benjina case reveals how illegal fishing is interlinked with human trafficking and forced labor or slavery practices. The global competition in the fishing industry keeps increasing as the demand for fish consumption

keeps increasing. However, based on a research that investigated Thailand's labor employment in fisheries sector, there was a shortage of willing workers in the fishing sector due to the risks and danger of working on boat, and this situation creates a hole for human trafficking to take place. As the need for labors and competition in this sector increase, fishing operators are seeking for a way to cut operating cost and 'recruiting' cheap fishing crews from developing countries is considered to be an effective way to cut the operating cost (Chantavanich, Laodumrongchai and Stringer, 2016). While willing workers are difficult to get, brokers are used to 'recruiting' workers using any possible way including scheming that leads to human trafficking practice. Developing or poor neighboring countries become the target since their people are desperate to get a job while they do not really have good skills and experience.

An investigation conducted to expose forced labor practice in Thailand's fishing industry has also revealed the linked chain between northern buyers and southern labors in fisheries sector. Some big US and UK food retailers and suppliers were indeed suspected to be linked with the illegal fishing practice that used forced labors to catch their seafood products. Some big companies such as Nestle USA, Costco and Walmart were accused to have violated the consumer statute by purchasing seafood products from the Southeast Asian producers that committed human trafficking and slavery practices (Bonfanti and Bordignon, 2017). In this case, the catch from the abused-fishermen in Benjina might be one of the sources that supplied the seafood stocks to those retailers. Information regarding the supply chain now must be disclosed by the food retailers or they will be fined or subject to court injunction. In response to this finding, some food retailers and producers claimed to increase their commitment to researching and implementing more sustainable policies and practices in the fisheries and seafood sectors. However, no one is really able to make sure whether fish trade between illegal fishermen and the retailers have completely ceased, or whether it just takes anotherform.

Taking action against IUU vessel owners is surely not an easy task since the ownership is usually hard to trace that it is concealed with intricate company structures, often partly registered in tax havens (Griggs L, Lugten G in Osterblom et al., 2010). Fisheries crimes are elusive since they are performed in transnationally and in a well-organized manner with a lot of scheming scenarios in multiple sectors, making it hard to reveal. Due to their combination of increased offshore coordination and consolidation, hidden

corporate beneficiaries, and substantial monetary assets, as their sources that enable them to effectively reduce the risks and increase their profit, IUU operators tend to be highly adaptive and agile in responding to circumstances related to their operation (Osterblom et al., 2010) and that is probably why it is very hard to capture the big catches. Their well-organized operation was once reflected from the case of Australia's hot pursuit of the Russian flagged Lena in 2002 (although the vessel managed to flee as it was refueled by another vessel), and the apprehension of the same Lena and Volga in the same year (CCAMLR Report (2003) in Osterblom et al., 2010). It was revealed later in the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) that the vessels got logistic support from oil tanker and also information about the locations of Australian fisheries patrol vessels, and the two vessels were actually sacrificed to save the other more valuable vessels from seizure (ITLOS in Osterblom et al., 2010). To avoid detection and apprehension, many illegal fishing vessels often change their flags. Furthermore, many IUU vessels observed by CCAMLR were also often found docking without any catch, hence they were suspected to perform transshipment at sea to cargo vessels or to legitimately licensed fishing vessels (CCAMLR Report (2006) in Osterblom et al., 2010). These findings surely reflect how tangled and complicated the chain of crimes committed in fisheries sector are, that have already taken place in many othersectors.

3.4 Threats to National and Global Security

As mentioned above, many states still regard illegal fishing as a non-traditional security threat and only considered to be a matter of fisheries management with low and general administrative sanction. However, despite being non-traditional security issue, the illegal fishing alone has caused enormous loss as explained previously. According to Barry Buzan, in this post-Cold War era, security has broader framework where there are interlinked political, military, economic, societal and environmental sectors of security (Stone, n.d.). These sectors of security are in fact linked and they do not operate separately from each other. Therefore, an equal attention should at least be paid to all sectors since they are closely related to the livelihood of the people of a country. The fisheries crimes consisting of many illegitimate activities such as IUUfishing, humantrafficking, slavery, document forgery, identity fraud, food fraud and many others in fact pose some serious threats to the economic security, ecological security and human security. The severe depletion of fish stock, coral reef damage, loss of revenue, abused-

labors, food fraud are all the concrete consequences of the fisheries crime practices.

The criminal activities conducted in the fisheries sector certainly cause damages and pose threat not only to a certain country, but also to some countries at the same time, or even the global world. The IUU fishing practice's destruction and overfishing will ruin the already-depleted fish stock and marine ecosystem, and will surely affect the fish supply chain or environmental issue globally. At the national level, illegal fishing clearly brings misfortunes to coastal states that depend on fisheries sector for their revenue and food resource. Those harms are caused only by IUU fishing, but when the other crimes have been properly addressed and taken care of, there may be bigger damages and losses revealed. However, despite the damages and threats caused by fisheries crime, there seems to be no strong law enforcement that guarantees equal punishment for the criminals. Fisheries crimes are mostly still referred to as illegal fishing and the actions or efforts formulated to combat IUU fishing are mostly regarding management matters. Most of the international law instruments focus on the ecological and economic aspects of illegal fishing with most parts are about fish stock conservation and management procedures. However, there is almost none about the management of other crimes such as forced- labors, food fraud and many others, although they are in fact closelyinterrelated.

It is necessary to secure the fisheries sector in order to realize the same standing ground between countries to regard fisheries crime as a significant threat. This process of constructing fisheries crime as a globally acknowledged transnational organized crime under the same understanding is a process of 'macro- securitization'. This concept, coming from Barry Buzan, means that the issue has been declared as a threat or security problem and the problem is acknowledged by the involving parties, which in this case are the states (Buzan in Taureck, 2006). From the same point of view or platform, it will enable more comprehensive and greater cooperation between countries in combating the said crime, just like how the world encounters and fights the successfully 'macro-securitized' issues such as terrorism. Buzan states that a successful securitization consists of three steps, namely: 1) identification of existentialthreats, 2) emergency action, and 3) effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules (Buzan in Taureck, 2006). In the case of fisheries crime, the existential threats are clearly shown with the damages and losses caused in ecological, economical and societal sectors. There have been some initiatives

on emergency actions conducted in response to the threats, including domestic or international policies and regulations regarding the concerned matters. Further, to successfully instill the idea of fisheries crime as a transnational crime, more countries/parties need to be led to believe the idea that will lead to a common understanding. Once the same understanding and stance are shared or constructed, it will surely be possible to formulate and execute real and stronger actions and initiatives on combating fisheries crime. Fisheries crime is extensive, mostly transnational and well-organized and may pose serious damages to multiple sectors, including social, economic and ecological sectors, both domestically or internationally (UNODC/WWF, 2016). Therefore, it is a very important global agenda to address fisheries crime seriously and formulate comprehensive actions to fightit.

3.5 Efforts to Combat FisheriesCrime

Combating fisheries crime requires all parties' involvement, in this case the states, to develop the same perception of the concerned matter. Fisheries crime should be recognized in a broader sense since it is not only related to fishing, but also many other crimes such as human trafficking, smuggling, corruption, forgery, fraud, etc. However, current understanding of fisheries crime is mainly still focusing on the IUU fishing activity. Many legal instruments have been formulated to combat illegal fishing both at domestic and international levels. Domestic law enforcement surely differs between countries, but shares the same purpose of regulating fisheries in their jurisdiction. The international law is made upon agreement between countries and serves as the principles or foundation for countries to formulate their national regulation/policy. The regulation made at the multilateral/international level also aims at controlling the fishing affairs on the high seas. The high seas are the open areas of sea that do not belong to the EEZ, territorial or internal waters of any state, as it is also referred to as the international sea. Based on Article 116 of UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea), all states are given access to performing fishing activities on the high seas, but required to address the conservation efforts especially for straddling fish stocks and highly migrated species (Sodik, 2011). Under this regulation, all states, both landlocked and coastal countries, are granted access to fishing in high seas territory while respecting other countries' rights and liabilities. Some other notable international regulations have also been composed in response to the fisheries sector management

challenge, including (Sodik,2011):

- **The FAO 1993 ComplianceAgreement**

  This agreement mostly aims at putting basic foundation for fishing activities on the high seas, setting conservation measures for marine resources and enhancing multilateral organization's role in fisheries management. This agreement also emphasizes state's responsibilities to exercise their control and jurisdiction over their flagged fishing vessels in response to the reflagging and flag of convenience practice (putting flag for disguise/pretense).

- **The 1995 United Nations FishStocks Agreement**

  This agreement highlights the conservation and management of fish stock, international cooperation mechanism, flag state's obligations and law enforcement in the high seas territory. This agreement also serves as an international instrument to resolve potential conflicts occurring between coastal states and other states that perform fishing activity on the high seas.

- **The 1995 FAO Code of Conductfor Responsible Fisheries(CCRF)**

  The general principles of the CCRF point out the obligation of fishing states to: preserve ecosystem sustainability; maintain the quality, biodiversity and stock of fish; and prevent overfishing.

- **The International Plan of Action to Deter, Prevent and Eliminate Illegal, Unreportedand Unregulated Fishing (IPOA-IUU) 2001**

  The IPOA-IUU serves as the mechanism and operational guidance to combat IUU fishing practice with extensive collaboration between states, FAO, related RFMO (Regional Fisheries Management Organization) and other legal bodies in UN such as IMO (International Maritime Organization).

However, the abovementioned legal regulations are focusing mainly on IUU fishing, especially the management and operational aspects and there seems to be no regulation mentioning/ addressing the following crimes related to IUU practice. A mutually holistic comprehension of fisheries crime first needs to be shared among countries in order to formulate and take joint actions to combat it. Then, due to the complex nature of fisheries crime, a multi-disciplinary approach needs to be taken with the interlinked cooperation between authorities, both at domestic and international levels. The complexity of fisheries crime is shown with the

international practices of the constantly shifting business models and modus operandi of organized criminal networks in response to criminals' necessity to capitalize profit and exploit the weakness of the existing law enforcement secretly (UNODC/WWF, 2016). Therefore, a flexible and collaborative global response is significantly needed to counter the evil deeds of fisheries crime. Nevertheless, despite the urgent necessity to take actions to combat fisheries crime that poses great danger to states, the existence of a concrete and powerful regime unfortunately seems to be non-apparent. Below are the possible factors that influence the stagnant situation of regime development to fight fisheriescrime.

3.6 The lack of International Recognition andWeak LawEnforcement

The need to understand and acknowledge fisheries crime with the same perspective is the basic requirement to establish and exercise greater actions to combat the crime. However, the international society does not seem to be interested in recognizing fisheries crime as a transnational organized crime and make it a top priority. The recognition and awareness of the threats of fisheries crime are still lacking. One of the most notable efforts to persuade recognition of the said crime is shown by UNODC—occasionally with other related UN bodies—that actively voices out and persuades countries to raise their awareness of fisheries crime and to recognize it a transnational organized crime. By recognizing fisheries crime as a TOC, a legal framework or international regime may then be established by countries which have shared and same understanding of the concerned issue and collaborative actions be initiated to properly encounter fisheries crime. In Vienna 2016, UNODC and WWF hosted a joint Expert Group Meeting on Fisheries Crime that sought to facilitate the understanding of fisheries crime and identify appropriate criminal law enforcement for such crime and the participants emphasized the necessity to recognize the existence and potentially extensive scope of fisheries crime regardless of the level individual state may had over fisheries crime as a concept (UNODC/WWF, 2016). Indonesia was one of the parties that also actively sought for recognition of fisheries crime. Indonesia is aware that IUU fishing is closely linked to other crimes such as smuggling of goods and people, illegal labors, smuggling of narcotics and violation of regulations on natural protection and hygiene, and Indonesia has declared that IUU fishing has developed to a very dangerous and organized transnational crime (Kurniawan in Lewerissa, 2018).

Therefore, Indonesia is seeking for global assistance and collaboration to fight this transnational organizedcrime.

The existing regulations and law enforcements, both domestic and international, regarding fisheries sector are still insufficient as the IUU fishing practices are still going on including all the 'behind the scene' crimes following this sector. From Benjina case, despite massive exposure and highlight, the legal proceeding conducted by the Indonesian authority had only resulted in light punishment for the defendants and the real mastermind behind the evil deed was not even touched, let alone punished. This fact was also admitted by the Indonesian Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, that those who were caught and sentenced were just the pawns (BBC Indonesia, n.d.). In order to pursue the mastermind, the authority will need to trace the fund/investment source of the fishing companies in Benjina, that requires collaboration between related agencies, and that is why fisheries crime is actually very complex. The lack of responsive and collaborative actions enabled by the existing regulations has somehow become a loophole exploited by the fisheries criminals. Article 73 of UNCLOS also shows a weakness point since the regulation guarantees release of arrested fishing vessels with a limited period of apprehension and a fair amount of compensation fee (Sodik, 2011). Since illegal fishing is mainly still considered as management issue, the regulation usually only imposes light administrative sanction. The sanction will not be able to stop the criminals from keeping coming back since the profit they gain from illegal fishing is bigger than the potential risks and sanctions they might be subjectto.

Consequently, due to the lack of both recognition and law enforcement over fisheries crime, international recognition and regime establishment are needed to combat fisheries crime. International regime may be defined as a range of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations meet the given area of international relations (Stephen Krasner in Yoshimatsu, 1998). The presence of international regime concerning fisheries crime is expected to pose legal obligations to countries in establishing a stable and mutual prospect in the efforts of combating these elusive criminal activities. However, besides mutual agreement between parties about the significant necessity to address and fight fisheries crime, a great power is also needed to support formation of such regime. Based on the hegemonic stability model, the presence of a dominantly great power is of great importance not only in the early establishment of regime,

but also to the continuation of a long-term order (Yoshimatsu, 1998). This condition somehow adds up another complexity to the efforts to combat the complexissue.

3.7 Reluctant Support to Combat FisheriesCrime

Despite all the grand initiatives, the efforts to combat fisheries crime will be in vain without concrete supports of all parties involved, especially they who hold great power/influence. The general idea that refers to fisheries crime as illegal fishing and considers it as a fisheries mismanagement problem has somewhat belittled the dangerous threats posed by fisheries crime. Therefore, it is very important to address and raise awareness of fisheries crime with the same approach and perspective. By treating fisheries crime as a mutual threat to countries globally, the countries should take a measure to establish collaborative actions in order to eradicate the concerned crime. A simple example may be observed from the global efforts to combat terrorism. All states are basically in the same boat when it comes to terrorism issue and the effort to fight it since the states collectively regard terrorism as a threat. From the same point that regards terrorism as a threat, the states took global actions to combat it, and behind these viable global efforts of fighting terrorism, there was support from great power, namely US. Despite the good and bad advantages of having dominant player in the group, the presence of great/influential power is in fact needed to keep a regime or system alive and functioning. If the states can reach the same understanding and stand on the same ground regarding fisheries crime along with enough support (especially from the great power) on the establishment of a regime to combat the issue, greater global collaborative actions can be formulated to counter these problems and a better future for the fishing industry can be accomplished.

However, the interests found in the real practices imply otherwise. While coastal states like Indonesia are suffering due to the loss and damage caused by fisheries crime, powerful states which gain benefits from this practice do not seem to really mind. As stated in the finding previously, the catches from illegal fishing— as well as slavery practice—were mainly exported to the northern states, such as US, EU and Japan. The market in the three states alone accounts for about 55% of global seafood market, in which US contributes about 13%, Japan 14% and the rest is by EU, which is the largest (Pramod et al., 2014). In the US market, illegal and unreported catches represented 20-32% by weight of wild-caught seafood import in 2011, with a value from USD 1.3 billion to USD 2.1 billion out of

USD 16.5 billion of total import value (Pramod et al., 2014). Meanwhile, an investigation in Japan revealed that 24- 36% of 2.15 million tons of wild-seafood imported to Japan in 2015 was from illegal and unreported fishing with a value from USD 1.6 billion to USD 2.4 billion out of USD 13 billion of total import value (Pramod, Pitcher, and Mantha, 2017). US and Japan's high reliance on seafood import surely creates a very potential ground for catches from illegal fishing to enter their market due to the high demand for seafood. The increasing competition and depletion of fish stock also encourage seafood suppliers to obtain sources for cheap seafood products. Weak regulation of the authority also facilitates entry of illegal catches. In Japan, under its current regulations, keeping the records of seafood traceability for import is not mandatory (D. Hall in Pramod, Pitcher and Mantha, 2017) and disclosure of seafood trading or sourcing practices by the government agencies is very limited (A. Ke. Kerr in Pramod, Pitcher and Mantha,2017).

Still according to the same resource, the trade data reveals that over the past two decades Japan has conducted illegal import of a massive amount of seafood from Russian waters (N. Arai in Pramod, Pitcher and Mantha, 2017). Despite illegal, the enormous supply of seafood products at cheap price seemingly pleases Japan and benefits retailers and consumers in Japan as well. However, for Russia, Japan's import of illegal seafood products is damaging its reputation over its coastal state responsibilities, but for Japan this issue is considered to be Russia's domestic problem since the responsibilities to counter IUU fishing is under Russia's jurisdiction (Pramod, Pitcher and Mantha, 2017). From the facts and findings presented above, we may see that US and Japan are presenting a market for illegal and unreported fishing commodities that encourages the illicit practice to continue.

Besides the fact that powerful states such as US, Japan and EU are gaining benefit from illegal fishing, the global fishing industry is also dominated by wealthy countries. Fishing activities (the data are not separated into legal or illegal fishing), both on the high seas and EEZ territory of other countries, are in fact dominated by wealthy state's vessels (McCauley et al., 2018). The three big states which show the highest fishing activities in other countries' EEZ are China, Taiwan and South Korea, and China and Taiwan's combined fishing activities represent 44% of global fishing activities (McCauley et al., 2018). Chinese fishing vessels are often spotted in the South China Sea but its coastal guards vessels are also lingering in the area to secure the fishing activities. As mentioned above,

Chinese coastal guard had once even intervened in the Indonesian authority's pursuing of Chinese fishing vessel which performed IUU fishing in Indonesia's EEZ territory. The domination of big countries in the fishing industry and the benefits from the current fisheries affairs they obtain surely affect their stances in this issue where they show reluctant support to eradication of fisheries crime. It is only natural for those powerful countries to take stances that will secure their interests and benefits. However, with the absence or lack of support from great power, an international regime that can work earnestly to combat fisheries crime will be impossiblyestablished.

4. CONCLUSSION

Based on the facts and findings describing the fisheries crime above, a renewed concept "the international fisheries crime complex" is developed to elaborate further the complexity of fisheries crime. The concept of international fisheries crime complex tries to reveal the predicaments which cause fisheries crime to be so underrated despite the concrete damages it causes. Fisheries crime is often equalized to illegal fishing, but is actually broader that it also links to other crimes in multiple sectors such as document forgery, tax evasion, food fraud, human/drug trafficking, corruption, etc. The extensive scope of fisheries crime has also caused great damages to multiple sectors and poses threats to the economic security, human security and environmental security. However, although fisheries crime has shown such great threats, the international response to counter it seems to be premature with the lack of international recognition and the absence of a strong regime. In conclusion, we may state that despite of its enormous dangers for multiple sectors/aspects, an establishment of international regime to combat fisheries crime is still non- existent due to the resistance of the benefited parties, wealthy nations, which have interests to keep the status quo of the fisheriesaffairs.

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Is Lock-Down the Best Policy? COVID-19 Economic Measures in ASEAN Countries and Lesson Learned for Indonesia

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Abstract

The corona virus outbreak (COVID-19) is a very serious pandemic that has killed thousands of people in less than a year. The impact of COVID-19 has also paralyzed some countries' economy, revealed new poor people, and reduced health quality. The method in this study uses secondary data by comparing various kinds of policies implemented in ASEAN countries. The countries being analyzed in this research are Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. The result shows that countries that have implemented stricter policies since the beginning of the pandemic have succeeded in suppressing the spread of the corona virus (COVID-19). However, countries that have not implemented strict policies since the beginning of the corona virus pandemic, tend to have a fairly high prevalence rate. This study also offers some lessons learned for Indonesia. Government assertiveness in handling COVID-19 is needed to reduce the number of corona virus spreads. Civil society resilience is also needed to support government's efforts. As a specific measure to cope with economic problem, preparing a special reserve fund for handling outbreaks and automatic policy are deemed important.

Keywords: *COVID-19, Economy, Lock-Down, Policy, ASEAN*

1. INTRODUCTION

COVID-19 has brought a significant impact on a country's economy. As a result of the corona virus outbreak, the world economy has slowed. Some sectors that experience the impact of the corona virus include travel and tourism, and retail and other services sectors; business operations hence supply chains disrupted; employment and livelihood put at risk, while consumer confidence has declined (ASEAN, 2020).

Table 1.
ASEAN GDP Growth

Country	Initial Forecast		Revised Forecast		Source
Brunei Darussalam	1.5%	Sep 2019	2.0%	3 Apr 2020	ADB
Cambodia	6.8%	Sep 2019	2.3%	3 Apr 2020	ADB
Indonesia	5.3%	Aug 2019	2.3%	3 Apr 2020	Ministry of Finance
Malaysia	4.8%	Sep 2019	0.5%	3 Apr 2020	Bank Negara Malaysia
Singapore	2.5%	Nov 2019	-1%	26 Mar 2020	Ministry of Trade and Industry
Thailand	3.7%	Nov 2019	2.5%	17 Feb 2020	National Economic and Social Development Board
Viet Nam	6.8%		5.96%	13 Feb 2020	Ministry of Planning and Investment

Source: ASEAN Policy Brief

Based on the data above estimates of economic growth in the countries of the ASEAN region has been declined in economic growth. The smallest estimated growth among ASEAN countries is Singapore with an estimated economic growth during the corona virus outbreak of -1%. The world economy also experienced a decline in 2020 around -3% and an increase in unemployment up to 7% for the ASEAN region (International Monetary Fund, 2020b). Besides that, the government also needs to prepare a large amount of funds for handling corona virus outbreaks, because the rate of spread of the corona virus is very fast. All countries in the world spend quite large funds and the impact is declining world economy.

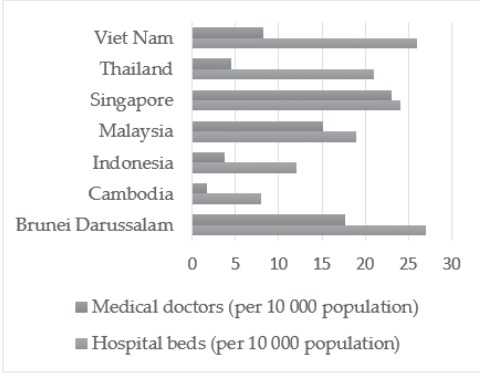
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Various countries have implemented policies to address the spread of the corona virus. The policy is to reduce the number of corona virus spreads. There are two possible strategies to do: (1) mitigation, which is focused on slowing the spread of the virus, but not stopping the spread of the virus, the aim is to prevent excess demand for health

services and (2) suppression, which is to suppress the growth of the epidemic, the aim of reducing the number of cases and control the situation (Ferguson et al., 2020)and the public health threat it represents is the most serious seen in a respiratory virus since the 1918 H1N1 influenza pandemic. Here we present the results of epidemiological modelling which has informed policymaking in the UK and other countries in recent weeks. In the absence of a COVID-19 vaccine, we assess the potential role of a number of public health measures-so-called non-pharmaceutical interventions (NPIs.

Each policy has challenges in accordance with the conditions of each country. Policies made by the government through various aspects, such as the number of hospitals and the number of doctors. This is one of the main variables that infected patients may treated properly.

Graphic 1.
Medical Doctor and Hospital Bed Ratio



Source: World Health Organization

The Indonesian government has challenges in dealing with cases of the corona virus outbreak compared to other ASEAN countries. The ratio of doctors and the number of hospitals in Indonesia is quite small with the population and geographical location which consists of islands. The right strategy is the main objective for Indonesian government in overcoming corona virus outbreaks.

Medical personnel and the number of hospital beds for a country is very important, if the proportion of medical personnel and the number of hospital beds with a number per 10,000 is balanced it can reduce the death rate from an illness. The results showed an increase of one primary care physician per 10,000 population could reduce mortality by an average of 5.3 percent, or 49 per 100,000 per year (Macinko et al., 2007). Other studies have found that there is a positive and significant relationship between the ratio of medical staff to health level, the higher the medical workforce will get higher level of health of the population (Bigbee, 2008)as indicated by state health ranking, and to compare the findings with physician-to-population ratios. Design: Secondary analysis correlational design. Sample: The sample consisted of all 50 states in the United States. Data sources included the United Health Foundation's 2006 state health rankings,

the 2004 National Sample Survey for Registered Nurses, and the U.S. Health Workforce Profile from the New York Center for Health Workforce Studies. Results: Significant relationships between nurse-to-population ratio and overall state health ranking (ρ=-.446, p=.001. Doctors and the number of hospitals is not the main weapons in the face of a pandemic; however, policy synergy is needed in limiting the space for individuals, therefore the outbreak of corona virus can be controlled.

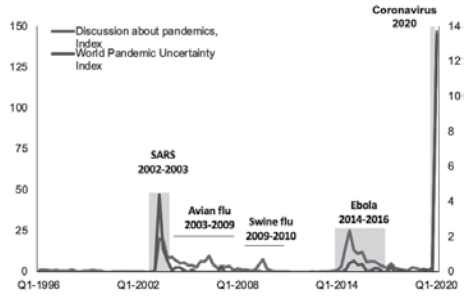
3 METHOD

This study uses literature review method. The data are secondary data taken from various sources. This research took several data from various countries and compared them. The data is used as material for the study of the effectiveness of the policies implemented by the government in each country. This research is divided into several discussions including the policy aspects of both regulations limiting activity, politics, and economic.

4 RESULT

The corona virus is still a problem in many countries and the impact could make an economy downturn in both the developed countries and developing countries. Based on data a pandemic that has occurred in this world, the rate of return from the corona virus outbreak until now is still the highest.

Graphic 2.
Pandemics and Uncertainty 1996 Q1 to 2020 Q1

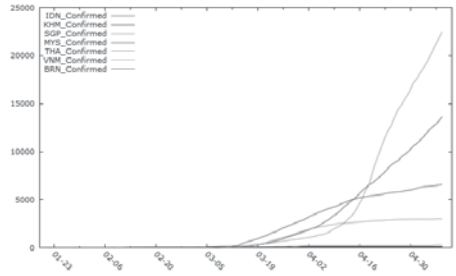


Source: (Ahir et al., 2018)

Various kinds of pandemic outbreaks have occurred in the decade since 2000, such as SARS, avian flu, swine flu, and Ebola. Among the pandemic outbreaks SARS had the highest levels of WPUI and the SARS outbreak also disrupted the economy in various countries, but the level of discussion about the SARS outbreak was not as high as when cases of avian flu, swine flu, and Ebola were found. The case of avian flu, swine flu, and Ebola is not as severe as the SARS case which can disrupt the economy, this can be seen from the level of WPUI. On the other hand, the corona virus outbreak is quite unique, because corona virus is still one group with the previous outbreak, but the level of discussion about pandemic and WPUI is very high, therefore almost more than one semester in 2020 the corona virus outbreak cannot be controlled especially

in Indonesia.

Graphic 3.
Confirmed Cases in ASEAN Countries



Source: John Hopkins University

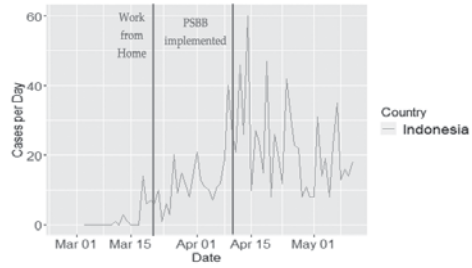
Confirmed cases of corona virus outbreaks are still increasing, in the ASEAN countries, such as Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Among the three countries, Singapore has the highest case and had set a lock down policy on April 7th, 2020. The lock down policy was used by the Singapore government to control the number of COVID-19 cases. Indonesia had also implemented a policy to control the spread of the corona virus by applying *the PSBB* (Large-Scale Social Restriction) on April 10th, 2020. The *PSBB* has developing into several phases until now. However, *PSBB* policies differ from the lock down system where citizens are still permitted to carry out activities in certain sectors. This policy is applied to maintain the economy. Another case, Malaysia has implemented a lock down system since 18th March 2020 and the result was the case of the corona virus outbreak was smaller than Singapore and Indonesia by that time.

Discussion

a) Limiting Activities

Indonesia is one of the countries in the ASEAN region that has a high case of corona virus infection. The Government of Indonesia has implemented various methods in suppressing the spread of the corona virus, policies implemented include social distancing or work from home and PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions). The graphic below shows the impact from working from home and PSBB.

Graphics 4.
Confirmed Cases Per Day

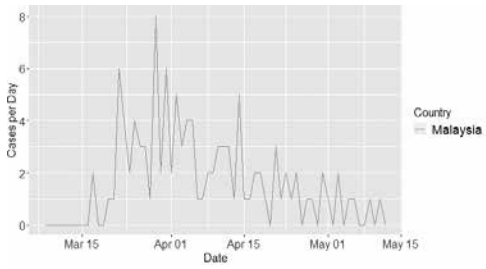


Source: John Hopkins University

Before the PSBB was implemented, the Indonesian government on April 6th, 2020 take a rapid test. The results of these rapid tests were most people being infected with the corona virus. However, after the PSBB policy was implemented, cases per day of individuals infected with the corona virus has declining trend. Based on the results of the PSBB, the evidence of mitigation policies

implemented by the government are able to curb the spread of the corona virus and prevent excess demand for health services.

Graphics 5.
Confirmed Cases Per Day



Source: John Hopkins University

On the other hand, Malaysia has implemented a lock down policy since May 18th, 2020, the results of the lock down policy being implemented reported that cases of individuals infected with the corona virus have a declining trend. The lock-down policy applied has proven to be effective in reducing the spread of the corona virus. The lock-down policy has been implemented in several countries, one of the countries is Vietnam which has implemented a lock-down policy from the beginning. The results have proven there are no corona virus cases in Vietnam.

b. Financing

Handling the corona virus pandemic outbreak is not easy, the government of the Republic of Indonesia made various changes, one of which was the policy of the country's financial system and financial system stability. Changes to the regulation are stipulated through Perppu Number 1 Year 2020 on March 31, 2020. One of the policies amended through the regulation is a budget deficit limit that is allowed to exceed three percent of GDP, up to a maximum of 2022. In addition, Bank Indonesia is also permitted to buy Debt Securities State (SUN) or long-term State Sharia Securities (SBSN) in the primary market as a solution to address economic problems that endanger the country amid the corona virus (Perppu No.1 Tahun 2020).

The regulation becomes the basis for the government in setting changes to the 2020 APBN through Presidential Regulation Number 54 of 2020. The change is predicted that Indonesia's budget deficit in 2020 will reach Rp852.93 trillion or 5.07 percent of GDP. The total deficit can reach 177 percent higher than the deficit target in the previous 2020 APBN scheme. The prediction of a significant increase in the deficit is due to state expenditure that is predicted to increase by 2.8 percent from the 2020 state budget, while state revenue is predicted to fall to 21.14 percent (Perpres No. 54 Tahun 2020). The change in budget allocation made by the government is an effort to meet budgetary needs in dealing with the corona virus pandemic. Despite instability in various sectors

that has driven a significant increase in state spending, APBN 2020 has only increased by 2.8 percent from the initial scheme. This is partly due to the reallocation and refocusing scheme implemented during this pandemic.

During a pandemic like the current Ministry of Finance increased the budget to handle the corona virus outbreak reached Rp150 trillion through a change in the scheme of budget financing. Based on the merger of additional state spending and budget financing, the government has managed to allocate an additional Rp405.1 trillion, channeled through:

1. **Health Budget Rp.75 trillion**

The budget is channeled through corona virus handling interventions and BPJS contribution subsidies, including subsidy contributions for non-wage and non-worker's tariff adjustments, medical personnel incentives, death benefits for medical personnel, and health care expenditure for corona viruses.

2. **Social Safety Net of Rp110.0 trillion**

Distributed through additional social safety networks (addition of PKH distribution, additional food assistance, additional pre-work cards, electricity tariff discounts, additional housing incentives for MBR, and other social safety network programs), reserves to meet basic needs and market / logistics operations, and Education budget adjustments for handling COVID-19

3. **Industry Support of IDR 70.1 trillion**

Distributed through government-borne taxes for article 21 PPh and VAT, DTP import duties (government-borne taxes), and stimulus for People's Business Credit (KUR)

4. **Funding in the context of supporting the National Economic Recovery Program of Rp150 trillion.**

Based on changes in the budget scheme, it can be an indication that the Indonesian budget is not ready to face the coronavirus disease. Indonesia's unpreparedness in dealing with coronavirus disease was also experienced by various countries and led to global economic instability (International Monetary Fund, 2020a).

The significance of the deficit that is expected to occur has led to an increase in debt, indicating that Indonesia does not yet have independent financial reserves. Therefore, Indonesia should consider an independent financial reserve scheme to anticipate the possibility of a pandemic. In addition, health sector resilience in Indonesia is also needed because of the potential for a pandemic to occur again in a period that cannot be predicted.

c) Lesson learned for Indonesia

In tackling pandemic, at least there are two high priority that must be considered by the government to take into actions, learning from other ASEAN countries. First, economic consequences caused by the loss of economic activities and its effect to the marginalized people in a country. Second, the leadership role in managing risk disaster management in facing segmented society within a country (Rubin, 2011). The success of the efforts in tackling global COVID-19 pandemic notably in Indonesia requires readiness from the Government and resilience from the civil society. Both elements are inseparable in safeguarding a nation to avoid crisis. Indonesia which stretches broad and consists of 33 provinces has challenges in coordinating regulations, announcement even actions to reach the most remote areas. Such facts have led to apparently inconsistent implementation of public policy. One of the reasons, this occurs due to the need of country to secure stability of economic condition.

From the Government side, there is a need for better coordination between central and local governments in implementing policy. This cannot be undergone without involving targeted stakeholders in providing alternative insights and suggestions. The implementation of public policy from central to local requires inclusivity both the decision makers and the targeted society. Inclusivity means no one left behind (United Nations, 2017). This definition acknowledge and respect the importance of dignity of human being without leaving any nations, people and societies to achieve the goals (Together 2030, 2019).

5 CONCLUSION

Various policies have been implemented by the government to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic can cripple a country's economy, another impact is the emergence of new poor people and also have an impact on the level of health will decrease in the future, in this case the government needs to implement effective and efficient policy strategies. The government should also have firmness and transparency in handling corona virus outbreaks in order to people are not confused when undergoing policies. The government should provide reserve funds for outbreak cases and prepare automatic strategies if another outbreak occurs. Lock down policies implemented in several ASEAN countries have proven to be quite effective in handling the corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic.

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Local Government Policy Against Bentor Operation Routes

(Study at the Transportation Office of North Halmahera Regency)

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Abstract.

The complexity in public transportation is not only a problem for the government, but also for the community. This results in the marginalization of the community indirectly to carry out their mobility (Aminah, 2004). Government policies are needed in overcoming various public problems. The policies made can be executed properly to achieve their goals. Policy making must be free from political interests and group interests in order to produce an appropriate policy in solving the complexity of the problems at hand. This study aims to systematically and accurately analyze facts. The research location is a place where research is carried out. The research location is in the Department of Transportation, Tolo, North Halmahera Regency. To obtain research data, the authors used several methods: 1) Interview, and 2) Observation. Data collection techniques have specific characteristics when compared to other techniques, namely interviews and analysis techniques used in this study are as follows: 1) Data Reduction, 2) Data Presentation and, 3) Verification/ Conclusion Drawing. The results showed that the reason for the government making the policy to divert the bentor operation route was congestion on the main city route and bentor was only an alternative transportation. The policies made by the government have an impact on the income and economy of the benthors. The policy is considered to be detrimental to the interests of bentor towers, users and bentor owners because changes to the transfer of bentor operation of the transportation agency do not involve owners, towers and users in policy making.

Keywords: *Local Government Policies, Operation Path Bentor.*

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1 INTRODUCTION

Transportation is a system of community life (Aminah, 2004). Meanwhile, government policies are needed in overcoming various problems of this nation including economic, social and cultural policies that are carried out for the welfare of the people (Goraph, 2017). But on the other hand, before making a policy, an in-depth policy analysis must be carried out on a problem so that the policies made can be implemented properly to achieve the desired goals. The policy-making process must be free from political interests, personal interests and group interests in order to produce an appropriate policy in solving the complexity of the problems at hand.

The administrators of the regional government are the regional government and the DPRD, while the regional governments are the governors, mayors, regents and regional apparatus as elements of the regional government administration. In general, local government consists of: first, staff members who assist in policy formulation and coordination, represented by the secretariat. Second, the supporting elements of the regional head's duties in the formulation and implementation of specific regional policies are accommodated in regional technical institutions for the implementation of regional affairs, accommodated in regional service institutions in the form of agencies, offices, hospitals. The third is the affairs of implementing regional affairs, overseen by the regional service institutions. The regional office is the implementing element of regional autonomy led by the head of the service (H. Surisyah Murhaini; 2009).

One of the implementing elements of regional autonomy is the transportation agency (Dishub). One of the duties of the Transportation Agency is to carry out access to sea, air and land transportation. Here the authors prefer land transportation, where the Transportation Agency has the authority to regulate land transportation routes.

Public transportation in the city of Tobelo (Tobelo Kota), consists of their own and city transportation (angkot). angkot consists of mikro, ojek and bentor as alternative transportation. Of these three angkot, the most popular of the people in their activities is bentor, because Bentor is more practical and comfortable. Practical means that young people get and leave quickly, in contrast to micro where they have to wait for passengers above 4 people. Comfortable here means being protected from hot sun, rain and volcanic ash (Mountain Ash).

The number of bentors based on December 2015 data was 113, each with 589 blue bentors while 542 red bentors. Where the number of bentors was so large, the solution taken was to

divide the operating schedule by means of an agreement between the bentor pullers and the transportation agency. The result of the agreement is one day for red bentor surgery and the next day for blue bentor surgery, for example Monday, red bentor means Tuesday for blue bentor surgery, red Wednesday Thursday blue and so on with the exception of red dates.

Bentor no longer serves people who are active on the main city route, why is it because the main road area of the city has installed traffic signs / prohibition signs. The bentor prohibition sign posted by the Department of Transportation included directions from North to South Bethesda Hospital, directions from West to East all routes in urban areas except the front lane of the Tanjung Raya Shop, and directions from south to north in front of the Tax Office.

The government policy is to divert the bentor operation route with the aim of controlling traffic. This control is very influential on bentor income.

2. LITERATUR REVIEW

Traffic congestion has become a major problem in many cities in Indonesia, requiring better transportation policies. Many developed countries, have implemented integrated transport policies to replace traditional transportation policies that focus only on road construction to anticipate traffic demand This includes integration within and between all types of transport, integration with land use planning, integration with environmental policies and integration with policies for education, health and wealth creation(Sunitiyoso, 2010).

The transportation policy revitalization is made so that congestion can be resolved in the future in big cities(Huda, 2017).

Policy making should have a social and economic impact, namely achieving the common good, but sometimes the implementation of social transportation policies creates new problems, namely that congestion and inequality increase due to worsening congestion. (Kadarisman M., 2015).

Social inclusion policies in developed countries are carried out by developing transportation policies and social relations that are integrated and connected, both modern transportation policies and sustainable, civilized social mobility.(Lucas, 2012).

The social impacts of transportation can be significant, especially for already vulnerable population groups. Access to social transportation is not good and evenly distributed so that the effect for vulnerable, poor and minority groups on access to transportation is easy for those who are economically able (Lucas, Social impacts and equity issues in transport: an introduction, 2012).

The author chooses a theory from Michael Howlet and M. Ramesh in Ismail Nawawi (2017), states that the public policy process consists of five stages, namely Agenda setting, Policy formulation (Polici formulition), policy making (Decision making), Policy implementation (Polici implementation) and policy evaluation (Polici Evalutation).

Michael Howlet and M. Ramesh stated that the five stages are as follows:

a. Agenda setting is a process so that a problem can get attention from the government.
b. Policy formulation (Polici formulition), namely the process of formulating policy choices by the government.
c. Decision making, which is the process by which the government chooses to take an action or not to take an action.
d. Policy implementation (Polici Implementation), which is a process for implementing policies in order to achieve results.
e. Policy evaluation (Polici Evalutation), which is a process for monitoring and evaluating the results or performance of policies.

From the theory above, there are 5 stages of policy making that will make it easier for researchers to analyze research results.

RESEARCH METOD

In this study the type of research that the author uses is descriptive qualitative. Qualitative research uses qualitative methods, namely observation, interviews or document review. Qualitative descriptive research is data collected in the form of words, pictures and not numbers (Moleong; 2006).

This study aims to systematically and accurately describe the visible facts and to describe the relationship between phenomena in accordance with the data obtained through research and to explain the research variables that will be studied. The research location is a place where research is carried out. The research location is in the Department of Transportation, Tolo, North Halmahera Regency.

To get the data in this research, the writer used several ways: 1) Interview, and 2) Observation. as data collection techniques have specific characteristics when compared to other techniques, namely interviews and questionnaires always communicate with people, so observation is not limited to people but other natural objects.

The analysis techniques used in this research are as follows: 1) Data Reduction, 2) Data Presentation and 3) Verification/Conclusion rawing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Causes of Change of Operation Path of Bentor

Based on the results of research conducted by the author at the North Halmahera Regency Transportation Service, the reasons for the government to make changes to the net for bentor operations are as follows:

Congestion On The Main Line Of The City

Congestion is a problem arising from population growth and density "so that the flow of vehicles is moving very slowly. Congestion is a situation or condition of stagnation or even cessation of traffic caused by the large number of vehicles exceeding the road capacity.

Based on the results of the author's research that with the large number of bumps, congestion occurs on the main city lane, thus the importance of traffic control by making changes to the lane for bentor operations.

Based on the above problems that the government has raised is congestion on the main city route. From this issue, the government made a policy to divert the bentor operation route. Government policy is a decision taken by the government to solve problems in political, economic, social or cultural terms. The government's decision to change lanes due to congestion on the main line is an incorrect reason. Based on observations and interviews, the writer in the field shows that the road capacity in Halut is still commensurate with the number of vehicles.

Congestion is a problem arising from population growth and density "so that the flow of vehicles is moving very slowly. Congestion is a situation or condition of stagnation or even cessation of traffic caused by the large number of vehicles exceeding the road capacity. When we measure it using the congestion theory, the government's reasons are inaccurate with the following reasons a) This change in pathway is the suggestion of an organda (radar halmahera, Thursday 17 March 2016); b) Bentor is allowed to enter the main city road during the fasting month. (radar halmahera, Tuesday, June 7, 2016); c) The bent is permitted to operate the port direction route.

It is from this reason that it proves that the Halut Regency Department of Transportation has changed the operation route of the bentor is not the right reason. This excuse does not solve the problem but adds to the problem. Government policy should be needed in overcoming various problems of this nation. But on the other hand, before making a policy, an in-depth policy analysis must be carried out on a problem so that the policies made can

be implemented properly to achieve the desired goals.

Alternative Transport Clash

The understanding that bentor is only an alternative transportation, the government will take action to change the path of the bentor operation without thinking about the impact on the bentor puller. Based on The Regent Regulation Number 08 of 2006 concerning the Operating Permit for Three-Wheeled Motorized Vehicles as Transportation in the North Halmahera Regency, does not explain that bentor is an alternative transportation, and only operates on alternative roads / back roads.

Bentor Line of Operation Change Policy Process

The process of making a change in the operation pathway policy is a complex process because it requires a policy formulation process.Michael Howlet and M. Ramesh stated that the public policy process consists of five stages, namely Agenda setting, Policy Formulation, Decision Making, Policy Implementation (Polici Implementation) and Policy Evaluation (Polici Evalutation). (H. Ismail Nawawi; 2017). The process carried out by the government in making changes to the bentor operation route is as follows:

Agenda Setting Stage

Agenda setting is the initial stage of all policy stages. The agenda setting stage is sometimes seen as part of policy formation. Policy formation whose meaning is specific at the stage of adopting proposed administrative actions which are deemed appropriate to public problems. These problems can be found through direct observation, mass media, seminar forums and so on.

Based on the results of the author's research that the Transportation Service Agency obtained information by direct observation in the field by means of identification and socialization forums. Problem identification is a stage in the process of formulating a problem to identify the problem to be solved. One way to make it easier for someone to express or state the identification of the problem properly is to clearly know the problem at hand.

That in order to identify or to find out problems, the land transportation service tends to conduct monitoring every day in the field at each post. In monitoring in the field, the Transportation Agency found problems in the field, namely congestion on the main city road caused by bentor. The need for a policy to revitalize public transportation in overcoming congestion(Novy Setia Yunas, 2017).

The problems that arise in society are called Policy issues or problems.

Policy problems are conditions that cause public dissatisfaction, so a solution needs to be found. Where one of the functions of the government is to form a public policy which contains guidelines that must be followed to overcome community problems.

Policy Formulation

Formulation is the stage that occurs after an issue is addressed. Jones describes formulation is a derivative of a meaningful formula for developing a plan.

Based on the results of the author's research that, after the government, in this case the dishub received information, both field monitoring, complaints from organda and the mass media, the government immediately took further action, namely conducting (an internal meeting without involving other parties) to carry out a discussion of the problems that occurred.

From the research results, it can be analyzed that the process of formulating government policies in this case the Halut Regency Transportation Agency uses an institutional model approach, in which government agencies are autonomous without involving interaction with the environment. In this model, the task of policy makers is the duty of the government and the public as executing the policies made by government institutions. And the type of policy used is Regulatory Policies. policies that are pleasing to restrictions on actions against a person or group of people. For example, restrictions on road use in certain lanes.

Policy Decisions

Based on the results of the author's research that in an internal meeting, the decision made by the government was to carry out traffic engineering for the bentor operation, namely the bentor was no longer operating in the main city lane.

The engineering results included from the north to the south boundary of Bethesda Hospital then turning west and passing the back road, from south to north the tax office then had to turn east through the TPI banana-banana road. While from west to east and east to west one route, namely the port road.

When this decision is issued, the next stage is implementing the policy. In implementing the policy and if it is found that benthic pullers violate the above decision, they will be prosecuted based on law.

From the above discussion, it can be analyzed that the policy decisions made by the Halut regency are decisions that do not have clear regulations. Because the output is not in the form of a decree, or legislation. According to branzenly public policy in a concrete form is as legislation has been seen as a matter

of public interest, although in many cases the government has often failed to produce the desired results, if seen from the public interest.

Policy implementation

Van Meter and Van Horn define policy implementation, which are actions taken by individuals or officials or government or private groups that are directed towards achieving the goals outlined in policy decisions.

The government's goal of diverting the bentor operation route is to create comfort, smoothness and safety in traffic.

One day after the decision was taken, on friday, March 18 2017, the government, in this case the Transportation Agency, installed signs at each point that had been engineered. After the installation of signs on the main road of the city / prosperity road, the Deputy Governor immediately directed the bumps to stop operating on the road of prosperity.

After the decision is made by the government, the next step is to implement it, from the above discussion, it can be analyzed that the government in implementing policies, without having legal rules, where the government takes steps after the implementation of the next stage is to make legal rules. The implementation that was carried out was wrong, it should have been that after the rule of law was made the next stage was implementation, as expressed by Laster and Stewart, implementation is a stage that is carried out after the rule of law is established through a political process.

Evaluation Phase

Evaluation is an activity to assess or see the success of an organization or work unit in carrying out the tasks and functions assigned to it. Lester and Stewart of policy evaluation essentially study the consequences of public policy.

During its development, there is a gap between what the government expects and what happens in the field in terms of being comfortable, smooth and safe in traffic, especially in the port road area. The port road is an extreme route, where traffic jams often occur at port road intersections and the risk of accidents is high due to the opposite lane / direction

The port intersection is an unnatural direction for the bentor to enter and exit, because it is the opposite current, and the accident is high. So it is necessary to make improvements, this current could be used unless the red light is still active, otherwise this current is very dangerous.

The government, in this case the Transportation Agency, has the authority to regulate the flow of transportation. When the government sees conditions in the field, the government carries out an evaluation. The evaluation carried

out by the government was precisely on December 16, 2016. The decision taken by the government was to change the flow of the entrance to the port of Bentor, which is to pass the front road of the Tanjung Raya shop then turn right, until the intersection of the port of Bentor is only allowed to turn left to the port or turn right towards the back road. This supplementary policy came into effect on 17 December 2016.

From the above discussion, it can be analyzed that the evaluation carried out by the government is only looking at the extent to which the program is running, regardless of what the impact is on the community / specifically bentor with this program. According to Michael Borus, there are three types of policies, namely: a) process evaluation, namely evaluation that attempts to answer the question of how the program runs; b) Evaluation of the impact of the evaluation that answers the question of what a program has done, or what results have happened to the existence of a program; c) Strategic analysis, which attempts to answer the question of how far the effectiveness of the program is in overcoming problems (Salahuddin, 2009).

Impact of policy for bentor pullers

Where there is a government there must be policies, be it political, economic, social policies, etc. The government's policy of diverting the bentor operation route has resulted in decreased bentor revenue.

Based on the results of the author's research that decreased income for bentor pullers is the effect of installing traffic signs on the main city lane (bentor operation route diversion). The effect / impact that occurs is that the income of bentor pullers decreases. The initial income per day for panarik bentor can reach IDR 200,000. Now the income is Rp. 100,000, per day. Transportation policy management for the effectiveness of public transportation services that have an impact on the economy of the community (Kadarisman, 2016).

With the installation of signs, the space for bentor is limited, it is only allowed on the back roads in places where passengers are quiet. The income of bentor towers depends on the passenger. Public transport parking arrangements also determine the economic and social income benefits(Buehler, 2014).

With signs installed, the distance for the bentor puller is further away, for example from TPI or Wosia to Galaxi, Nirwana, Modern Market etc. It should only go in front of the tax office heading south until the intersection then turn left to the west of the modern market, then turn right, towards Nirvana, then turn right towards the east of Galaxi. However, because of the prohibited signs / signs, bentor pullers travel three

times the distance, where they have to pass the back road of the PDAM.

The longer the distance traveled, the more fuel consumption was with the public tariff of Rp. 5,000 / person and Rp. 2,500 for school children (Regent Decree No 550/289 / HU / 2014).

CONCLUSION

Based on the description, the authors draw the following conclusions: a) The government's reasons for making policies are congestion on the road of prosperity and Bentor is just an alternative transportation, which is not the right reason; b) The government policy regarding route changes is a policy that is only temporary in nature, so that it does not involve stakeholders and is not included in the form of written regulations or decrees. c) The result of the policy made by the government is that it has an impact on Bentor pullers, namely decreased income.

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INDONESIA'S RESPONSE ON FACING CHINA IN A DISPUTE OVER EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE IN NATUNA ISLANDS

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Abstract.

China has claimed the Exclusive Economic Zone of Indonesia in Natuna Islands as its traditional fishing zone. Although, Indonesia is not acknowledged China's claim, China's asertive activity over South China Sea including in Natuna Sea need more attention from Indonesian goverment. This research examined about Indonesia's response on facing China in a dispute over Exclusive Economic Zone in Natuna Islands by using foreign policy analysis and peacefull settlement of disputes approach. Indeed, this research used qualitative methods. The results of this research showed there are internal and external factors that determine Indonesia's response toward China. The internal factors are its national capabilities and its national interest while the external factors are the asertive policy of China and the chaos situation in South China Sea.

Keywords: *China's Claim, Disputes, Exclusive Economic Zone, Indonesia*

1 INTRODUCTION

Basically, the dispute over the territorial waters of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) on Natuna Island with China started since 1993 when China claims it as its tradisional fishing zone according to China's Nine Dash Line (NDL) (Douglas, 1997: 152). Nowdays, the problem is still the same where China claims the waters around the Natuna islands as its traditional fishing zone. Although Indonesia has firmly rejected China's claims but China's assertive behavior in which Chinese ships continue to enter the EEZ in Natuna waters and carry out illegal fishing need serious response from the Indonesian government.

Meanwhile, the behavior and actions of Indonesia's foreign policy which have become more ambitious -

no longer using the Minimum Essential Force (MEF) strategy - have made the Jokowi administration place national interests as its top priority (Gindarsih and Priamarizki, 2015: 3). One of the efforts that the Indonesian government intensively makes to achieve this vision is to carry out diplomacy and establish comprehensive strategic cooperation relationships with China (Shambi, 2015. This is because both China and Indonesia have national interests that are in line where Indonesia has a vision to become a World Maritime Axis while China has the idea of a Maritime Silk Road (Chen, 2014; Sari & Ridwan, 2016).

However, Conelly (2015) and Shambi (2015) reveal that the foreign policy challenges of President Jokowi's administration will increase, ranging from challenges to building marine infrastructure to v disputes that intersect with neighboring countries. Moreover, following China's assertive behavior and attitude in dealing with maritime territorial disputes in the South China Sea region, Chen (2014) and Shambi (2015: 45) reveal that Indonesia also faces military threats from China regarding China's claim to EEZ in the Natuna Islands.

Meanwhile, Lung and Lang (2016); Polling (2013); and Rourke (2015) reveal that China is involved in a maritime territorial dispute that has not been resolved in the South China Sea and East China Sea. This is partly due to the attitude of China's foreign policy which has become more assertive in disputes over territorial areas and maritime rights in the South China Sea and East China Sea since 2006, especially from 2009 to 2011 (Drifte, 2008; Fravel, 2011) . On the other hand, the component of China's foreign policy that is designed to strengthen its territorial claims and maritime rights and simultaneously prevent other countries - claimant states - from strengthening their claims has implications for the difficulty of resolving disputes in the region (Drifte, 2008). Therefore, looking the responses of Indonesian governent on a dispute over EEZ in Natuna islands with China are important to be addressed.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study uses a foreign policy approach from Rosenau (1976: 16-17) which states that foreign policy is the result of a complex interaction between 1) state orientation (long term), 2) commitment and action plans in the form of strategy (medium term)), and 3) empirical behavior towards other countries (short term). This study will focus on examining Indonesia's foreign policy at the level of behavior in the form of Indonesian actions and responses, especially in facing China's claims to EEZ in the Natuna Islands.

Furthermore, according to Holsti (1982) external factors are the cause of changes in a country's foreign policy. Apart from external factors, there are also internal factors that can lead to changes in foreign policy, namely the national interest of a country. Padelford and Lincoln (1962) argued that the national interests of a nation include: national security interests, economic development interests, interests of increasing national power, interests of national prestige. Therefore, the national interest basically has a broad scope in which these interests are the objectives of the country's foreign policy. In line with Padelford and Lincoln's opinion, in the context of this research, Indonesia's national interest is not only the interest of national security but also includes economic interests and increasing national power.

In the end, a country that will make decisions and foreign policy always considers two main factors which are internal factors that come from the domestic conditions of a country and external factors that come from the external environment of the country. Internal factors are factors as well as domestic conditions in the country concerned, such as political, economic and social conditions in the community and anything that comes from within the country that affects a foreign policy decision. Meanwhile, external factors mean that conditions outside the country can be in the form of international, regional conditions or actions taken by other countries that affect a country's foreign policy decisions. In the context of this research, decision makers for Indonesia's foreign policy towards China in the EEZ issue in the Natuna Islands are also motivated by the consideration of these two main factors, namely internal factors (Indonesia's national capability and its national interests including economic and security interests) and external (China's assertive attitude and behavior and conditions that are not conducive in the South China Sea) which are then decided to become an output in the form of Indonesian foreign policy.

3 METHOD

The research method used in this research is qualitative method based on a case study. In qualitative methods, the researcher is the main instrument where the researcher is the data collector as well as the determinant in the entire research process (Creswell, 2014: 379). Meanwhile, the author's research type is descriptive because it is in accordance with the formulation of the research problem, namely analyzing and describing Indonesia's response to China in dealing with the dispute over the Indonesian EEZ in the Natuna Islands.

Sources of data in the study came from secondary data sources that the author obtained mainly came from: national and international journals, books, scientific articles, research results, and sources from the internet. Furthermore, Cresswell (2014: 387) states that data collection techniques in qualitative research can consist of observation, interviews, literature study based on documents, and audio-visual materials. Even so, to find out how Indonesia's response to China in the dispute over the Indonesian EEZ in the waters of the Natuna Islands, researcher uses literature study.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Internal factors in Indonesia's response to China's claims consist of Indonesia's capabilities and its national interests. The strength (force) of the Chinese economy that is greater than the strength of the Indonesian economy is proven by China's economic growth in 2018, where China is considered to have dominated the world economy with its economic growth of 6.6% (CNBC, 2019). Meanwhile, Indonesia is in the eighth rank with a growth of 4.94%, so if you look at China's economic strength is stronger when compared to Indonesia. Therefore, in implementing its foreign policy, especially in response to China's claim to EEZ in Natuna, Indonesia prefers to use diplomacy.

Meanwhile, China's military strength is also above Indonesia, where China's military strength from 2010 to 2016, especially its coast guard troops, has continued to increase both in terms of numbers and weapons and marine security equipment, where compared to Indonesia in 2016, the number of coast guard troops of China reached 190,000 personnel compared to Indonesia with only 6,000 personnel (CSIS, 2016). Moreover, the overall number of personnel, the power of defense equipment and weaponry belonging to the Indonesian military is below China, which proves that Indonesia's military capability is also under China so this is also a consideration for Indonesia in responding to China's claim to EEZ in Natuna. Therefore, it can be concluded that China's power (force) is stronger than Indonesia's power (force) so that China's capability (economic and military strength) is stronger when compared to Indonesia. This Indonesian national capability factor is also an internal factor that becomes a consideration for the Indonesian government in determining Indonesia's response to China's claim to EEZ in the Natuna Islands.

Futhermore, related to Indonesia position in responding to China's claim to EEZ in the Natuna Islands, there are several things that are become national interest for Indonesia, namely economic

interests and security interests. Indonesia's economic interests refer to national economic development. In order to realize national economic development, Indonesia has established relationships with other countries including China. During the presidency of President Jokowi, Indonesia's relations with China were getting closer with the existence of a more comprehensive strategic partnership. Indonesia's relationship with China is motivated by the alignment of the maritime interests of the two countries, in which China with the Maritime Silk Route, while Indonesia with the World Maritime Axis.

Apart from Indonesia's interest in realizing its vision as a World Maritime Axis, China's position as a world economic giant also prevents Indonesia from immediately cutting off good relations with China just because of the EEZ problem in Natuna. Moreover, the ongoing economic cooperation between Indonesia and China is also a consideration that make Indonesia to resolve disputes with China in peaceful ways.

Moreover, there are also external factors including China's assertive policies and unfavorable regional conditions. China's assertiveness, especially in the South China Sea, is shown by strengthening its military, including forming military agencies engaged in the maritime sector to strengthen China's claim to the South China Sea. The data shows that during 2010-2016, the assertiveness of the Chinese government, especially in disputed areas, is evidenced by the significant increase in the emergence of one or several Chinese coast guard vessels and other Chinese law enforcement vessels (CCG or other Chinese maritime law enforcement vessel) in 72 percent of incidents in both the South China Sea and East China Sea. Not to mentioned that todays China's assertive policy is also supported by the existence of a giant submarine / submarine industry, even the largest in the world owned by the Chinese government, namely Bohai Shipbuilding Heavy Industry Co. (BSHIC). BSHIC is reportedly capable of building nuclear submarines. BSHIC itself is China's only nuclear submarine industry (Jeffrey & Singer, 2017). Previously, BSHIC had made attack submarines using nuclear attack submarines (SSN) types 091 and 093, while for ballistic missile submarines with type 092 and 094 nuclear ballistic missile submarine (SSBN). These facts also be a point for external factor considerations in Indonesian government to solve the EEZ China's claims.

Beside those external factors, the second external factor on Indonesia's response to facing China's claim to

the EEZ in the Natuna Islands is the consideration of conditions in the South China Sea and East China Sea which are not conducive. This is because on the one hand Indonesia does not want to heat up the situation in the region, and Indonesia as a mediator in disputes in the South China Sea also wishes to maintain a neutral position as well as good relations with claimant countries. Therefore, conditions in the South China Sea and East China Sea which are not conducive are also important considerations for Indonesia.

The consideration of the internal and external factors mentioned above determines Indonesia's response on facing China's claims as follows:

First, the main response taken by the Indonesian government is to try to enforce the law of the sea - according to UNCLOS - to secure the Natuna EEZ. The enforcement of Indonesian maritime law is carried out because the Indonesian government considers that the Natuna EEZ problem is a legal problem in which Indonesia must be firm in protecting its territory. Moreover, the Indonesian government considers that Indonesia does not have overlapping EEZ areas with China because Indonesia rejected China's claims so law enforcement is the main step that must be taken. On the other hand, the waters of the EEZ Natuna which China claims contain abundant marine and natural resources. Therefore, the Indonesian government needs to maintain and enforce the law enforcement of the sea.

Second, the Indonesian government is also increasing the number of military troops and building a military base in the Natuna Islands to increase the TNI's ability to guard and at the same time deter Chinese fishing boats that are often caught stealing fish in the Natuna EEZ waters. In fact, military posts on the outer islands of Indonesia such as the Natuna Islands have been built since 2010. However, at that time, development was more for land forces, while the issue of maritime law enforcement requires capability and strength at sea with the Indonesian Navy, assisted by Army and Air Force forces. Therefore, during President Jokowi's administration, efforts to enforce the law by patrolling the sea were also strengthened by the construction of an integrated military base in Ranai, Natuna. In the end, the Indonesian government carried out additional military strength and the construction of a military base in Natuna as a response to the conditions in the South China Sea which were not conducive as well as a defensive action against China's assertive behavior.

Third, following up on incidents of Chinese ships that often enter the Natuna EEZ waters and carry out illegal fishing, the Indonesian government has also responded by making efforts to

empower the Natuna region, especially the coast. This is partly due to President Jokowi's desire to realize maritime connectivity and the Indonesian government does not want Natuna to be claimed by other countries.

Moreover, the Indonesian government also has used bilateral diplomacy to respond to China's claims. Here are the following actions that have been taken by the Indonesian government: 1) The Indonesian government has asked for clarification on the Natuna EEZ issue since 2010, but until now the Chinese side tends to avoid discussions related to EEZ in Natuna; 2) Indonesia submitted a protest note to the Chinese Government when a fishing vessel and a Chinese coastguard ship entered the Natuna waters. 3) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has summoned the Extraordinary Authority from the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia to request that Chinese fishermen no longer enter the Natuna EEZ area of Indonesia.

5 CONCLUSION

Indonesia's response in facing China to the dispute over the Exclusive Economic Zone in the Natuna Islands was based on the consideration of internal and external factors. The consideration of internal factors consists of Indonesia's national strength and capability and Indonesia's national interests. Indonesia's national strength and capability which is under the capabilities of China make Indonesia prefer to use diplomacy in responding to China's assertiveness and claims to the Natuna EEZ. Then, another internal factor is Indonesia's national interest where Indonesia's economic and security interests dominate the Indonesian government's consideration of maintaining good relations with China which ultimately becomes a consideration in Indonesia's response regarding China's claim to the Natuna EEZ.

Furthermore, external factors have also colored Indonesia's response on facing China's claims. These external factors consist of China's assertive policies in the Asia Pacific region and conditions in the South China Sea and East China Sea which are not conducive. China's assertive policy in which China continuously enters the Indonesian EEZ in Natuna using its coast guard and fishermen which on the one hand China also increases the presence of its military forces in the Asia Pacific region which China claims based on China's NDL makes Indonesia have to be rational in responding to China's claims on EEZ in Natuna. Therefore, the Indonesian government has taken a stand with law enforcement and diplomacy efforts. While the second factor is the conditions in the region which are not conducive

where Indonesia in accordance with its national interests seeks to maintain national and regional security so that in responding to China's assertiveness and China's claim to the Natuna EEZ, Indonesia prefers to use diplomacy.

In the end, although the Indonesian government firmly rejects China's claim to the Natuna EEZ as its traditional fishing zone, China's assertive attitude and behavior that continues to enter the Natuna EEZ also requires a response from the Indonesian government. This is because if the Indonesian government allows fishermen and Chinese ships to enter the EEZ in Natuna, the Indonesian government is indirectly considered to accept China's claims so that it can be considered as international customary law. Therefore, apart from continuing to enforce maritime law, the Indonesian government is also carrying out bilateral diplomacy efforts toward the Chinese government.

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Indonesia's Digital Society: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

The development of the digital society in Indonesia is still faced with various problems, although technology has become part of society and has had a positive impact, based on this understanding, this paper is intended to describe the problems and prospects of the digital society in Indonesia. The method in this paper is a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. The data used are secondary data obtained from literature reviews of books, journal articles and other relevant references. The results of the analysis revealed the challenges that must be faced in building a digital society include disparities in technology infrastructure between one region and another, the existence of some societies that have not fully accepted technology based on local values and culture, the different utility of technology among societies, and social structures. The description above constructs the demand for consistency to build Indonesia's digital society considering that the prospects of a digital society will have a positive impact including reinforcing the nation's identity as an archipelago that connects one region to another based on technology, bridging the development gap and underpinning the smart city.

Keywords: *Digital Society, Development, Technology.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Technology is not something new to the Indonesian, technology adoption has been implemented for more than three decades (Wahyudi & Sukmasari, 2014). In fact, technology has become part of the development of Indonesian society, which provides many people with ease in carrying out their daily activities. The utility of technology in Indonesian society today occurs in almost every aspect of life, from communication to mobility.

Based on history, Indonesia adopted technology when radio was used as a broadcasting tool by the Dutch East Indies government, after Indonesian independence, television was part of the development of technology, even though at that time television broadcast was dominated by the government. The internet began to be used in the early 1990s when Indonet as an ISP (internet service provider) provided internet services for companies in accessing communication via email, since then internet access has grown rapidly and is not only used by companies, but by the wider community up to now (Herdyanto, 2020; Wardiana, 2002).

The utility of technology, which has become a demand and needs today, constructs the understanding that Indonesian society has entered a digital society where technology is not only used as a tool to facilitate various social activities, but technology encourages new values for society, existing values acculturated with new values based on technology.

The construction of the understanding that states that Indonesia has entered a digital society empirically do not run that simple, various dimensions is part of the dynamics of the development of a digital society which has implications for the not yet realizing of a digital society in Indonesia. Two variables become the indicators, namely rejection of technology development and the gap in the infrastructure of technology development.

The contradiction of some social groups stating that technology is something that can eliminate the values, culture and identity of Indonesia cannot be avoided (Wahyudi & Sukmasari, 2014), on the one hand, this understanding is acceptable, this is empirically based on the fact that technology development is accompanied by the adoption of western values and culture, which in some aspects is not in line with existing values, cultures and identities.

The disparity in infrastructure development as an implication of Indonesia as an archipelagic nation in which citizens live spread across Indonesia. In addition, the development policy that was previously oriented towards development on the island of Java had implications for regional development gap outside the island of Java (Mukhijab, 2017).

The problems mentioned above are a challenge in how to build the equal distribution of technology infrastructure in all regions of Indonesia, synergized by building an understanding of the thoughts and attitudes of society on the urgency of building a digital-based society, so as to create harmony in values, culture, technology and social relations.

Based on these problems, this paper tries to elaborate the various problems that have arisen so far in efforts to build a digital society in Indonesia, so that the description of these problems will result in an understanding of the problems regarding the digital society. In addition, this paper also tries to build prospects from the development of a digital society, so it is hoped that it will become a research study that will encourage understanding of the importance of digital society in the context of Indonesia today.

2 METHOD

The method in this paper is a descriptive method with a qualitative approach in which the description and analysis of the digital society both on problems and prospects are described in a narrative, in the form of words and not in the form of statistical calculations, this is in line with the understanding from Sugiyono (2013) which states that in qualitative research, the research results are described in a narrative form in words so that the results of the analysis are in the form of narrative arguments based on the data used that are relevant to the study of the digital society.

The data in this study are secondary data obtained from literature reviews of books, journal articles and other relevant references. Data analysis was carried out through data triangulation which included the data collection, display and conclusion stages. With this triangulation, the data obtained are presented naturally as they are, which then results in a real and valid description of the facts.

3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The analysis in this paper is divided into 2 (two) focus studies, namely the challenges in building a digital society in Indonesia and the prospects of a digital society in Indonesia, a more detailed explanation of the two focus of the study is as follows:

3.1 Challenges of Building A Digital Society

Efforts to build a digital society in Indonesia are faced with various problems, these problems are challenges that must be faced by the government, the problems as the challenges in the development of a digital society can be explained as follows:

The first is the disparity of technology infrastructure. The unequal development carried out by the government, especially during the New Order era which was more development-oriented on the island of Java, had implications for many aspects, including infrastructure aspects in which areas on the island of Java had a much better infrastructure of technology

compared to other islands (Reily, 2018; Wilonoyudho, 2009). Empirically, in some areas the society has not been able to access the electricity grid until now, which is the main requirement in building the infrastructure of technology, the society live without electricity (Adam, 2016).

The disparities mentioned above are a challenge for the government to create the equality in development so that every society that lives in various regions of Indonesia can have the same rights and opportunities to be able to build a digital society.

The second is the difference in values and culture. Indonesia has various ethnic groups, including cultural diversity and local values (Ngafifi, 2014). These local values in some areas do not fully accept western culture in the acculturation process, including technology. In practice, the influence of western culture on the bad behaviour of some members of society such as hedonistic and individualistic behaviour forms the assumption that western culture can damage local culture. This has implications for the understanding of some societies who think that technology development is used as a medium for transferring western cultures.

This is a challenge for the government to convince the society to accept technology as an advancement that will provide positive benefits for society and will not damage local values and culture, efforts to provide technology literacy is one of the efforts that must be made by the government.

The third is the disparity in technology adoption and utility. Empirically there are some societies that really need technology in their daily lives, but on the other hand, there are some societies that don't really need technology in their daily lives (Arellano & Camara, 2017).

This condition is a challenge for the government in building a digital society, regarding how people are not only able to accept technology in their lives, but can also take advantage of technology as a medium that makes their lives easier so that society can adapt and use technology equally.

The fourth is an exclusive social structure, society in some areas has an exclusive social structure in which the presence of foreigners or foreign culture is taboo, a society that has this social structure basically inhabits traditional villages and/or remote villages.

The existence of a society that upholds local cultural values deserves to be respected, but on the other hand, it is a challenge for the government to present technology in their lives, this is not meant to interfere with existing local values but as an effort to optimize public services for society, so that every

society has the same rights in accessing public services.

Building a digital society in a traditional village, for example, becomes difficult and even impossible, so that even though the social structure is exclusive, the government must be able to accommodate their existence in the context of digital society development, as part of a society that has unique characteristics.

3.2 Prospects of the Digital Society

The digital society empirically has a positive impact on society in all aspects of life, various studies have shown that the digital society has been able to provide openness, effectiveness, efficiency and welfare (European Economic and Social Committee, 2017).

The digital society in the Indonesian context is not only oriented to be able to provide prospects for the aspects mentioned above, but it is more broadly oriented towards prospects in national development. The prospects for digital society can be described as follows:

3.2.1 Connecting Regions as An Archipelago

Indonesia is an archipelago that has thousands of islands (Tumonggor, Karafet, Hallmark, Lansing, & Sudoyo, 2013), This geographical condition must be addressed as a prospect for connecting various regions in Indonesia, not as an obstacle that will complicate development, one of which is the development of technology infrastructure, because the development of technology infrastructure will be the basis for building a technology-based society.

The condition of Indonesia, which has many islands, is a prospect for the government to build a digital society where the government not only builds the infrastructure of technology but also builds literacy of technology for the society so that people accept technology and use it as part of their daily lives.

The development of a digital society is expected to connect one region to another, including between remote islands, so that the flow of information, public services and business opportunities will be obtained without having to physically go to another area or go outside the island to get these services. The realization of a digital society will create connectivity between one region and another.

Building a digital society in various regions will eventually form a digital society nationally so that the digital society will become an identity where the intertwining of a technology-based society in various regions becomes a national identity for Indonesia.

3.2.2 Bridging the Development Gap

The disparity in development is

a fact where development has been oriented towards development on the island of Java (Firdaus, 2013). Efforts to create a digital society are expected to be able to bridge the existing development gap.

The process of bridging the development gap through a digital society can be realized through three ways namely: First, the development of a digital society requires the development of technology`s infrastructure, so that the government's commitment to be able to build a digital society will be accompanied by the development of technology`s infrastructure, so it is hoped that development in other aspects will also be carried out by the government, then the equality of development will be created between regions.

Second, if the digital society can be realized, then equality of information and opportunities in development will be obtained which is hoped that the digital community will encourage the realization of balanced development between regions. Third, justice and equality are part of the characteristics of a digital society, so that the society will seek to address the development gap to be resolved immediately, in the end, it is hoped that it will accelerate equitable development.

From the explanation above, it is hoped that the digital community will be able to become one of the actors who speak out for justice in development, this is because openness and equality among societies are part of the values of the digital society.

3.2.3 Underpinning the Smart City

The development of the smart city in Indonesia is currently being intensified, with the various infrastructure of technology being built as an effort to facilitate the realization of a smart city, in fact, some cities have declared themselves as smart cities (Prakoso, 2018; Utomo & Hariadi, 2016). One of the most important aspects in the successful implementation of smart city policy is how to build a digital society where a society smartly utilizes technology in its daily life (Arellano & Camara, 2017; Sasvari, 2012).

Efforts to build a smart city must also be balanced with building a digital society that supports the success of a smart city so that there will be a continuous correlation between society and other smart city elements.

The benefits of the digital society in the context of a smart city consist of at least three things, namely: First, society as an end customer of a smart city will directly benefit from the implementation of smart city policy, because it will connect society with other smart city elements such as smart government, smart economy and others.

Second, the success of building a smart society as the identity of a digital

society will be able to encourage the success of other smart city elements, for example for the smart economy element, when a smart society requires access to the economy, the economic model they want to obtain is not a traditional economy, but a smart economy, in the case that a smart economy has not been realized yet, the society will strive to realize a smart economy because it becomes a necessity, so that the smart society will accelerate the development of the smart economy. This also applies in other elements, so that the success of realizing the elements in a smart city will be largely determined by how successful the development of a smart society has been made.

Third, the digital society will always be a smart city element that encourages the sustainability of smart city policy so that various innovations aimed at the success of smart city policy will be supported by society, this support will provide opportunities for the government to implement the various innovative policy of smart city in the future.

From the explanation above, building a digital society will not only have a positive impact on the society itself but will also have a positive impact on all aspects which comprehensively play a role in the development of a nation, even the adoption and utility of technology that is part of the digital society will be able to characterize the nation.

4 CONCLUSION

Empirically, technology has been widely adopted by Indonesian, even technology has become part of society's life, it is not automatically referred to as the Indonesian digital society due to problematic problems that have implications for disparities in the technology utilities.

Various problems become challenges that must be faced which include disparities in technology infrastructure between one region and another, the existence of some societies that have not fully accepted technology based on local values and culture, different adoption and utility of technology among societies, and social structures that in some regions are still exclusive and reject external cultures, including technology.

The description above constructs the demand for consistency to build Indonesia's digital society considering that the prospects of a digital society will have a positive impact on all aspects, including reinforcing the nation's identity as an archipelago that connects one region to another with technology, bridging the development gap and underpinning the smart city.

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Food security in COVID-19: India's tremendous pressure and its impact in South Asia

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Abstract

India is the second-most populous country in the world and the most populous country in the South Asia Region. The way the Indian governance handling the first phase outbreak has quite responsive by implementing a mass lockdown that was able to reduce the rate of increase in the pandemic in India. However, the implementation of the lockdown has worsened the level of hunger and malnutrition, which has affected decreasing public health performance in India. Concerning the issue of food security, several activities in agriculture and the supply chain were also affected by COVID-19, which emerged as an unexpected and uncontrollable condition. This research attempts to analyze the impact of the pandemic on food security in India and South Asia. This study uses an argumentative descriptive research method with qualitative data collection through library research. The implementation and prioritization of the Indian government in overcoming population problems and food needs, particularly during the current pandemic it is very important especially in the aspect of increasing food production to maintain the country's food security and also global foodsecurity.

Keywords: *India, COVID-19, Food Security, SouthAsia.*

1. INTRODUCTION

India is the 7th largest country in the world by area and the 2nd most populous country with a totalof 1.38 billion populations (World Population Review, 2020). This high population has made India experience threats, especially to the country's food

and nutrition security. India has ranked 94th outof 107 countries with a GHI score of 27.2 in food severity 2020 that makes India classified as a country with a serious level of hunger according to the Global Hunger Index 2020. The imbalance of food availability with a growing population has made India one of the countries with a concerning security issue. This issue is also driven by the existence of extreme climate change in the region. The uncertain climate situation is exacerbated by the pandemic that emerged in early2020.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) stated that the COVID-19 pandemic is a global crisis that also threatens the food and agriculture sectors. It is of course risking the food security of billions of people. The disruption of agricultural activities which has an impact on the availability of raw foodstuffs in this lockdown will certainly hinder the government in dealing with malnutrition that occurs in India. Not only in India, but this can also have an impact on countries in South Asia. According to the Global Food Policy Report, this climate change threatens food sources in South Asia and causes loss and insufficient foodstuffs needed for people in the South Asian region, especially India (Jaffery,2019).

As many as 56,000 more positive cases occurred in India in May 2020. The Indian government itself is having difficulty controlling the spread of the virus among its population density. The government has carried out all means of handling and controlling the spread of the virus, for example, by raising awareness about the new COVID-19 outbreak by the Indian Ministry of Health and Family Welfare to the formulation of several health protocols. This pandemic certainly, greatly affected the country's economy due to obstruction to the industrial sector to the agricultural sector which further exacerbated India's foodsecurity.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In May 2020, S. Udhaya Kumar, D. Thirumal Kumar, B. Prabhu Christopher and C. George Priya Doss wrote an Article on "The Rise and Impact of COVID-19 in India" which later become part of the Frontiers Journal in Medicine. The research in the article raises the issue of the emergence and impact of COVID-19 in India. Researchers are focusing their research on global health threats as a result of the COVID-19. They assumed that the presence of COVID-19 is the leading cause of death in the world today and has an adverse socio-economic impact around the world. Furthermore, they said that India needed to expand its initiatives in dealing with the impact of COVID-19, especially in the health sector by taking an approach and development towards its medicalindustry.

The second research in April 2020, was written by Pramitha Elizabeth Pothan, Makiko Taguchi and Guido Santini (FAO) who wrote a Paper entitled "Local Food Systems and COVID-19: A glimpse on India's responses". The researchers identified how India is responding to the impact of COVID-19 in terms of food security. They emphasized the impact of the lockdown which has implications for disrupting India's local food system.

Recent updates, until August 2020, the condition of India's local food system as a result of COVID-19 has not yet stabilized. The pandemic has slackened activity in agriculture and the supply chain causing various economic problems, one of which is skyrocketing food prices across India. Therefore, it is interesting to know how COVID-19 impacts for analysis. The category of this study case is a case study by analyzing some variables of the object within a given period. The research is trying to describe the impact that has occurred in countries in South Asia as a result of this disruption of India's food security.

3. METHOD

This research method employs indirect and unreactive qualitative research methods that utilize library studies in collecting data that are necessary for analysis. The category of this study case is a case study by analyzing some variables of the object within a given period. The research is trying to describe the impact that has occurred in countries in South Asia as a result of this disruption of India's food security.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Food Security in India

Food security in India is no longer news; malnutrition happens to the infant, kids also elderly above 60 years old. Even though the Government had done many things to reduce it, but food security in India's still a difficult issue to overcome.There's a program in India called 'Mid-day Meals' that distribute foods, the program is used to feed approximately 80% population of Elementary kids regularly (Alvi & Gupta, 2020). This program's aim is to fulfill kid nutrition through school activities. However, with the appearance of COVID-19, the government has to do a lockdown that hinders food distribution for the kids. It also affects their health, since the purpose of Mid-day Meal was to prevent those kids from starving, to reduce the percentage of susceptibility todisease.

Disruption of agricultural activities affects the availability of foodstuffs under lockdown also hinders the government from handling the malnutrition issue that happens in India. The problem

in the agricultural sector would be the perishable foodstuffs that should be placed in clean but also fertilized food storage. If it's not handled properly, there will be many perishable food wastes. Other than that there is another concern about the lack of manpower in harvesting the raw foodstuffs, causing crop failures that will affect farmers on their prolonged impact because of COVID-19.

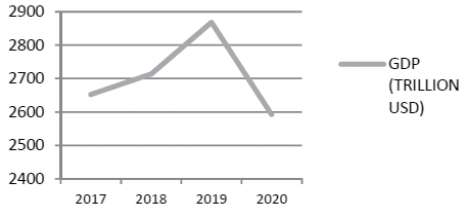

Figure 1: India's gross domestic product per capita.

Those issues are going to affect India's economic, if the perishable foods unable to distributed or exported, it will effect on the country's GDP decreasing. In 2017 to 2018 India experienced an increase in GDP of up to $61,165 trillion USD with a total GDP in 2018 of $2.713,165 trillion USD While in 2018 to 2019 India also experienced an increase in GDP up to $155,765 trillion USD, with total GDP in 2019 $2.868,93 trillion USD While the gap in 2019 to October 2020 is $ 276,347 trillion USD with the total GDP in October 2020 $ 2.592,583 trillion USD (International Monetary Fund, 2020).

Nationally, this is going to increase the price of foodstuff. That will affect the lower class of society, so the percentage of hunger will increase. People with middle to lower incomes will be struggling with their economy, which is going to be difficult to protect themselves from the pandemic. Disruption of global supply chains, lack of labor, low demand for commodity markets, and low income from the tourism sector make it difficult for them to meet their basic needs.

Reporting from the Goa Chronicle on October 17, 2020, the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, explained that several institutions are lending their hands handling this malnutrition issue, especially during the pandemic because the government's movement in this regard is also limited. He also said that he is working on improving their agriculture so that it can reduce the percentage of malnutrition that occurs in India until the current situation (Goa Chronicle,2020)

The Indian government is also carrying out a subsidy program for the community, with increasing unemployment due to the COVID-19 outbreak making it difficult for many families to pay for their lives for basic things such as clothing, food, and shelter.

Also, due to the large number of people who have been laid off and daily laborers who will experience difficulties, so the Government of India provides

subsidized assistance in the form of food in a Factory Distribution System (SDP) program that helps up to 800 million people (Roy, Boss, & Pradhan, 2020).

4.2 India's Food Security andits implications on SouthAsia

During this pandemic, countries in South Asia were faced with food and agricultural security problems which were affected by the weather as well as lockdowns due to the spread of the COVID- 19 virus. Several countries in South Asia such as Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have experienced impacts from agriculture on their economies. The phenomenon of the COVID-19 Pandemic has affected various aspects in Sri Lanka including the reduction in foreign tourists and also state income as well as job layoffs for employees which increases the number of unemployed in the country. These factors indirectly lead Sri Lanka into the problem of malnutrition and lack of food. Although Sri Lanka has been recognized and received many awards for its human resource development program, on the other hand, Sri Lanka also experiences a dual issue in the form of undernutrition and overnutrition (World Food Programme,2020)

Sri Lanka also faced with the threat of climate change, United Nations data related to the Climate Risk Index (2020) shows that Sri Lanka is ranked 6th as the country with the highest climate risk index, this explains the increase in cases of drought, flooding. and also landslides that often occur in Sri Lanka (World Food Programme, 2020). The extreme climate change in Sri Lanka will certainly have an impact on food security and nutrition in the country seeing that the main source of income activities is focused on agriculture. While in Pakistan, the economy is the most affected issue due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It has increased the risk of hunger and food insecurity. The most recent data for 2020 shows that more than 3 million people experience food insecurity in Pakistan (World Food Programme, 2020). Entering March 2020, the situation is getting more critical during the urge of COVID-19. Poverty and unemployment are increasing and the country's economy is shrinking. Also, there is a drought in Pakistan which has brought many desert grasshopper pests, which according to the FAO this has impacted crops and damaged people's livelihoods greatly so that it could threaten people's food security (Dowlatchahi, Ahmed, & Cressman, 2020).

COVID-19 pandemic has made the Bangladeshi government act quickly in overcoming the problem. The implementation of regulations such as travel policies out of town or country, lockdown policies, and strict application

of protocols to maintain distance from each other, which have been going on for quite a long time, have made Bangladesh once again have to face the suffering and hardship of food security. A national survey in 2020 conducted by BRAC in Bangladesh revealed that 93% of respondents lost their jobs and income, and 54% said they had no income at all in March as a result of COVID-19. Poverty in Bangladesh has increased from 24% to 84% (FAO, 2020). This economic shock will also affect food security in Bangladesh such as food insecurity and insufficient nutritional needs, especially for children in the first 1000 days of theirgrowth.

Many Indian people are unable to achieve their food needs, causing them to be on the edge of starvation which results in death. In India, the main reason is not only agricultural land and a high population, but uncertain weather changes are also a serious cause of food security issues (Jaffery, 2019). Whether that does not support crop growth causes many agricultural lands to fail crops so that food production decreases. This can result in an increase in the food price in the market. The large number of people who lose their jobs and cause an increase in the unemployment rate and an increase in food prices can cause economic damage to South Asia. The economic damage will increase poverty and inequality levels, and will likely worsen caused by the existing pandemic. Facing extreme poverty and hunger the region has the right to rely on agriculture. About 57 percent of South Asia is fertile or agricultural land. Nearly 60 percent of South Asia's population is engaged in agriculture (Asian Farmers' Association for Sustainable Rural Development, 2019). Climate change has exaggerated the problem because much of South Asia's agriculture is rainfed, so there is a fundamental dependence on seasonal rains. Small farmers are the most vulnerable in facing climate change because their ability to bear risks is very low. Coupled with the lockdown which made it difficult for them to harvest and sell their crops.

India's role in SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) showed through the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, that took the initiative to hold a meeting to discuss the COVID-19 issue in countries in the South Asian region. India suggested to hold regional cooperation through SAARC. Namely by establishing aspecial fundraiser to solve emergency problems caused by COVID-19 known as the SAARC Development Fund (Pattanaik, 2020). India contributed the largest amount of US $ 10 million, making India the governing authority for funds in the SDF for COVID-19 programs. Although this had received disapproval from Pakistan, due to the

conflict between India and Pakistan in South Asia, making Pakistan think that the fund was better managed by the SAARC Secretariat, other countries seemed to agree with India's decision to take the responsibility over the fund. Pakistan also contributed as much as US $ 3 million to the SAARC secretariat (Wagner & Scholz, 2020). In this case, the fight against COVID- 19 in a pandemic does not at the same time lead to recovery for the conflict between the two countries.

5. CONCLUSION

The pandemic has a huge impact on the food security of India to South Asian countries. The agricultural problems that have existed for a long time have been exacerbated by the mass lockdown to the effects of extreme weather. India, which has almost all of the natural resources in the South Asian region, has an important role in maintaining food security in South Asia. The problem of food security also causes an increase in unemployment to an increase in food prices which can cause economic damage to South Asia, which will lead to poverty and inequality, which is likely to worsen rather than reduce problems due to the existing pandemic. Realizing the importance of regional cooperation for food security, South Asian countries through the initiative of the Prime Minister of India formed the SAARC Development Fund to help resolve problems caused by the pandemic in SouthAsia.

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Collaborative Governance in Administering Public Services at the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City

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Abstract.

Organizing a public service mall requires huge land and cost. Therefore, organizing a public service mall in a conventional mall based on cooperation between the government and private sector may become a solution. The purpose of this research is to describe the relation between the government and private sector in giving quality public services through the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City and to recommend a collaboration model which may be taken example of by other regions with urban characteristics in Indonesia. The method employed in this research was a literature study. The result of this research shows that the Government of Bekasi City has successfully cooperated with private sector, which is PT Gapura Inti Utama, in order to provide quality public services through a public service mall located at Bekasi Trade Center Mall. The collaboration model describes that the relation between the city government and the private sector is based on mutual trust, which is the most important factor in the collaboration. In the negotiation process, the two parties may make an agreement containing benefits and division of role. In conclusion, collaboration based on mutual trust and benefit may result in sustainable cooperation, thus quality public services for the people through a public service mall may be realized.

Keywords: *collaboration, public service mall, quality*

1 INTRODUCTION

Background

Public service is service given by service administrator to the public. According to the Survey conducted by Ombudsman RI, there are many local governments with low level of compliance. The chairman of Ombudsman RI, Amzulian Rifai, states that some local governments have not completed the good standard public services (CNN, 2019). This shows that quality public services in Indonesia are still low, while the quality of public services must be improved for the public sector to adapt to the disruption era Minister of State Secretary of the Republic of Indonesia, Prof. Dr. Pratikno, M.Soc.Sc., states that this disruption era brings threat which affects automation of public services, and the public sector must be able to utilize the threat by improving the quality of its services to the people (Hakam, 2018).

As an effort to improve the quality of public services, the government through the Ministry of Empowerment of State Apparatus and Bureaucracy Reform issues a policy related to public service mall administration (menpan.go.id, 2017). Public Service Mall is a third generation, more progressive integrated service which combines services of the central government, local government and private sector in one building (menpan.go.id, 2019). However, public service mall administration requires huge land and cost (radarsolo.jawapos, 2019; pikiranrakyat.com, 2019). Therefore, the government may involve private sector which is conventional mall owner. One of public service mall administrations administered through collaboration between the government and private sector is the public service mall in Bekasi City.

The Public Service Mall of Bekasi City has been established from February 2018 (metro.tempo.co.id, 2018). Differently from the Public Service Mall of Jakarta with its own building, the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City uses the existing conventional mall. The Government of Bekasi City cooperates with PT Gapura Inti Utama as the private sector who owns the mall to administer public service mall in the conventional mall (bekasikota.go.id, 2019). This may be applied in developing regions since it uses the existing mall and does not necessarily build new mall for public service administration. Based on this, it is interesting to study the process of collaborative governance between the government and private sector in giving quality public services through Public Service Mall of Bekasi City.

Research Problem

The research problem is "how the relation between the government and

private sector provides quality public services through Public Service Mall di Kota Bekasi?"

Objective and Benefit

This research aims at describing the collaboration between the government and private sector in Public Service Mall of Bekasi City and recommending a model which may be taken example of by other regions with urban characteristics in Indonesia. This research is useful for additional body of knowledge in public services and provides recommendations for public service practitioners.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Researches

The previous researches are on collaborative governance in in administering public services in Indonesia. The researcher also takes three previous researches for comparison with this research, as given below:

1. The research conducted by Widuri Wulandari, Suranto, and Eko Priyo Purnomo entitled "*Collaborative Governance dalam Mewujudkan Inovasi Layanan Publik*" (Collaborative Governance in Realizing Innovation in Public Services) explains that the implementation of service innovation initiated by Sleman Subdistrict with a Community Information Group (KIM), namely Sunmor Sembada Minggu Pahing (SSMP), has not been optimally implemented. The implementation focuses more on economic and cultural sectors instead of educational sector, that visit to local library is still ineffective. However, from the perspective of service quality, the society feels satisfied with the activity.
2. The research conducted by Denny Irawan entitled "*Collaborative Governance (Studi Deskriptif Proses Pemerintahan Kolaboratif dalam Pengendalian Pencemaran Udara di Kota Surabaya)*" (Collaborative Governance (A Descriptive Study on Collaborative Governance in Controlling Air Pollution in Surabaya City)) explains that the collaborative governance in controlling air pollution in Surabaya City performed through three phases, namely Identifying Obstacles and Opportunities, Debating Strategies for Influence, and Planning Collaborative Actions, is not effective yet. In overall, out of the three phases of the collaborative governance process in controlling air pollution in Surabaya City, only one criterion is fulfilled, which is Trust Among The Participants.

There are currently many researches associating collaborative governance

with various government policies and programs, but there is no research which associates it with Public Service Mall program as one of the strategies to improve service quality until now. Therefore, this is a new research which is expected to be a model for other Regencies/Cities in improving the quality of public services in Indonesia.

The Concept of Collaborative Governance

According to Ansell and Gash (2007), collaborative governance is governance which regulates one or more public institutions directly involved in non-public stakeholders in formal collective decision making process oriented to consensus and discussion aiming at making or implementing public policies or managing programs or managing public assets. This definition may be understood that the collaboration is initiated by public actor by engaging non-public actor, as in the collaboration between the Government of Bekasi City and public sector in administering public service mall in Bekasi City.

3 METHOD

This research was conducted from August 10, 2020 to September 25, 2020 and employed literature study. The literature study was conducted through four phases, namely choosing topic to be reviewed, tracking and choosing appropriate and relevant article, conducting literature analysis and synthesis and organizing review writing.

The data were collected from 13 scientific articles, 15 electronic news sources and 2 state gazettes, which were obtained from Google scholar, academia edu, research gate and government official website. The searching was made with topics related to collaborative governance in public services, inter-actor relation, government-private sector collaboration cases in some regions, cases of the importance of trust in collaboration, Public Service Mall of Bekasi City and quality public services.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Relation between Government of Bekasi City and Private Sector in Administering Public Service Mall in Bekasi City

The government needs to cooperate with private sector since it has limited capability in providing the people's needs which may be accessed through public services (Asikin, 2013). In Magelang City, the government cooperates with private sector since it has limited human resource, finance and other supporting aspects to provide the facilities and infrastructure

(Mulyani, 2017). In Sidoarjo Regency, to improve people's welfare, the government with assistance of private sector provides tools and training of technology transfer (Arrozaaq, 2016). Similarly, the Government of Bekasi City in cooperation with PT Gapura Inti Utama administers quality public services through the public service mall (bekasikota.go.id, 2019).

To realize quality public services, the collaborative government has been applied by the Government of Bekasi City in collaboration with private sector, PT Gapura Inti Utama, to administer the service mall in Bekasi City. Collaboration may be defined as arrangement of governance with one or more public institutions directly involved with non-government stakeholders in formal collective decision making, which is oriented to consensus and deliberation, aiming at making or implementing public policies, managing public program or assets (Ansell and Gash, 2007). In addition, the parties involved in the collaboration should have the same objective, since same objective influences teamwork cohesiveness (Muslihah, 2016). In this collaboration, both the Government of Bekasi City and the private sector have the same objective of advancing the quality of public services. The government as the initiator expects that with the public service mall located at the conventional mall, the society will access other needs while waiting for service application process to complete (Utami, 2019).

The Public Service Mall of Bekasi City is initially located at the shopping center Pasar Proyek Bekasi Junction (PPBJ). In preparing the public service mall at this Bekasi Junction Mall, the Government of Bekasi City receives assistance from CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) with free rent for the first year and it is to pay for it in the next year. However, the cooperation does not last long. The government's intention to add new counters of public services at Bekasi Junction Mall cannot be implemented because of limited land. In addition, according to the Head of the Department of Capital Investment and One-Stop Integrated Services (DPMPTSP) of Bekasi City, Lintong Ambarita, the developer of Bekasi Junction Mall is not capable of completing its obligation as contained in the cooperation agreement, such as providing air conditioning fafcilities (megapolitan.kompas, 2019).

The obligation contained in in the agreement is something that must actually be implemented, since fulfilling the agreement made during the course of cooperation influences the level of trust between actors. The high level of trust serves as the foundation in social order, successful cooperation

and effective work team, and positively influences the social and economy of a country (Fukuyama, 1995 and Putnam et al., 1993 in Pucetaite & Lamsa, 2008). Building trust is the most prominent factor in the beginning of collaboration process, which may be built through past canonical encounter and interaction (Ansell and Gash, 2007: 550). Actors who are acquainted and have interacted with each other will make future coordination process easier, since each interaction is influenced by history of past interactions (Wibowo, 2009 and Astutik, 2013).

The importance of trust may be observed from the result of research conducted by Harsasto (2019) on partnership between Sinar Mas Land, Government of South Tanggerang City and merchants in managing modern market BSD City, that trust is one of the principles in creating collaboration. In Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi, the success of collaboration of various actors in building Mangrove Forest Tourism Tongke-Tongke is based on mutual trust, which later serves as the best solution to answering each actor's limitation (Umar, Burhanuddin, and Nasrulhaq, 2019). It is also with trust, that a cooperation relation will survive and sustain (Imawan, Harsasto, and Adnan, 2014). In the case of collaboration of Public Service Mall of Bekasi City, The Bekasi Junction Mall part is not able to fulfill its obligations agreed on in the agreement. This makes the Government of Bekasi City decides to move the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City from Bekasi Junction Mall to Bekasi Trade Center (BTC) Mall.

The cooperation with BTC Mall gives the Government of Bekasi City benefit that the cost of rent for the first two years is to be provided by the CSR of mall developer, thus in its movement, the Government of Bekasi City does not incur any fund from its Local Budget (megapolitan.kompas, 2019). Additional counters of public services which cannot be realized when the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City is at Bekasi Junction Mall may be realized at BTC Mall. With a wider location, the Government of Bekasi City is capable to open counters for 16 institutions which provide public services at the time of movement, while in the old location, there are only counters for 12 institutions (cendananews, 2019). Until now, there are 22 institutions with their counters at the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City. The institutions include Ministry of Religious Affairs of Bekasi City, Subregional Police Bekasi City, DPMPTSP of West Java, SAMSAT of West Java, Custom and Excises of Bekasi City, BPN of Bekasi City, Health Department of Bekasi City, Population and Civil Registration Agency of Bekasi City, Office of Manpower of Bekasi City,

DPMPTSP of Bekasi City, Immigration Office of Bekasi City, KPP Pondok Gede, Bank BJB, Bank BNI, Bank BRI, BPJS Kesehatan, BPJS Ketenagakerjaan, Jasa Raharja, POS Indonesia, Telkom Indonesia, BPRS Patriot Bekasi and PDAM Bekasi City (mpp.bekasikota.go.id, 2020). The private sector (mall owner) also gains the benefit from this collaboration.

Company's increased reputation and raised economy are the positive impacts and benefits the private sector (mall owner) gains. This is experienced by Bekasi Junction Mall as the provider of land before the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City is moved to BTC Mall. The company is deemed to do good deed by the society since it facilitates them to access public services provided by the government. In addition, the shopping center gets more crowded and its sale increases. This condition is quite beneficial to the company since it may enhance good investment climate with the many tenants desiring to open their counters at the mall (Utami, 2019).

The benefits gained by the government and the private sector may be identified through negotiation process. In the collaboration process, negotiation is made through face to face dialogue between actors to identify potential mutual benefits. This is the process to solve difference in views and other constraints, thus mutually beneficial communication is established (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Through this phase, the actors involved meet to negotiate and eventually reach a consensus or agreement which may be expressed into an agreement (Furqoni, et al., 2019).

In the practice of collaboration of the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City, the governments serving as the administrator of public services is obligated to move and establish with various institutions from the central government, local government, Local-Owned Enterprises (BUMD) and private sector to administer public services. The private sector, which is PT Gapura Inti Utama, serving as the facilitator, is obligated to provide land or space for public service administration along with other facilities which may support realization of integrated quality public services to the society.

The integrated public services please the people of Bekasi City since the services get easier and more convenient, even since the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City is located at Bekasi Junction. As reported by electronic newspapers megapolitan.kompas.com (2019) and republika.co.id (2019), the people feel satisfied with the public services administered with the cooperation between the Government of Bekasi City and the private sector (mall owner). Therefore, the Government of Bekasi

City's effort of administering public services is pursuant to the principles of public services contained in Decision of Ministry of Empowerment of State Apparatus Number 63/KEP/M. PAN/7/2003 on the General Guidelines on Public Service Administration, especially the points of ease of access and convenience. The two points are also the objective of the public service mall contained in Regulation of Ministry of Empowerment of State Apparatus and Bureaucracy Reform Number 23 of 2017 on Public Service Mall Administration, namely providing facilitation, speed, accessibility, security and convenience to the society in receiving services.

The public service mall's ease of access may be felt since the society only needs to visit one place for various services. They do not necessarily visit many institutions which are usually distant away, taking time and cost (menpan.go.id, 2020). The available facilities are also sufficient, thus services are given faster. The Public Service Mall of Bekasi City also uses technology by providing online. There are 32 kinds of licensing which may be applied through Online Single Submission (OSS) or helpdesk of DPMPTSP which is business licensing through one-stop integrated electronic system from central to local levels with only one path (megapolitan.kompas.com, 2019). In addition, the society is also facilitated with online queuing system which may be accessed at the official website of the Public Service Mall of Bekasi City (wartakota.tribunews, 2020).

Convenience in public service mall means orderly, well-organized, beautiful and healthy service environment along with service supporting facilities, such as parking, toilet, place of worship and others. The Public Service Mall of Bekasi City at BTC Mall with an area of 700.5 square meters is far more comfortable than the previous place, Bekasi Junction Mall. The wider space with the concept of open service without partition makes visitors more comfortable when waiting for services to complete, and there are a large number of seats in the waiting room. In the public service of BTC mall, there is health check-up service for free (bekasi.pojok.satu.id, 2019).

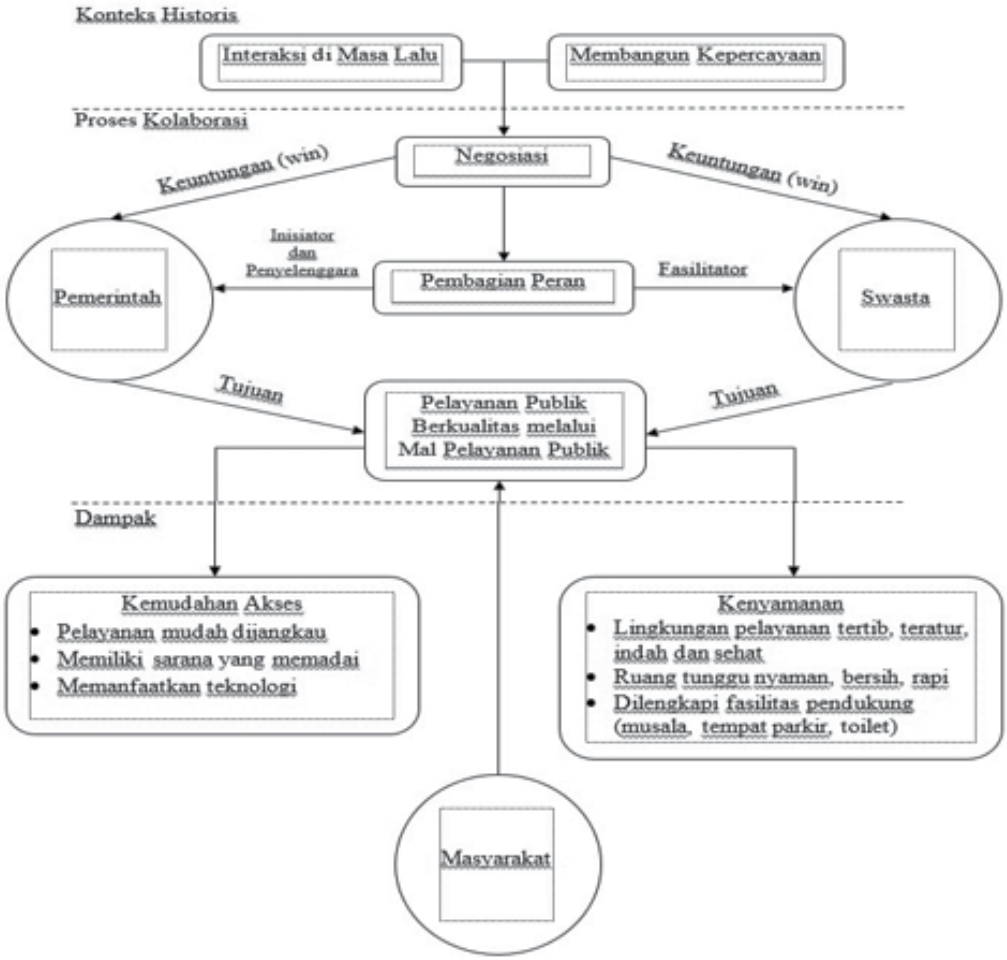

Figure 1. *Model of Relation between the Government and Private Sector in Providing Quality Public Services through Public Service Mall*

Based on the research result, the collaboration between the government and the private sector may be formulated in the following model:

5. CONCLUSSION

In the administration of quality public services through the public service mall, the Government of Bekasi City cooperates with private sector, PT Gapura Inti Utama. The Government of Bekasi City serves as the administrator of public services, while the private sector serves as the facilitator. This collaboration gives benefits to the Government of Bekasi City, the private sector and the society.

The model of establishment of relation between the city government and the private sector is based on mutual trust, which is the government and private sector's main capital in this collaboration. During negotiation, both parties make an agreement containing benefits obtained and division of roles to the two parties. Mutually beneficial collaboration may result in sustainable cooperation, thus integrated quality public services to the society as the ideal of the existence of public service mall may be realized.

Acknowledgement

We would like to express our gratitude to the Directorate General of Learning and Student Affairs, Ministry of Education and Culture with its funding for this research, Drs. Solahuddin Kusumanegara, M.Si. as the academic adviser, and team members for their hard work in completing this research.

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The Role of Women's Leadership in Institutions of the Indigenous People

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Abstract

This research aims to map women's role in indigenous cities and how the role of women's leadership in the social, economic, and political sphere of indigenous peoples' institutions. This research was conducted by taking the example of the Sinar Resmi Kasepuhan indigenous community. This study used a descriptive analysis method with a sample using a snowballing sample technique. The data collection techniques used literature study, observation, in-depth and structured interviews, questionnaires, and documentation. The results showed that women have an essential leadership role in carrying out Sinar Resmi indigenous community institutions. The role of women is an inseparable part of the indigenous community institutions. The role of women is not only occupying a domestic space buta l so occupying a public space. From generation to generation, Ambu (the wife of the customary head) has the role of leading women in the community. It means that women have leadership in social space. In the economic and political sphere, Kasepuhan women also have a significant role. The recommendation of this research is to strengthen the institutional Structure of indigenous women in the Sinar Resmi community so that the roles and education of indigenous women can be optimize daga into increase the independence, resilience, and welfare of the families of the Sinar Resmi indigenous community.

Keywords: *Women's Leadership, Gender equality, Women'sEducation.*

1. INTRODUCTION

This research is motivated by gender equality, a global issue with its study to fight to protectwomen's rights independently. Indonesia, a country with a female population of 49.76% (Central Statistics Agency, 2019), must concentrate and be serious in dealing with women's role and protection. There are unique and exciting things

to study regarding Indonesia's culture, namely Sundanese culture, namely the Sinarresmi Indigenous people, where the wife of the Customary Head has her place of leadership in the indigenous people's institution itself. In the Sundanese community, there is some custom forwomen.Women have no place in leadership at all. Sundanese women in non-traditional villages are considered to only carry out the role of women inthe household, with the cultural motto of being a room, kitchen, well which has a philosophy of Sundanese women only has three place stop layarole, namelyin the room serving husbands, in the kitchen for cooking and in the well means cleaning clothes and a place to eat. Making traditional Sundanese women in rural areas, after marriage, has a role only to be at home and around activities. Even though the Sundanese indigenous people in Sinarresmi, where the ancestors of Sundanese culture are in villages or cities, women's role has its place; therefore, it is interesting to research.

Following the sustainable development goals of the United Nations where one of the mist he development of gender equality, this research is essential so that the results of this study are expected to obtain amapping of the role of women in indigenous communities, second, how the role of women's leadership in social, economic and political spheres in institutions of the indigenous peoples.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Leadership ability (skill) owned one to influence, encourage, and mobilize others to act something to achieve a particular goal. Leadership own home base word of his is the leader which in English is called leadership, as long as he is the leader, from the root word to lead meaningful running at the start, moving earlier, do the first, taking the first step, lead, guide, guide, direct the opinions or thoughts of others, and move others through the influence of a leader. Hendiyat Soetopo and Waty Soemanto provide the meaning of leadership as an activity to guide a group or group in such a way as to achieve the common goals ofthe group. J. Salusu defines leadership as the power in influencing others so that they participatein achieving common goals . (Bahruddin,2012)

Ralph M. Stogdill, in the book Personel Factor Associated With Leadership quoted by James A. Lee in his book " Management Theories and Prescriptions, "states that a leader must have several advantages:

1. Capacity, such as intelligence, alertness, speaking ability or verbal facility, ability to judge.
2. Achievements, such as bachelor degrees, science, gains in sports, andmany

3. Responsibilities, such as being independent, taking the initiative, diligent, tenacious, confident, aggressive, and having a desire to excel.
4. Participation, such as being active, having high sociability, being sociable, cooperative, adaptable, and having a sense ofhumor.
5. Status includes a relatively high socioeconomic position, popularity, and fame (Faizah,2006).

The keyword for leadership lies in one's duty to uphold truth and justice. It is not merely power that ends in ease offacilities and ease of accessing policies quickly and easily. So, leadership is not only the task of the men, will but also women. Women also have leadership responsibilities at any level. Everyone can be a leader at the level of anything else, either as government leaders, institutions, and communities. One can even become a war leader, regardless of the gender of men or women (Mubin, 2008:65-66).

Women's leadership is not only limited in domestic life but also society. His leadership is not only limited to influencing men to recognize their legitimate rights but must also include those of the same sex so that they can rise to work together to achieve and maintain their dignity and to blockevery effort from anyone, both men. and women, small or large groups whose aim is to direct the mina direction that is contrary to their dignity (Syihab,2005).

3. METHOD

This study uses a descriptive analysis method with a qualitative approach. This research aims to map women's role in indigenous communities and how women's leadership in the social, economic, and political spheres of customary community institutions. This study used a snow bowling sampling technique using key informants, namely Ambu (wife of the customary head), from Ambu obtained other informants until the data was deemed sufficient and able to answer research questions and research objectives have been achieved.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Role of women in the Kasepuhan community

Women on indigenous peoples Official Kasepuhan Ray shave their placeself. Insome cases, women and men have the same position but have different responsibilities. Women and men have different job duties, both in the household, in their livelihood, and in traditionalinstitutions.

The Role of Women in the Family Economy

In terms of working eyes in rice farming, men and women (husband

and wife) are balanced. In search of livelihood, the Kasepuhan community gives responsibility the same for women and men. The main livelihood of the Kasepuhan indigenous people is farming (Rahmawati, 2013).

1. The agricultural system they run, it requires cooperation between women and men. There are parts that men must do, and parts that must be done by women.
2. In the agricultural process, there are several activities and ritual ceremonies that accompany the activities that must be carried out,including:
3. Ngored (dancing on the grass)
4. Ngasek (punching holes in the ground) followed by melak (planting rice)
5. Sapangjadian (1 week after coking)
6. Selametan Pare Nyiram (starting to grow fruit)
7. Mipit (harvest)
8. Rosulan (Rahmawati, Salbiah, & Pratidina, 2016)

Men usually do Ngored (cleaning the grass). In the case of "ngasek" (making a hole in the ground), the man's job is to make a hole in the ground; then, women put the rice seeds into the hole. In ngasek activities, there is a cooperation between women and men. Each of them has a different and essential task. The mipit (harvest) activity also provides opportunities for women and men toplay a role.Thus, it can be said that women have an equally important role as men in working to collect forage and manage the household. Even in traditional institutions, women also have a leadershiprole.

Ambu (wife of Abah / traditional leader) symbolizes the role of women a sleaders. The highest leader in the official Sinar Kasepuhan is Abah, who is currently held by Abah Asep. Abah's wife iscalled Ambu. Ambu's task itself is to serve Abah.However, in the Kasepuhan structure, the positions and duties are not explicit. As traditional leaders, the Abah descendants have a higher stratum than other Kasepuhanresidents.

Role of Women's Leadership

The woman has the essential leadership role in running institutions of indigenous peoples Official rays. The role of women is an inseparable part of the indigenous peoples' institutions.

The role of women does occupynot only domestic space but also occupies public space. From generation to generation, Ambu (the wife of the customary head) has played a woman leader in society. It means that women have leadership in social space. In the economic and political fields, Kasepuhan women also have a significantrole.

The leadership of Women in Customary Institutions

Institutional Official Kasepuhan Rays have a complete organizational structure, any structure some duties appointed by hereditary from generation to generation. Kasepuhan's organizational Structurecan be described asfollows:

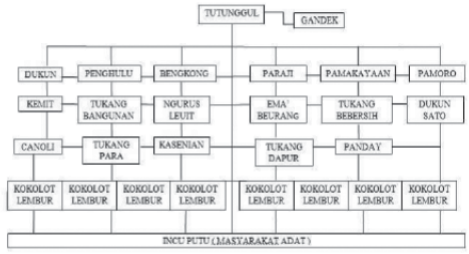

Figure 1. Organizational Structure of the Kasepuhan Sinar Resmi commuity

From Figure 1, there are several traditionalpositions held by women,including:

1. *Paraji (Ma Acah)* is a person who carries out circumcision for girls and a person. She is in charge of helping to give birth and bringing the baby down to earth at the age of 3 days. The appointment as paraji is not chosen through democratic means but traditionally as long as thereisalineofdescent(Turus) fromtheprevious ancestors (Karuhun) and must be from female ancestors. Paraji artisans are craftsmen who have three work fields: assisting in childbirth, circumcising children, and bridalmakeup.
2. *Tukang GOA*. The Goa artisan serves as Ambu's representative if Ambu cannot take rice from his place/rice room (pandaringan), using a white kemben, directly responsible for Ambu.
3. *Canoli (Ma Rumsih)* is a person who has task for taking rice from a rice storage area (goah) to be cooked at formal events. She is also supervising the food that will be distributed to Kasepuhan *(sisihan)* residents. The designation as "canoli" is not chosen through democratic means but traditionally as long as there is a line of descent (Turus) from the ancestors (Karuhun) before and mustbeoffemaledescent. Thescheduledmothers are in charge of cooking and other tasks at Imah Gede, who are directly responsible forAmbu.
4. *Tukang Dapur.* A kitchen builder (Ma Eroh) is a person in charge of serving internal food and cooking activities at Imah Gede. the appointment as "Kitchen Maker" is not chosen through democratic means but traditionally as long as there is a line of descent (Turus) from the ancestors (Karuhun) before and must be from the descent ofwomen
5. Tukang Sisiuk Tukang Sisiuk is in charge of preparing a buffet (eating together) when there is a party or guests at Abah's house, directly

responsible to Ambu (Rahmawati et al.,2016)

Women in Traditional Rituals

In traditional rituals,women have a nessential role in the implementation of these ritual ceremonies. Women are notonlycompanions for men,but women participate actively and have responsibility for the ritual ceremony's success. For example, in a series of rice farming system ceremonies, there is aprocession called ngadiukeun, which puts rice into the leuit (rice barn).The Ngadiukken ceremony places Ambuas the main actor in the procession of bringing the first rice harvested into hishouse.

Another ritual that also involves women as the main actor of ritual activities is N utu Pare, which is pounding rice grains taken from the leuit (rice barn) fordailyneeds,which is carrie dout individually or in groups and is usually done by women. Another ritual is Nganyaran, which is tasting the rice harvested in the rice fields for the first time. The women who prepare it, from taking rice in the goah to serving it into rice ready toeat.

Even when taking rice, there is their procedure, which must be taken by Ambu using white kemben. Suppose Ambu cannot be represented by the goa builder to collectrice from the pendaringan.Violation of this rule is believed to have brought Kabendon. One of Ambu's experiences is that he has also made mistakes, namely forgetting to wear a white cloth when picking up the rice in the pendaringan, or forgetting to make rurujakan during pare nyiram (flowering rice). The effect is in the form of a toothache/chills that will not heal until he realizeshis mistake and healsindependently.

The implementation of the *tatali paranti karuhun* values is not only limited to the spiritual level but is reflecte dinall aspectsof life, for example, traditional patterns, leadership, and how to interact with nature (Rahmawati, 2013); (Rahmawati, 2012). This *tatali paranti karuhun* regulates the relationship between men and women in all aspects of life. Which work should be done by men and which work should be done bywomen.

The Role of Women in Social Life

Ambuasa symbol of female leadershipisnotonly acompanion to Abah invarious ritual ceremonies, but Ambu also represents Abah and the Kasepuhan institution in managing the social life of the community, for example, in terms of education, courtesy to the decision of women to marry and in making decisions to become energy working women abroad.

On every occasion, especially during the graduation period for early

childhood, elementary, and junior high school children, Ambu was allowed togiveaspeech.His remarks were of course adjusted to the age of the school children. Some of the things that Ambu of ten convey and become Ambu's mission to organize his community are the following advice:

1. They are mandated that schoolchildren even to their height. Even though they are indigenous people, they still have to have a modern education to provide them with life and advance the indigenous people. However, Ambu maintains that the children should have higher education, even though they should not leave the village to taking care of the Kasepuhan tatali paranti karuhun custom;
2. When giving a speech at SMP, Ambu advised the public not to do early marriage (early marriage). Women and men must be oldenough to marry and mature in thought and material readiness;
3. The message that was also conveyed by Ambu was about politeness both in speech and behavior. Children should not speak gauze. Parents and homeroom teachers must work together to educate children. If the child speaks harshly, then he must be reprimanded, told that this is not good. The way to reprimand him is also not to be rude. Still have to be gentle so that children imitate;

The Role of Women in Political Life

Politics here is interpreted as a struggle for power in official village institutions' realm because the kasepuhan institution is a traditional institution passed down from generation to generation through the wangsit mechanism (Wangsit is instruction from ancestral spirits received through dreams. Wangsit is a direction from ancestors who come through dreams. For example, when they are going to elect a new chieftain. There is no general election like in modern society.They choose then extchief based on wangsit. Wangsit comes to the abah or the head of representative (Kokolot-Kampung) in each village, then it is discussed in a Deliberative Council).

For example, in village head elections, Ambu's role is sufficient to determine who will be elected to be the village head. Ambu was also the one who negotiated with the new village head candidates and the constituency. Ambu became Abah's mouthpiece to win a contest.

5. CONCLUSSION

In the Kasepuhan orthodox community's life, women have an essential role in maintaining the continuity of customs and the order of community life. Women are not only companions for men. Women are also

important actors in thesustainability of indigenouspeoples.

As leaders of their people, women also have important roles and positions in the social, economic, and even political spheres. It is just that women's capacity in the education sector is still weak; men more represent opportunities for highereducation.

Therefore, to strengthen the capacity, participation, and responsibility of women in the Kasepuhan Sinar Resmi adat community, indigenous women's role and education can be re-optimized to increase independence and resilience welfare of the families of the Sinar Resmi adat community.

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Self Presentation of MSM on Hornet, an Online Dating App

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Abstract

Anti-LGBT stigma ubiquitous in Indonesian society limits the opportunity for individuals within the LGBT community to perform authentic self presentation. The advent of new specialized social spaces within the confines of cyberspace provide a safe space for LGBT individuals to freely pursue and fulfill their social needs. Online dating apps catered to men who have sex with men (MSM), such as Hornet, provide a means for its users to present themselves and establish relationships with fellow MSM on the platform. This study reviews the strategies of self presentation practiced by MSM on Hornet using virtual ethnography as a framework. Major themes explored in this study include the utilization of self presentation by MSM to facilitate social interactions, gain material and social rewards, and perform self-construction. The results of this study suggest that Hornet users will perform different methods of self presentation depending on their goals of using the app, whether it is to initiate non-relationship sexual activity, build social networks, or as a means of gaining miscellaneous socio-materialbenefit.

Keywords:*Men Who Have Sex with Men, Self Presentation, Cyberspace, Dating App, Virtual Ethnography*

1. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, being LGBT is not defined as a violation of constitutional laws. However, Indonesian society views being LGBT as being indecent, and a large number of Indonesians view the existence of LGBT people as incompatible with existing values within Indonesiansociety.

The presence of the LGBT community on the internet is also limited by the Internet Positif, a program designed in 2014 by Tifatul Sembiring, the Minister of Information and Communication Technologies,

which was intended to "protect public interests from internet content that have the potential to incur negative or detrimental effects" (Menteri Komunikasi dan Informatika, 2014).

However, advancements in 21st century communication technology has created new spaces within cyberspace open for discourse and interaction separated from public spaces limited from Internet Positif. The availability of same-sex online dating services can help to alleviate the discomfort that homosexual men feel when interacting intimately with partners of the same-sex within public spaces, or who struggle finding a partner of the same sex (Rosenfeld and Thomas, 2012).

This research studies acts of self-presentation performed by men who have sex with men on Hornet, an online gay dating app, including the factors, strategies, and benefits tied to that activity. The focus of this study is to understand the process of self-presentation by men who have sex with men in a space that is uniquely theirs.

2. LITERATURERE VIEW

2.1 Self-Presentation

Self-Presentation is a pervasive feature of social life. People continuously attempt to manage or adjust their impressions on other people through manipulating settings, appearances, or behaviors (Goffman, 1959).

The three functions of self-presentation within every social interaction are: 1) *to facilitate social interaction,* referring to its use in defining the nature of a certain social situation, 2) *gain material and social rewards,* referring to creating a certain impression about oneself to gain material and social rewards, 3) *self-construction,* referring to the creating impressions of oneself to construct one's ownidentity.

In addition, there are five strategies of self- presentation according to Jones (1990: 1) *Ingratiation:* the creation of positive impressions so that one is liked, 2) *Self-promotion:* the act of convincing others of one's own talents or abilities to gain admiration, 3) *Intimidation:* the act of appearing powerful so that one is feared or respected, 4) *Exemplification:* presenting oneself as just or moral to gain veneration, and 5) *Supplication:* appearing weaker or inferior to receivepity.

2.2 Computer-Mediated Communication

McQuail (2005) defines *computer-mediated communication* as being all forms of communication performed through the use of an electronic medium. CMC facilitates the majority of indirect communication, allowing for *hyperpersonal* communication, wherein the communicator can select how they wish to present themselves to their

communicants. In CMC-based online interactions, Walther (2007) highlights a selective form of self- presentation which enable users to create largely positive impressions.

3. METHOD

This study was executed using a qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm to interpret and understand how people create and manage their social worlds (Hidayat, 2003). This research uses a virtual ethnographic model of research, performed through direct involvement in discussions with the subjects of this ethnography.

The object of this research is the self- presentation performed by Hornet users. Data was gathered through interviews, observation, and document analysis with five participants who all use Hornet. Informants were selected through the use of a purposive sampling technique, and further expanded using snowball sampling with consideration towards the following criteria: 1) the informant is an active user of Hornet (going on the app at least 2-3 times a week), and 2) the informant's activities on Hornet display an observable amount ofself-presentation.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 What isHornet?

Hornet is a mobile online dating app catering towards gay and bisexual men, including men who have sex with men in general. Hornet functions similarly to other online dating apps, where users must create a profile containing basic information about themselves (and optionally including a photo). After creating a profile, users are introduced to a catalog of other users' profiles which are presented in an order of nearest to farthest in relation to the user's current location. User profiles on that catalog can then be filtered further according to preferences set by theuser.

4.2 Factors in Performing Self-Presentation onHornet

The participants observed in this study admit that they have personally experienced or know people who have experienced anti-LGBT stigma in their lives. Participants who have not experienced direct stigma due to their sexual orientation admit that they are still unwilling to present their sexual orientation due to the consequences that they may receive by doing so.

Table 1: Factors in Performing Self-Presentation on Hornet

No.	Participant	Stigma	Opportunity
1.	A	No direct experience with stigma, but has concerns about his parents' reaction towards his gay identity	Finding and building intimate relationships through cyberspace
2.	B	Has experienced anti-LGBT stigma in his youth, though has not experienced incidents of stigma since	Engaging in sexual relations with other men
3.	C	Experiences anti-LGBT stigma indirectly	Facilitating his social life
4.	D	Has not experienced anti-LGBT stigma personally though knows several close associates who have	Building social networks
5.	E	Rejection from his campus' social circle due to perceived homosexuality	Gain monetary rewards

The consequences that the participants refer to include the rejection that they fear they may experience from their families or friends within their social circles. Their concern shows that even when they have not experienced anti-LGBT stigma directly in their lives, the constant fear of rejection suggests the omnipresence of anti-LGBT stigma within Indonesiansociety.

How the participants within this study respond to the stigma that they experience shows a common behavior within Indonesian LGBT communities, which is the tendency to adapt to the status quo instead of trying to enact social change (Syahputra and Yuliana, 2016). The participants attempt to keep their sexual orientations a secret offline. Their attempts at hiding their sexual orientations include acts of adjusting how they present themselves, performing stigmatized interactions using fake identities, and finding more inclusive social circles.

The Hornet users observed in this study suggest the primary factor that moves them to perform social interactions within cyberspaces like Hornet is the ease and freedom that those spaces provide in engaging their social lives. This is supported by research done by Andu, Bahfiarti, and Farid (2017) which suggests that gay men use social media apps for the purposes of self-actualization and solidifying their existence, in addition to interacting with one another in a context removed from the societal conditions of Indonesian society that view their existence as gay men unfavorably.

The use of Hornet to achieve various purposes exhibited by the participants in this study suggest that the openness of cyberspace and the opportunities that it provides in regards to fulfilling social needs are the factors that pushinteractions between men who have sex with men into the confines of cyberspace via dating apps.

4.3 Self-Presentation Strategies on Hornet

LeFebvre (2018) finds that in the context of online dating, users of online dating services have the ability to contextualize the social interactions that they seek, by uploading personal information about themselves. The implication is that, through the information that they upload, other users can learn what they're looking for through online dating and what they expect from the roles of otherusers.

In the context of Hornet, users of that dating app are expected by other users to perform a role common in relations between men who have sex with men, which include bottoms, vers, and tops. These roles not only indicate who will have a more active or passive role within an intimate relationship, but also inform the characteristics, personality, and style that are expected of them in interactions with others.

The self-presentation done by participants in this study show that there are several characteristics that are viewed as ideal for certain roles, and those that are viewed as less ideal for other roles. In extension, attraction and even success within interactions with other users depend on the effectiveness by which a user can perform their chosen role.

Ellison et al. (2006) explain that self-presentation strategies during relationship initiation often involve the alteration of one's self-presentational behavior to suit the expectations of the prospective partner. In an online dating environment, the pressure to present oneself as an ideal partner is also felt by users of dating apps, however the nature of online dating apps that are based on computer mediated communication enable the strategic management of how users may present themselves.

Table 2: Self-Presentation Strategies on Hornet

No.	Participant	Strategies Used	Desired Impression
1.	A	Self-Promotion, Ingratiation	Self-promotes through the use of a fake but attractive user profile. When chatting, employs ingratiation to create a positive impression of himself
2.	B	Self-Promotion	Self-promotes to convince other users of his qualities as a sexually appealing "top"

3.	C	Ingratiation	Ingratiates to acquaint himself with other users and build rapports
4.	D	Self-Promotion	Self-promotes as someone with class, the lifestyle of a socialite, a manicured appearance, and a state of being always on trend.
5.	E	Self-Promotion	Self-promotes certain traits that solidify his image as the ideal bottom.

Table 3: Satisfaction Gained through Self-Presentation

No.	Participant	Rewards Gained	Satisfaction Felt
1.	A	Social	Freedom to explore and live out his social life by using a false identity
2.	B	Social	Freedom to present and validation through being found attractive by other users
3.	C	Social	Being present in a social environment where he can be acquainted and form relationships
4.	D	Social	Validation from other users towards the concept that he has of himself
5.	E	Social and Material	Validation about his identity when it only gains him stigma and rejection in real life

Through the process of self-construction, Hornet users construct a certain image of themselves in an attempt to create an impression that corresponds with their self-concepts. This is due to Hornet's role as an online dating app, where the primary goal of using it is to become acquainted with other users in order to meet them in reallife.

To achieve that goal, Hornet users have been observed to adjust their self-presentation to appear more appealing to other users' tastes. In this regard, self-construction is a method of impression management to increase the likelihood that other users may be attracted to the individual performing self-presentation.

One of the self-presentation strategies used by the participants in this study is self-promotion, which makes themselves stand out in other users' catalogs to win their attention. Through the use of this strategy, Hornet users can convince their prospective partners about qualities and strengths they have that other users do not. Examples of the strengths they can choose to promote include their physical appearance, their lifestyle, the social status they claim to have, and even their sexualprowess.

Ingratiation is another self-presentation strategy used by Hornet users to negotiate impressions by

interacting with other users, usually via chatting. Wu and Ward (2018) explain the function of the chat feature as an interactive and strategic way of performing self-presentation, where users can negotiate their goals and adjust the expectations of other users by chatting with them. Ingratiation is a strategy used with the purpose of creating a positive impression of the user via methods such as praising their chatting partners or making them feel flattered, which can be effectively done through the chat feature.

4.4 Satisfaction Gained through Self- Presentation

The Hornet users observed in this study present themselves using strategies designed to gain material and social rewards. Through the process of self- presentation, one of the participants in this study presents his desire for monetary reward openly through Hornet. Another performs self-presentation to gain social rewards in the form of friendship, and others find sex by presenting their sexuality.

Hornet users can identify themselves with stereotypes attached to roles in the gay community, like being a top or a bottom, to ease the process of gaining social rewards in the form of sex. Participants in this study admit that the visual element or aesthetics in how a Hornet user presents themselves determines the success they will achieve in convincing other users to grant them the rewards they seek.

Monetary rewards are also something that users can gain through Hornet by presenting themselves in specific roles. The roles of sugar babies and sugar daddies do not explicitly involve an exchange of money for sex, and its relation to prostitution is deliberately kept ambiguous. In maintaining a long- term relationship with their sugar daddies, sugar babies may receive monetary rewards from them.

The data gathered concerning the satisfaction that Hornet users feel by doing self-presentation on the app suggest that users do not feel satisfied solely by the act of self-presentation, but also by the response that they receive from other users which can have a validating effect for them. The participants admit to feeling satisfied when they are acknowledged and when they can generate positive feedback from other users, indicating that they use with the hope so factualizing the irexistence and making themselves known within the social circle of that virtual space.

5. CONCLUSION

Anti-LGBT stigma present within Indonesian society limits the self-presentation that men who have sex with men are able to perform in day to

day life. As a result, men who have sex with men are pressured to find ways to adapt to that stigma, one of them being the utilization of cyberspace. Cyberspace provides an alternative way for men who have sex with men to socialize with each other and present themselvesopenly.

One specialized space within cyberspace is that of online dating apps such as Hornet. Men who have sex with men use Hornet for various reasons, which include looking for a partner, making friends, promoting themselves, expanding their social networks, existing socially, and gaining miscellaneousrewards.

Men who have sex with men create impressions about themselves in the minds of other users by performing self-construction, through which they convince other users about the traits and qualities that they possess based on an image or concept they have of themselves. This form of self-presentation is usually asynchronous and involves the creation of artefacts in the form of profile photos, biography sections filled with personal information, and other contentuploads.

The strategies used by men who have sex with men on *Hornet* to stand out from the other users involve self-promotion to exhibit their strengths. In deepening their interactions with other users, Hornet users may use an ingratiation strategy to create positive impressions of themselves to receive positive feedback from their prospective partners.

Men who have sex with men gain various forms of satisfaction through presenting themselves on Hornet. That satisfaction includes material and affective satisfaction through receiving social and material rewards from other users. The social rewards that they receive can take the form of a long-term romantic relationship, sex, friendship, and social networking. By presenting themselves in certain roles, Hornet users may also gain monetary rewards from other users.

Men who have sex with men also feel existential satisfaction when the self-presentation that they perform helps them gain validation from other users. This existential satisfaction is tied to the expectations that they have towards the act of self- presentation, which commonly involves being acknowledged and recognized by othersthrough doing so. It thus becomes a sign of recognition of their existence within an LGBT-friendly online environment.

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Political Islam: What Are the Characteristics and Agenda?

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Abstract.

In the last few decades, Islamism has become a strong force in much of the Muslim world, especially in Arab countries. Believing that the Islamic community is mired in a state of barbarism, Islamists seek to place greater importance on religious observance or a change in political leadership but the revolutionary transformation of their society. What is meant by Islamism, or political Islam? Should Islam and Islamic politics be differentiated from one another, or are they compatible with one another? On this occasion, this paper will present the definition, characteristics and agenda of political Islam.

Keywords: *Agendas, Characteristics, Islamism, Political Islam*

1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, Islamism - the belief that Islam should guide social, political and personal life - has become a powerful force in much of the Muslim world, especially in Arab countries. Believing that the Islamic community is mired in a state of barbarism, Islamists seek to place greater importance on religious observance or a change in political leadership but a revolutionary transformation of their society. What defines them as coherent members of the movement is not their choice in certain ways, but the nature and scale of their struggle - the formation of an Islamic state. Because the rise of Islam has had and will probably continue to have profound social, political and strategic consequences, understanding its emergence and development is the most practical and intellectually important thing (M. Hakan Yavuz, 2003; Richard W. Bulliet,)

What is meant by Islamism, or political Islam? Should Islam and Islamic politics be differentiated from one another, or are they compatible with one another? Isn't Islam, from the very beginning and based on its principles, actually a political religion, so making

the distinction between Islam and political Islam must appear artificial? Are there Muslims who completely separate their religion from politics and practice their faith in a non-political form? With such an understanding background, this paper will discuss two main issues. First, reveal the characteristics of political Islam. Second, exposing the political Islam agenda.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

A common problem with the term political Islam is that it tends to imply "an illegitimate extension of the Islamic tradition beyond the proper religious domain that was historically occupied" (Muhammad Ayoob, 2004). For Mehdi Mozaffari (2007: 21) "Islamism" is a religious ideology with a holistic interpretation of Islam whose ultimate goal is the conquest of the world by all means. This definition consists of four interrelated elements. The first is religious ideology, the second is a holistic interpretation of Islam, the conquest of the three worlds, and finally the fourth and final element is the use of all means in the search for the ultimate goal. Each of these four elements will be briefly examined in the next section.

For Andrew F. March (2015: 104) Political Islam must be understood in the broadest possible sense as a series of modern political movements, ideological trends, and policies directed by the state related to giving Islam an authoritative status in political life. Political Islam generally belongs to the right of the political spectrum, but it would be a mistake to see it as a movement or ideology. Islamist trends range from left-leaning populist protest movements (Dabashi 2006, Rahnama 1998, Ramadan 2008) to ultraconservative movements that are more devoted to social control over morality than to economic redistribution. But political Islamism cannot map so neatly into the ideological spectrum of modern European left-right. Islamist groups and tendencies differ not only according to their relative economic radicalism or moral puritanism, but also on a number of other axes.

According to Mohammed Ayoob a more precise and useful definition of Islamism that is more analytically useful to describe it as' a form of Islamic instrumentation by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political goals. It provides a political response to today's society of challenges by imagining the future, the foundation on which taken back, reinvented borrowed from Islamic tradition (Mohammed Ayoob, 2005: 951).

3 METHOD

This research is a descriptive study describing a social phenomenon. Methodology used in this study is a qualitative approach

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Characteristics of Islamism

According to Christine Schirrmacher (2016) there are several characteristics that can be conveyed related to political Islam, namely:

- Violence was not a central idea of the political Islam movement in its beginnings, and the use of force was not its main objective. Political Islamic ideology is not explicitly directed at calls for violence or for general justifications of violence. On the other hand, he does not issue a rejection of the possibility of using force - especially on the grounds that it is a defense against the enemies of Islam or in the service of upholding the Islamic order in society - rarely changes in words or deeds against those who use violence to implement that goal and often legitimizing violence as an appropriate means of defending Islam, the Koran or Muhammad. And there's a lot more: Calling on Muhammad's example and emulating it in religion, social and political matters, Islamism ideologically prepares the ground for the use of violence, as this comprehensive emulation also includes reports of Mohammad's Quran-based military campaign. Since the concern for political Islam is so fundamental, one should not prematurely judge a movement not to be too worrying just because its concerns are strategic and political and not the implementation of violence.
- The assumption that the concept of political Islam means a theological category in Islam, that is, Islamic schism marked by conservative or traditional ideas, would be misleading. It is not the case - to speak in general terms - in the region from Tunis to Jakarta, that liberal ideas are taught in the explicit sense of the pulpit in the mosque and from the podium of the university, and that this serves as the basis from which political Islam distinguishes itself by explicit reference. on the timeless validity of the Quran. There is also no case that Islamists hold onto Islam more intensively as a religion than other Muslims. Indeed, according to Islamic opinion, there is only one correct interpretation of Islam - and that is the interpretation of Islam. For this reason, Islamists are often called "fundamentalists". However, this term is somewhat vague and even fundamentally inapplicable. This is because, as mentioned, political Islam has nothing to do with theological stance but with

the ideological justification of Islam as a unified religion, social order and a set of political principles. In addition, leaders of political Islam movements rarely become theologians. On the contrary, most of them were theological laymen

- When it comes to the topic of Islamism or political Islam, people are faced with conflicts with totalitarian ideologies. It is a totalidance ideology that uses religious terminology while demanding to put the original form of the Islamic faith comprehensively into practice

Political Islam is an ideology - and not a realistic roadmap for dealing with what was posted earlier - because it does not convey a practical concept of action to be taken to realize its utopian picture of the world. On the contrary, it always assumes that the current state of affairs is unfavorable and must be addressed as well as the desired future conditions and in which all people can expect peace and justice. In the process, the question of how, in fact, the introduction of a comprehensive form of Islam can overcome or solve existing negative social and political developments remains completely unanswered. These negative developments include the inadequate infrastructure of many areas where Islam is a forming force, rural aviation, the state of education, high levels of unemployment and lack of prospects, and high rates of illiteracy. Political Islam pursues a political agenda that is irreconcilable with the basic principles of democracy, due process, and individual civil rights and freedoms. As political movements in Islam speak more of themselves dramatically than as extremism Preparing to resort to violence and take responsibility for attacks, the potential dangers of Islamic politics are less directly recognized as a danger to the state and democracy, especially because of its ideological substructure and claim to power.

less clearly labeled or not really taken seriously. Nonetheless, political Islam is a model for explaining the world with explosive power in people's heads and hearts, because it leads them to the alleged life in the utopia of a typical Islamic society. At the same time, it leads them to reject their fellows and their own lives in today's society as substandard and call on them to act in creating a totalitarian world order. The point is that in the process, political Islam - when it comes to western societies - exploits democratic and freedom mechanisms for its own ends to undertake what we call "marches through the institutions" more than presenting outright declarations of war with the help of the armed forces. For this reason alone, it is important to familiarize yourself with the basic concerns, causes and personalities in

political Islam around the world and in western society. On the one hand, it is unwarranted to place all Muslims under the general suspicion of being politically dangerous, which would help contribute to pushing apolitical democratic citizens into the arms of hard-line political Islam. On the other hand, it must be clearly recognized where political personalities advance their political agendas for their own ends.

4.2 Political Islam Agenda

Political Islam is synonymous with a socio-political ideology supported by religious justification, the aim of which is to implement the Koran and sharia perfectly and thus to rebuild a typical Islamic society. In this connection there are several agendas that are manifest in political Islam (Christine Schirrmacher, 2016: 21-23)

4.2.1. Unity in the Muslim community

Islamists claim that there is only one community of all Muslims and that any form of separation between different law schools and state-denomi is wrong. The unity of the entire Muslim community means that national borders do not matter. This has been a problem since the emergence of modern states in the Middle East during the colonization period is closely linked to the influence of Western people whom they consider to be "Zionists and crusaders." Islamists also view the existence of Sunni and Shia law schools in Islam as wrong, because there should only be one form of Islam. Based on the fact of the unity of Allah (Arabic: tauhid), which is the basis of all Islamic theology, the aim of Islamists is to produce this unity in the world through a generation of Islamic communities united with faith and a leader, a caliph, as the main image of the uniqueness and oneness of God. . What has become clear in this ideal of unity is the ideological and unrealistic character of political Islam. It can hardly be expected that the doctrinal differences of the many different groups and the mutual rejection of each other by Sunnis and Shiites, which have grown up through the centuries, somehow quickly disappear into thin air as Islamists hope. Since the majority of Islamists today are influenced by Sunni Islam, they naturally expect acceptance of Sunni teachings by the Shia minority. For their part, the Iranian Shiite regime seeks to export Shia teachings around the world by, for example, by means of the Islamic revolution.

4.2.2. The only lasting validity of the Koran and the exemplary customs demonstrated by Muhammad (Arabic: sunah).

All questions posed by modernity relating to the fields of belief, society and politics must be assessed and treated according to guidelines.

established by the Koran and traditions (Arabic: sunnah: obligatory imitation of Muhammad's custom). Thus the exclusivity and universal validity of the Qur'an and sunnah, on the one hand, are emphasized. On the other hand, there is a call for a basic re-evaluation of all questions that are not addressed in the Qur'an and the sunnah. This re-evaluation should be carried out with a view to strictly adhering to all the principles set out in the Qur'an and in the traditions.

4.2.3. Comprehensive use of sharia.

The aim of Islamic groups is the comprehensive implementation of sharia under the leadership of a caliph, that is, in the end result, the establishment of a theocracy. Neither public representatives elected in secular-oriented democracies nor dictatorships are viewed by Islamists as legitimate forms of government. The aim of Islamic political endeavors was the establishment of a caliphate throughout the Muslim community, because the caliphate, as an early form of Islam and thus the only exemplary form of government, was considered valid. This is also seen as an example because the Caliphate represented the unity of worldly and spiritual governments during the time of Muhammad's first four successors, the four "rightly guided caliphs"

4.2.4. A comprehensive approach to Islam.

Islamists only accept forms of Islam that imitate Muhammad as completely as possible. In justification, political Islam basically refers to what is called "Medinan" Islam, namely the last ten years of Moham-med's life (622 AD to 632 AD), which he spent in Medina as a military leader and a lawgiver after moving from the city. originally Mecca.

4.2.5. Simultaneous use and rejection of modernity.

Political Islam is not anti-modern or medieval. It makes intensive use of the achievements of modernity (in particular, communication via the internet and satellites but also through the use of modern medicine, banking, and the fields of explosives and weapons technology). However, political Islam does not view this as an indication of progress but as a tool for the advancement of their message. It leads them into their ministry, and it is from this perspective that Islamists are concerned with modernity. On the other hand, anti-modern Islamists, because everything is humanized, the humanization of Islamic criminal law and all adjustments to modernity, enlightenment, or pluralism are rejected by Islam.

4.2.6. Progress through setbacks.

Political Islam seeks to deal with the present and the future with its orientation towards the past. By declaring the "golden age of Islam," namely the period of the reign of Muhammad and the first four caliphs until 661 AD, as the ideal legal and social order, political Islam reaffirmed the social order of society. the seventh century AD to be progress, indeed, to be the restoration of a way of life that was lost but which was just and basically determined by divine principles. From this perspective, modern constitutions and laws relating to freedom and equality, as well as democracy and separation of religion and state, are condemned as despicable.

4.2.7. Political Islam as a protest movement.

In contrast to the assumption that political Islam is first and foremost a declaration of war against the western world or even against Christianity, it is above all an expression of the intra-Islamic social and political crisis and a sign of contention over the question of what "true Islam" is. Are they primarily personal beliefs or especially those expressed publicly? What is the ethics and way of life? A model for what society should look like? A political order? Or does Islam cover all the areas of life mentioned? That this question has been answered very differently over the course of Islamic intellectual history hangs together with the absence of a major teaching authority in Islam and with a lack of comprehensive creeds and council documents, even if it is only for individual theological "denominations" such as the Shia or the Sunnis. In the first instance, political Islam directs itself to its own society as a society shaped by Islam, which, from the point of view of political Islam, is either non-Islamic or, in the best case, only external Islam.

4.2.8. Proximity to other totalitarian world views.

Political Islam is intellectually closely related to movements such as Salafism and Wahhabism. Salafism is an interpretation of Islam that evokes the "pure" Islam which is allegedly practiced classically by the ancestors (Arabic: as-salaf as-salih and, for that reason, Salafism) to a position of measure of all things. , who overcomes modernity by calling for the cleansing of Islam today from all non-Islamic aspects and who himself accepts the Koran and the exemplary mores of Muhammad (Arabic: sunnah) as true beliefs.

4.2.9. Political Islam as an ideology of domination

Political Islam not only claims to have the only correct theological interpretation of the message of Islam and its implementation in society, but also maintains its immediate

effectiveness with respect to the desired reallocation of the established balance of power. If more people - Muslims first - comprehensively put Islam in its pure form into practice by following the teachings and practices of early Islam, there will be a restoration of the strength, reputation and dignity of the early Islamic period that existed when spiritual and worldly governments were in place one hand

5. CONCLUSION

Political Islam comes in all shapes and sizes; it may, in fact, be more accurate to refer to this phenomenon in the plural, as 'political Islam.

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Domestic Violence as the Impact of Early Marriage

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Abstract

Domestic violence can happen to anyone regardless of education level, economic status, and also one's physical appearance. Domestic violence is any act that occurs against a person, especially women, which causes physical, sexual, and psychological suffering, including threats to acts, coercion or deprivation of liberty that violates the law in the household. Domestic violence can be caused by an unstable psychological and emotional condition on one or both parties. Early marriages have a high probability of divorce and failure because of the partner's unstable psychological condition. This emotional instability will influence a person to be aggressive towards others. The family is the smallest social institution and is autonomous, as a result of which the family becomes a domestic area closed from the reach of public power. This has resulted in cases of domestic violence being difficult to identify and resolve. The impact of domestic violence is not only in the form of wounds or bruises but also deep trauma, selflessness and even mental disorders.

Keywords: *early marriage, domestic violence*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, young adults' early marriage is a normal occurrence in many places in Indonesia. Based on data that is released by the Indonesia Statistics, the percentage of Indonesia's early marriage in 2018 is 15.66%. With this, there has been an increase of percentage from 2017, which has around 14.18% of early marriage cases. Compared with marriage in mature ages, early marriage definitely has bigger risks. Apart from health issues, such as the tendency to miscarriage, either both husband or/and wife's uncertainty can also lead to poor psychological conditions and, in the end, domestic abuse. Domestic abuse is referred to as an action towards the significant other, usually the woman, that causes misery, physical pain, sexual harassment, psychological abuse, and even neglects marriages completely, with actions ranging to threats, misbehavior, coercion, and deprivation of rights for resistance inside of marriage. Hence, marriage which is supposed to be a safe place where everyone interacts with the

foundation of love and affection can be changed completely into a dangerous place where it can be threatening toward other family member's safety. Subsequently, the party who is often the victim of spousal abuse is a woman. Based on the annual notes of National Commission on Violence Against Women released in March 2019, violence against women often occurred in private area,reaching up to 71% or 9,637 cases (National Commission on Violence Against Women, 2019). Thus, the data showed on how domestic abuse cases should not be underestimated.

With the high amount of cases of abuse explained above, there are some obstacles which can hamper difficulties to disclose said cases. One of the obstacles is the stigmatization that spousal abuse is private matters, therefore considered confidential and even disgrace for the family. Thus, this kind of stereotype increases the burdens and difficulties for handling the cases. Domestic abuse itself has some types of violence such as physical abuse, sexual harassment, and verbal abuse. The National Population and Family Planning Board stated that there are many problems faced by spouses who had early marriages, such as having too many kids and a short lived marriage. These problems can occur since the couple has not matured enough to face marital issues. Despite age not defining maturity, it can however be one of the important factors in order to postpone marriage. The recommended age by the National Population and Family Planning Board to hold marriage are for men at minimum 25 years old, and women at minimum 20 yearsold.

In some cases, early marriage might be the manifestation of human right violations since it is often found that women are hampered to achieve their dreams and forced to get married. The Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection notes that early marriage condition cases in Indonesia are classified as emergency situations. Lenny N. Rosalin, as a Deputy of Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection for Child Development Sector, confirmed to emphasize on how many locations in Indonesia are emerging with many cases of early marriage. According to the data, one in nine young adult women are married off under the age of 18 years old, showing that there are approximately 375 young adult women who were married off each day. Early marriage is also often considered as a solution to solve economic problems and social claims due to family burdens. In fact, the majority who choose for early marriage comes from a low economic background. Hence, they thought having a family and plenty of kids will eventually increase economic

problems in their family. Moreover, economic problems and marriage itself not necessarily can be well managed by spouses due to their young age. Thus, there are many marriage violence cases as venting emotions from marriage problems. Based on this background, the author is interested in analyzing how early marriage can trigger a series of domesticviolence.

2. METHOD

The research method that is going to be used in this research is a qualitative method. Qualitative method is a method in which we analyze a scientific object's condition where the researcher's role as the key instrument of the research (Sugiyono, 2013). Qualitative method is used in this research since the author tries to explain how the phenomena of early marriage can affect spousal abuse. This research is using secondary data which consist of journals, government sites, and also online media sites that can support this research. The data obtained is related to the impact of early marriage and how it affects domesticviolence.

3. RESULT ANDDISCUSSION

3.1 Factors that Affects Domestic Violence in Early Marriage

Based on the Inter-African Committee, an early marriage is a marriage that is held by a person below 18 years old. This marriage occurred when young adults are not yet psychologically ready to bear the responsibility of marriage (IPPD, 2006 : 7). Sarwono (1989) explained that early marriage cases often happened in Indonesia especially in the village areas which still strongly hold on norms and customs. The reason why early marriage is still often held since it is encouraged by some economic and social-cultural factors. The reason why early marriage is chosen is because it becomes a shortcut in decreasing economic problems of parenting and eventually increasing family economic status. Aside from that, social and cultural aspects such as stigmatization which women need to be married as soon as possible otherwise they are judged as spinster and familial tradition to strengthen the reason for earlymarriage.

Data obtained by Statistics Indonesia showed there are many early marriages that have occurred in Indonesia. Proven by the statistical data of birth rate in 2009 (within 2001 until 2009 periods), in city areas there exist 29% women in their 15 until 19 years old. Even the conditions in the villages show a higher percentage whereby 58% women gave birth in their 15 until 19 years old age. Furthermore, research conducted by Indonesian Sociological Association (INASA) showed that West Java Province occupied the first position

on early marriage, followed by Jakarta (Ikatan Sosiologi Indonesia, 2012). The fact strictly stated on Marriage Law number 1 in 1974 the minimum age to proceed marriage for women is above 16 years old and men is above 19 yearsold.

The various definitions of maturity also often provide a justification for someone to have an early marriage. For example, in various societies the definition of adult has been achieved when a woman has mastered domestic work and a man is able to work and earn a living (Iklilah, 2013: 115). In addition, the perception that marriage is the ultimate goal and solution to various problems has made early marriage a shortcut. Even though marriage is not always a solution to economic and social problems in society. It could be that this unpreparedness and hasty attitude actually creates new problems for couples and families. It should be understood that marriage is not only to legalize a romantic relationship between two people but also requires commitment and maturity in attitude and actions. If you make marriage a solution to the prevalence of promiscuity in society, it is necessary to realize that the purpose of marriage is not only for sexual intercourse. More thanthat, the decision to marry is a commitment to live with someone and commit to responding to all conflicts that will arise wisely and maturely.

It also needs to be realized that a marriage will generally give birth to children whose rights must be fulfilled, such as the rights to education, health and affection. Uncontrolled early marriage can lead to high birth rates and population growth in a country (BKKBN, 2012: 5). According to Marissa in Noviyanti (2013: 60) there are many impacts and risks in early marriage, one of which is the psychological and physical impact. When viewed physically, the body of women who are married under the age of 20 has the potential to develop uterine cancer in their teens. Besides that, the health of the womb and pregnant women at a young age are very vulnerable because of their unprepared physical condition. The lack of understanding of contraceptives has also led to an increase in birth rates among women who marry at an earlyage.

It also needs to be realized that a marriage will generally give birth to children whose rights must be fulfilled, such as the rights to education, health and affection. Uncontrolled early marriage can lead to high birth rates and population growth in a country (BKKBN, 2012: 5). According to Marissa in Noviyanti (2013: 60) there are many impacts and risks in early marriage, one of which is the psychological and physical impact. When viewed physically, the body of

women who are married under the age of 20 has the potential to develop uterine cancer in their teens. Besides that, the health of the womb and pregnant women at a young age are very vulnerable because of their unprepared physical condition. The lack of understanding of contraceptives has also led to an increase in birth rates among women who marry at an earlyage.

The impact of marriage at an early age is a high divorce rate and also domestic violence (KDRT). This is caused by immature emotions plus disputes and conflicts that occur between husband and wife. The effects of psychological abuse tend to last a long time and affect a person's mental state. It is also important to pay attention to fear, anxiety, stress, and changes in attitudes to victims as a result of domestic violence as a response to the recovery of victims. Research conducted by Plan Indonesia statestha tas manyas 44% of girls who marry at an early age experience high frequency of domestic violence (www.news.detik.com, accessed on 21 October 2020).

3.2 The Effort to Minimize Early Marriage in Order to Prevent SpousalAbuse

Dealing with early marriage in Indonesia these days need using more massive and comprehensive ways. This movement is important since there are many impacts not only perceived by individuals but also if not restrained it can affect the country itself. Socialization is needed by government and society participation actively in order to suppress early marriage. One of the ways to suppress the numbers of early marriage is by socializing the maturity age of marriage (Pendewasaan Usia Perkawinan, or PUP) in society, especially to adolescents, so that they have an understanding and, in the end, postponed the thought of an early marriage (Noviyanti, 2013:73).

Improving the quality of education can also affect the decisions of parents who always encourage their children to marry. When people have other solutions to overcome economic problems through education, marriage at an early age can be reduced. Community involvement and dialogue between the government and the community will foster understanding in society to prioritize individual qualities rather than forcing someone to marry. In addition, the driving force for early marriage is not only economic but also cultural which has been applied for decades. A campaign and understanding is needed so that people can decide to postpone early marriage regardless of their cultural factors. The approach required to reach such an agreement is certainly not easy and long. However, it must still be done. Parents' understanding must be improved in order to have awareness

regarding the risks and consequences of earlymarriage.

4. CONCLUSION

Early marriage that occurred in Indonesia is still claimed to be high. Society's background such as economic, social, and culture greatly affect the high amount of early marriage cases in Indonesia. Marriage is still seen as a solution to the problems in society. In contrast, when marriage is held without careful consideration thereafter the marriage will not become a solution meanwhile it raises other problems. Spousal abuse is one of the things that is a real possibility and has happened in early marriages, caused by the psychological condition that the not ready to bear the conflict or burden in marriage life. The victims, usually women, are helpless and the situation has traumatic effects on the victim of spousal abuse. In order to suppress the amount of early marriage and the negative effect from early marriage, such as spousal abuse, understanding and socializing from the government or any organization are needed for the sake of society. Subsequently these are important since society has less knowledge about the risk from early marriage and tends to not think about long-term effects from early marriage itself. The knowledge is important to be given for parents and also young adults who need to focus on maximizing the potential in their youngage.

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Community-Based Waste Management: Environmental Law Perspective

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze the community-based waste management in implementing the community participation as regulated in Law No. 8/2008 on Waste Management. To obtain deeper understanding on the community based-waste management, the legal and qualitative approaches were conducted in this study. The result showed that the waste management regulation has encouraged the waste management practices involving communities. However, the waste bank was found as a model involving communities in the processes of sorting, selecting, and appreciating. Thus, public participation in waste management was higher found in this waste bank model. This study has contributed in providing more extensive understanding on the community based-waste management practices.

Keywords: *community-based waste management; environmental law; waste bank.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Community-based waste management has been mandated by Law No. 18/2008 on Waste Management. Article 28 paragraph 1 mentions that the communities can participate in waste management held by the government and/or regional government. The role of communities has become an essential element to assist the government in waste management. It is impossible that the government is able to handle all waste problems although the government has been supported by their officials and budgets. Thus, community-based waste management has become a new paradigm in waste management.

Along with the continuously increasing population, the waste production also increases each day. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry has reported that the national waste volume has reached 175,000 tons per

day or 64 million tons per year. This figure was obtained with the assumption that each person has produced 0.7 kg waste per day (*Bisnis Indonesia*, 2019). Although the waste volume in Indonesia is not as much as that in Singapore (3.72 kg per capita per day) and the global average (0.74 kg per capita per day), waste management should be well improved to anticipate from the environmental crisis and various diseases (liputan6, 2020).

In the environmental law perspective, the quality of environment, natural resource and ecological sustainability should be well managed by the state in controlling the interaction between humans and their environments which have the potential to result in the negative impact on the environment. However, in reality, the environmental regulations implemented by the government institutions were not able to completely answer the environmental problems. The alternative was that the strengths of communities or non-government institutions come to answer the inefficiency of the traditional regulations of law, such as the ineffectiveness of hierarchical government controls, rigid environmental rules, and legal sanction implementation (Holley & Lawson, 2015).

In its development, the community-based waste management practices in Indonesia cannot be separated from the increasing community awareness not to depend on the role of government in waste management. The research conducted by Setiadi (2015) in Yogyakarta reported that the community-based waste management in the city showed high community awareness to the waste problems and they were able to gather collective actions for the mutual purposes.

However, the studies discussing the community-based waste management in rural areas have not obtained serious attentions. In fact, the spirit of togetherness of the village communities is much stronger than that of the city residents. Thus, this study aims at analyzing the community-based waste management in implementing the role of village communities as regulated in Law No. 8/2008 on Waste Management.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The national organization of natural resource management has just been made in the recent decades. In the natural resource utilization, the related components are not only the natural ones but others, such as production factors covering capital, workforce, and management strategies, including processing, market and transportation availability. The environmental pollutions or damages recently happen everywhere with a relatively fast speed. The environmental problems have

recently become the major attention of various parties since environment is the source of humans' needs to continue their lives. If this continuously happens, the quality of environment will continuously decrease (Ariman, 2010).

In the international society, the prevention against the environmental decrease has been implemented in the 1992 Rio declaration to implement *sustainable developments.* This principle may only improve the economic development without causing the environmental damages or pollutions (Soemarwoto, 2009). As mentioned in the provisions of Article 1 Number (32) of Law No. 32 Year 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management as follows: Each person is an individual or either corporated and incorporated business entity. For mineral or mining businesses, the government can implement it by themselves, and/or appoints contractors, if needed, to implement the jobs which have not or never been implemented by the government institutions themselves.

Environment is a unity of room with all things, powers, conditions, and living things, including humans and their attitudes which influence the nature itself, life sustainability, and the prosperity of humans and other living creatures (Siahaan, 2008).

Based on the provisions contained in Article 1 Number (2) of Law No. 32 Year 2009 stating that the environmental protection and management are a systematic and integrated effort to preserve the environmental functions and to prevent from environmental pollutions and/or damages covering planning, utilization, control, maintenance, supervision and law enforcement.

According to Siti Sundari Rangkuti quoted from Yuliandri (2010), law is the underlying base to implement all policies issued by the government known as "*Legal Policy*" implemented in law to become the social engineering vehicle containing wisdom to be achieved by the government directing the society to accept the new values (Yuliandri, 2010). One of government's efforts to realize the good environmental management is by enforcing law through supervision and implementation as well as the imposition of sanctions both administrative, civil, and criminal sanctions to an individual or entity breaking the provisions of environmental law.

The Indonesian government has issued the regulations of law, namely Law No. 32 Year 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management (known as *UUPPLH*) and the implemented the sustainable development where in its consideration mentioning that the environmental management should be held based on the principles of government responsibility,

sustainability, and benefits aiming at realizing the sustainable development with the environmental insights for the sake of the development of all Indonesia communities who are faithful and pious to the Almighty God (Manan, 2009). In the context of waste problems, Law No.18 Year 2008 on Waste Management is intended to support the waste management using the comprehensive approach through the cooperation between community, government, and other *stakeholders*. The purpose is to enable the society obtain the benefits on health, economy, well maintained environment and community behavioral changes to be more aware of the environmental problems.

One new paradigm in waste management is the community-based waste management. According to Asteria and Haruman (2016), the community-based waste management emphasizes on the active participation of communities as the important actors in waste management actions. The communities, in this case, have the role in providing education to the members related to the development of new waste management strategies, such as selecting, sorting, and appreciating the waste. Through the community-based waste management, the people's capability in recycling the waste to become more creative products has also developed (Firmansyah *et al.*, 2016). Thus, the waste in the future will be no longer taken as the residue, yet can be processed into more beneficial products and have the economic values.

The community-based waste management is one waste management approach based on the communities' needs and demands, planned, implemented (if possible), controlled and evaluated together with the society. It can be said based on communities if: (i) the decision is entirely made by the communities; (ii) the operational responsibility and maintenance are based on the communities' agreements. When simplified, the community-based waste management is a system of waste management which is planned, arranged, operated, managed and owned by the community. Thus, the main role in waste management is the community. The government and other institutions are as the motivators and facilitators (Wahyono, 2013).

3 METHOD

This research used two approaches: legal and qualitative approach. First, the legal approach used was the s*tatute approach* and *conceptual approach.* Second, qualitative research approach was used to reveal the social-cultural meanings and experiences of the research subjects on community-based household waste management.

The research location in Kutasari Village, Baturraden District, Banyumas

Regency. The research location was purposively selected by considering that Kutasari Village has been developing the community-based household waste management pattern. The informants were purposively selected from the village government elements and waste management communities. In depth interview was conducted to answer the questions related to (i) how the regution on waste management encourages the communities' active participations in waste management and (ii) how the community-based household waste management was practiced. The data were then analyzed using an interactive model, that is, the data analysis process starting from data collection, data reduction, data condensation and drawing conclusion. The data were analyzed in each step that the obtained data were adequately feasible to draw the research conclusion.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Environmental Law Analysis

To overcome the more complex waste problems, Banyumas Regency government has arranged the Regional Regulation No. 6 Year 2012 on Waste Management. The Article 31 paragraph 1 mentions that the communities have the role in waste management held by the regional government. The community participation in waste management is regulated in Article 31 paragraph 2 in the form: a. giving opinions, consideration, and/or recommendation to the regional government in waste management activities; b. Giving recommendations and opinions in the formulation of household and other household-like waste management policies and strategies; c. Implementation of household and other household-like waste management activities independently or in partnership performed with the Regional Government; and/or d. the provision of education and training, campaign, and mentoring provided by the community groups to the community members in waste management to change the community members' behaviors.

To operate the regional regulations, the Banyumas Regent has issued the Regent Regulation No. 54 Year 2018 on General Guidance of the Duty Assistance in Household and other Household-like Waste Management to the villages in the areas of Banyumas regency. In this Regent Regulation, the Village government based on the administrative regional authorities is given the duties to:

a. implement the household waste and other household-like waste reduction and management;
b. create the independent community groups;
c. determine the *TPS3R* locations;

d. coordinate with the Waste Management Working Unit in the Regional areas;
e. allocate funds in *APBDes* [Village Income and Expenditure Budget].

The implementation of Regency Government Policies on Waste has been translated by the Kutasari Village Government in the form of Village Regulation. The policy made is the Village Regulation No. 4 Year 2016 on Environmental Cleanliness. In general, the village government policy regulating the Household Waste Management covers two important things:

1. Coordination mechanism between stakeholders with Waste Management;
2. Stakeholders' Rights and obligations including the Rights and Obligations of Village Government and Village Government's Commitment related to the waste management policies in the village.

However, those village government policies have not completely regulated each waste-related activity in Kutasari Village. The Kutasari Village government has given rooms for the village communities to perform the household waste management practices. This is positively responded by some Kutasari village residents by making the household waste management models into three forms: Waste Management coordinated by the Neighborhood Association (known as *RT/Rukun Tetangga*, Waste Management coordinated by the Independent Community Groups (known as *KMS/kelompok swadaya*), and "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*). Those three waste management models are one of success indicators to the regulations related to the waste management. Thus, the waste management regulations have encouraged the village government and communities to develop the waste management practices involving the community participations.

Normative juridical analysis found that regulation in the context of research has encouraged the enforcement of environmental laws at the community level. These findings support the study conducted by Candrakirana (2015) which also highlights the important role of laws in encouraging the government to institutionalize good environmental governance and environmental awareness at the community level.

4.2 Community-Based Waste Management Practices

One community-based waste management model found in Kutasari Village was *Inyong* Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*). Although there were other household waste management patterns, such as Waste Management coordinated by the Neighborhood Association (known as

RT/Rukun Tetangga) and Independent Community Groups (known as *KMS/ kelompok swadaya*), the methods of selecting, sorting, appreciating to the waste tend to be more practiced by the *Inyong* Waste Bank.

The waste management in Kutasari Village has uniquely developed. The awareness on waste management has been related to the economic values. Waste management practices coordinated by the Neighborhood Association (known as *RT/Rukun Warga*) have seen the waste as products which have the economic values. Waste management in the level of Neighborhood Association (known as *RT/Rukun Warga*) has utilized the waste taking services in the household level to obtain incomes, such as retribution. The communities are provided with various benefits due to the availability of waste taking services although they have to pay those services. Meanwhile, for the waste managers, they have also earned their incomes from the waste selling results. However, waste selecting and sorting practices have not been well implemented in the waste management model made by the Neighborhood Association (known as *RT/Rukun Tetangga*).

Similarly, waste management coordinated by the Independent Community Groups (known as *KMS/ kelompok swadaya*), the already-taken waste from the surrounding residents was selected in the final waste disposal sites. The communities in cooperation with the Independent Community Groups (known as *KMS/kelompok swadaya*) are not required to select and sort the waste. Thus, the waste management practiced by the Independent Community Groups (known as *KMS/kelompok swadaya*) has not reflected the community-based waste management model as expected.

Dissimilar with the waste management model coordinated by the Neighborhood Association (known as *RT/Rukun Tetangga*) and the Independent Community Groups (known as *KMS/kelompok swadaya*), the "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) has provided education related to waste management to its customers. The surrounding residents who have become the customers of "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) have been trained to select and sort the waste since produced in the household level. At the beginning, it was not easy to give the waste management education to the surrounding residents. However, the community awareness was the created after some educational processes and active participations of the waste managers (*BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) in educating the surrounding residents as their customers.

The "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) was formed

and coordinated with the motivation to overcome the environmental inconveniences due to the unmanaged accumulated-produced waste. To draw people's attention to participate in and become the costumers of the "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*), the managers provide incentives in the form of waste saving program and exchange their waste with their daily basic needs (known as *sembako*). This program encourages the surrounding residents to sort their waste based on organic and non-organic waste. The Organic waste has been processed into compost. Special for the non-organic waste, The "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) has highly appreciated the waste saving received from the surrounding residents. Although the economic values of the non-organic waste are not high, this strategy is relatively effective to motivate the surrounding residents not to easily throw their waste away. The perception mentioning that waste still has its price is once formed and implanted in the costumers' mind; the household waste production can be then well managed.

At the beginning, the "*Inyong*" Waste Bank's (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) service range was only provided for the Residents of Neighborhood Association (*known as RT/Rukun Teteangga*). However, due to the discontinuation of waste disposal sites at the hamlet level in response to the implementation of the waste-selection based regional government policies, the "*Inyong*" Waste Bank's (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) services were developed to the hamlet level. These services were given to improve the community awareness on waste. With more extensive service areas, the "*Inyong*" Waste Bank (known as *BSI/Bank Sampah Inyong*) has become one community-based waste management model in the village areas of Banyumas Regency.

The findings of this study corroborate previous studies which reported that waste banks are a more effective model of waste management in encouraging wider community participation (Asteria, & Heruman, 2016; Setiadi, 2015). Waste banks do not only provide added value economically, but also educate the public to care about protecting the surrounding environment.

5 CONCLUSION

This study has eventually drawn the following conclusions:

1. From the environmental law perspective, the community-based waste management has been strengthened with the regulation in the central, regency, and village government levels. The regulation on waste management regulates the interaction between communities

with their environments without resulting in the negative impacts of waste to the environmental health and convenience. The research results show that the regulation on waste management has encouraged the waste management practices in the community levels.

2. This qualitative research indicated that public participation in waste management was found in the waste bank model in which the communities were educated to select, sort, and appreciate the waste. The waste bank model has also provided positive impacts on the environmental health and convenience including the increase of community income earned from their waste saving results. Thus, the waste bank model is one ideal model to improve the community-based waste management practices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors thanks to Universitas Jenderal Soedirman that facilitated this research funding.

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From National Resilience to Regional Resilience the Acquisition of Regional normative Power in Indonesia

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Abstract

Regional normative power refers to the ability to shape normative concepts in the regional world. By proposing national resilience and raising it to regional resilience so as to become the basis of regional security regulations, Indonesia has gained regional normative power. Specifically, Indonesia puts forward the idea of national resilience based on its own practical experience and according to the international and domestic environment it faces, that is, it has carried out normative construction. On this basis, a normative advocacy was carried out, actively raising national resilience to regional resilience. This proposition has been actively responded to by regional countries, and the idea of regional resilience has become the basis of ASEAN regional security norms. At the same time, this idea of resilience is also facing the competition of similar norms proposed by the inner country Malaysia and the extraterritorial country the Soviet Union, but in the end, the regional resilience showed unique advantages, and Indonesia gained regional normative power. It is worth noting that at the regional level, regional countries need to focus on the normative competition of countries in the region to obtain regional normative power.

Keywords: *National Resilience; Regional Resilience; Normative Power; Indonesi*

1 INTRODUCTION

This article takes the ASEAN regional security norms based on the idea of resilience as an example to discuss the process of Indonesia's acquisition of regional normative power. In 2017, Singapore's former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong said in his evaluation of Kishore Mahbubani and Jeffery Sng's new book "ASEAN Miracle" that "ASEAN has successfully maintained peace and security in Southeast Asia for 50 years.[1] Indeed,

1 "How do they rate this book", in Kishore Mahbubani and Jeffery Sng, ASEAN Miracle, translated by Zhai Kun, Wang Lina, etc., Beijing: Peking University Press, 2017, p. 2.

as a regional organization, ASEAN has played an important role in promoting regional peace and stability. However, this is inseparable from the efforts of the ASEAN member states. It is the ASEAN member states' construction and compliance with ASEAN regional norms that enable ASEAN to play such a big role. Among them, the performance of Indonesia (hereinafter referred to as "Indonesia"), a major country in the region, has attracted more attention. As a regional power, Indonesia has significant advantages in population, territory, economy, military, etc. compared with other countries in Southeast Asia. In the early days of the Cold War, Indonesia had been seeking regional hegemony. However, Indonesia gradually abandoned this practice. A more modest way is adopted to realize its own power position in Southeast Asia by playing a leading role in regional norms. This article refers to this process as the process of obtaining normative power. So, how did Indonesia obtain such normative power? Why can Indonesia obtain normative power? This article attempts to answer these questions by taking the ideology of "resilience" that forms the basis of ASEAN regional security norms as a case.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The research on "normative power" mainly focuses on the study of the European Union. In 2002, Ian Manners pioneered the concept of "normative power" in his studies of the European Union, which he defined as shaping the "normative" in international relations Normal Conceptual ability. On the basis of criticizing Hedley Bull for calling the EU a "military force", he believes that the EU should be called a "normative power". After discussing the basis of EU norms and the proliferation of EU norms, he introduced the case of "the pursuit of abolition of the death penalty" to verify this.[2] That is to say, he believes that an actor has norms Sexual power needs to carry out two stages of self-regulation construction and specification dissemination.

Emilian Kavalski further supplements this concept, he believes that normative power refers to those who are so recognized by others. Based on the comparison between normative Europe and normative China, he believes that the definition of "normative" is not only defined by normative forces, but also emerges in the context of its interaction with others. [3]For an international actor who wants to become a normative power, it is not enough to rely solely on self-representation and claims. The reaction of external actors must also be considered.

2 Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol.40, No.2 (2002), pp.235-258.

3 Emilian Kavalski, "The struggle for recognition of normative powers: Normative power Europe and normative power China in context", Cooperation and Conflict, Vol.48, No.2(June 2013), pp.247-267.

Some scholars have also discussed the limitations of EU normative powers. Sibylle Scheipers and Daniela Sicurel pointed out that in the use of material resources, the EU does not publicly recognize the use of compensation measures, but uses conditional measures to decentralize Its norms indicate that there may be conflicts between how the EU represents itself and what the EU does, and this will affect the EU's international image.[4] After Manus In his article, he also reflects on the factors that weaken normative powers. He believes that if the EU's militarization process is characterized by critical reflection rather than the pursuit of "big powers", it will not necessarily lead to the weakening of EU normative powers, but after 9/11, the process of militarization beyond the "European Security Strategy" has weakened the EU's normative claims.[5]

Chinese scholars have also discussed the "normative power Europe", and the more representative ones are the studies conducted by Song Lilei,[6] Zhang Ming,[7] Yan Xiaoxiao[8] and others. These studies are mainly the introduction and critical reflection of the concept of "normative power Europe". Zeng Xianghong discussed the dilemma encountered by the European Union as a normative force in implementing its norms in Central Asia. He summarized it as the dilemma of normative performance, normative competition and normative resonance.[9] In fact, on the basis of Manners and Kawarsky, he further refined the "reaction of the 'other'" as a way of evaluating normative power. That is to say, this "other" includes not only the norm acceptor, but also the norm competitor.

Except for "European normative power", this concept is still a relatively little research topic in international relations. Rok Zupancic and Miha Hribernik discuss how Japan strives to strengthen its norms in ways that do not directly challenge the strategic interests of other influential players in the international community Power. They believe that Japan has made Japan a good international force through investment in three areas: peacebuilding, human security, and regional

4 Sibylle Scheipers and Daniela Sicurell, "Empowering Africa: normative power in EU-Africa relations", Journal of European Public Policy, Vol.15,No.4(June 2008), pp.607-623.

5 Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the crossroads1", Journal of European Public Policy, Vol.13, No.2(March 2006), pp.182-199.

6 Song Lilei, "Research on the Characteristics of the European Union: The EU as a Normative Power", International Forum, Issue 2, 2008.

7 Zhang Ming, " Normative Power Europe: Theory, Reality or 'Otopia'?", European Studies, No. 5, 2008.

8 Yan Xiaoxiao, "Rethinking 'Normative Power Europe': Theory and Practice", PhD thesis, School of History, Nanjing University, 2016.

9 Zeng Xianghong, "The 'Regulatory Forces' Encountered the 'New Great Game': The EU's Triple Dilemma in Promoting Democracy in Central Asia", European Studies, Issue 2, 2020.

initiatives.[10] Pu Xiaoyu decomposes socialization into two processes in response to the normative hegemony of Western countries, focusing on how emerging powers shape the evolution of international rules.[11]

Chinese scholar Li Jing discussed from the perspective of normative power that China has gained normative power in global economic governance by promoting its norms in participating in the G20 economic governance process. Specifically, she mainly focuses on the normative construction of international actors, The diplomatic ability of spreading norms and the external perception of normative power are analyzed in three aspects.[12]

In short, as a new concept describing European identity, "normative power" is of great help to our understanding of the power role of international political actors. Related scholars have successively elucidated this concept, but the potential of this concept still needs Excavation, for example, the scholars mentioned above mainly focus on the international level of normative power, but lack the discussion at the regional level. As a regional power, Indonesia has made more efforts in regional norm, and thus obtained regional normative power. The academic community still lacks the discussion of the regional level of normative power. Therefore, this article intends to adopt the "The process of expanding 'national resilience' to 'regional resilience' and then becoming the basis of ASEAN regional security norms explores how Indonesia has obtained regional normative power.

3 THE CONNOTATION OF REGIONAL NORMATIVE POWER

As mentioned earlier, Ian Manners defines normative power as the ability to shape the concept of "normal" in international relations.13 It mainly includes three steps, principles, Action and influence. First of all, among the principles advocated, Manners believes that normative power should first be regarded as legal. If the normative reasons are to be persuasive or attractive, then the principles to be promoted must be regarded as legitimate and promoted in a consistent manner. Second, in actions taken to promote such principles, normative powers should

10 Zupancic Rok and Hribernik Miha, "Normative power Japan: the European Union's ideational successor or another 'contradiction in terms'?" *Romanian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 13, No.2* (Winter 2013), pp.106-136.

11 Pu Xiaoyu, "Socialisation as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol.5, 2012*, pp.341-367.

12 Li Jing, *"Research on China's Participation in G20 Global Economic Governance: Based on the Perspective of Normative Power"*, Journal of Changzhou University (Social Science Edition), Issue 1, 2017.

13 Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.40, No.2(2002), pp.235-258.

be considered persuasive. Promoting principled persuasion in world politics involves constructive participation, institutionalization of relationships, and encouragement of multilateral dialogue among participants. Finally, in terms of influence, normative power mainly involves sociality, partnership and ownership.[14]

In fact, Manners mainly focused on the initiative of actors. Later, Kawarsky noticed the important role of external actors, and he defined normative power as those who are so recognized by others. In other words, it is not only about the efforts of actors to become normative powers, but also the approval of others.[15] Zeng Xianghong went further Distinguishing the other, he believes that the other not only includes normative proliferation targets, but also normative competitors.[16]

Based on the above scholars' definitions of normative power, this article believes that regional normative power is the ability to define normative concepts in the regional world. It includes not only the self-construction and advocacy of norms, but also the reaction of normative diffusion targets and the game with normative competitors.

4 INDONESIA PUTS FORWARD AND THE CONCEPT OF "RESILIENCE"

Resilience is the core of security norms in the ASEAN region, and security is the primary goal pursued by the country. Therefore, the safety specification is the most representative of the specifications. Through the investigation of the proliferation process of resilience security norms, it can effectively reflect how Indonesia obtains normative power.

4.1 The concept of resilience

In the late 1960s, Indonesian national leaders put forward the concept of "national resilience". Regarding the proposal of this concept, some scholars believe that it was mainly determined by the understanding of the leaders at that time. Because Indonesia faced various security issues at the beginning of its establishment, but the Indonesian leaders at that time did not propose a comprehensive security strategy. Therefore, a country's security interests are not established, but depend on the

14 Ian Manners, "The Concept of Normative Power in World Politics," http://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/100191/B09_maj__Concept_Normative_Power_World_Politics.pdf.

15 Emilian Kavalski, "The struggle for recognition of normative powers: Normative power Europe and normative power China in context", Cooperation and Conflict, Vol.48, No.2(June 2013), pp.247-267.

16 Zeng Xianghong, "The 'Regulatory Forces' Encountered the 'New Great Game': The EU's Triple Dilemma in Promoting Democracy in Central Asia", European Studies, Issue 2, 2020.

leaders' views on national security.[17] However, I believe that changes in the national security environment will strongly affect the changes that leaders understand. Therefore, I still intend to briefly analyze the changes in the international and domestic environments faced by Indonesia when the concept of "resilience" was proposed.

During the Sukarno administration, Indonesia pursued more radical policies. For example, around the integration of East Malaysia into Malaysia, Indonesia adopted a policy of "confrontation" that has lasted for several years against Malaysia. This policy has severely damaged the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, other countries in Southeast Asia, and even Western countries, which in turn makes Indonesia often face an insecure international environment and cannot concentrate on nation-building. Therefore, after Suharto took office, he planned to change the deteriorating international environment facing Indonesia.

In addition, Indonesia is also facing many security threats. First of all, for the Suharto regime, its primary task is how to consolidate the regime it has obtained after the coup. Secondly, in terms of national security, the long-term nature of Indonesia's anti-colonial struggle has brought about the long-term difficulties of post-independence country construction; the fragility of Indonesia's country shaped by factors such as ethnicity, culture, and geography; Indonesia's weak military power makes it difficult to rely on its own strength to ensure National security; domestic opposition under the military and authoritarian system; possible external interference caused by domestic politics and ethnic conflicts are the main national security threats facing Indonesia.[18]

Judging from the background that it puts forward, "national resilience" is more in response to domestic problems, so it is introverted. Its specific connotations are detailed in the "National Resilience" published by the Indonesian National Defense Research Institute. The main connotation of national resilience refers to a state of national functioning, through its resilience to strengthen the country's power to deal with challenges from home and abroad; Contains the organization and implementation of the general balance of national welfare and security in the life of the country; it is introverted, or toward the country itself, the goal is to forge its own

17 Wang Zichang and Guo Youxin, *National Interest or Regional Interest: The Political Economy of ASEAN Cooperation*, Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2005, p. 81.

18 Muthiah Alagappa, *Comprehensive Security: Interpretations in ASEAN Countries, in Robert A. Scalapino et al. Eds., Asian Security Issues: Regional and Global*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p. 58, quoted from Li Feng, "The EU's 'Resilience' and ASEAN's 'Resilience'-A Comparative Study of Regional Core Concepts", European Studies, Issue 4, 2018.

national identity and national character through national self-reliance; it does not approve of power Politics or power confrontation, but use other resources of the country, such as moral power. Avoid confrontation and confrontation in exchanges between countries.[19]

When Suharto visited Malaysia in 1970, he also elaborated on the specific connotation of "national resilience". "National resilience includes ideological resilience based on the country's self-identity fully supported and able to satisfy the country's own basic-economic resilience that can meet the country's own basic needs, social resilience that ensures unity and harmony among its people, and a suitable military resilience in the face of external aggression."[20] Therefore, on the whole, national resilience is an introverted, nationalistic, and overall security concept. It mainly promotes national resilience through measures such as developing the national economy, maintaining military self-reliance, and avoiding ideological conflicts involved in the Cold War. 21 In other words, it mainly enhances national security by enhancing national strength internally and avoiding involvement in conflict and confrontation externally.

4.2 Indonesia advocated "regional resilience" at the regional level

From the perspective of national resilience, Indonesia wants to establish a sense of security at the regional level. According to Indonesia, "the stability of ASEAN countries is a necessary prerequisite for regional security and cooperation".[22] Therefore, it actually presupposes the potential of spreading resilience to the regional level. As Michael Leifer pointed out, Suharto presupposes that national resilience will be more widely recognized and applied among Southeast Asian countries, and will form a path for regional or ASEAN resilience in regional cooperation. [23]

In 1972, the Indonesian Foreign Minister formally proposed "Regional Resilience" at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Annual Meeting held in

19 See Dewi Fortuna Anwar, *National versus Regional Resilience? An Indonesian Perspective, in Derek da Cunha* (ed.), Southeast Asian Perspectives on Security, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000, p.83, quoted from Wang Zichang and Guo Youxin, National Interest or Regional Interest: The Political Economy of ASEAN Cooperation, Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2005, pp. 82-83.

20 Speech at an Official Functional in Kuala Lumpur, 18 March 1970, International Bulletin, Indonesian Embassy, Singapore, No. 008/pen/ind70, quoted from Zheng Xianwu, Security, Cooperation and Community, Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 2009, p.285.

21 See Shee Poon-Kim, "A Decade of ASEAN, 1967-1977" Asian Survey, Vol. 17, No. 8, 1977, p. 756.

22 Amita Acharya, *Building a Security Community: ASEAN and Regional Order*, translated by Wang Zhengyi and Feng Huaixin, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2004, p. 81.

23 Michael Leifer, *ASEAN and the Security of South-East Asia*, London and New York: Routledge, 1989, p.4, quoted from Li Feng, "The EU's Resilience and ASEAN's Resilience-A Comparative Study of Regional Core Concepts", European Studies, Issue 4, 2018.

Singapore. He noted that regional resilience can "enhance the capacity and wisdom of its member States and their nationals in every aspect of national efforts to withstand and overcome external interference of various kinds and adverse effects on their healthy and harmonious development".[24] Suharto believes that "if each member state develops its own national resilience, a regional resilience may gradually emerge. In this way, all member states have the ability to collectively solve their common problems and work together for their Responsible for the future and welfare." [25]Indonesian scholar Jusuf Wanandi also expressed a similar view, "If each member country can achieve the overall development of the country and overcome internal threats, regional revival will automatically occur in the same way, just like The overall strength of a chain comes from the same strength as its components." [26]

24 Dewi Fortuna Anwar, *National versus Regional Resilience? An Indonesian Perspective, in Derek da Cunha* (ed.), Southeast Asian Perspectives on Security, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000, p.88, quoted from Wang Zichang and Guo Youxin, National Interest or Regional Interest: The Political Economy of ASEAN Cooperation, p. 84.

25 Cited in Regionalism in Southeast Asia, Jakarta: CSIS, 1975, pp. 2-8, quoted from Zheng Xianwu, Security, Cooperation and Community, p. 285.

26 Jusuf Wanandi, "Security Issues in the ASEAN Region", in Kad D. Jackson and M. Hadi Soesastro(eds), ASEAN Security and Economic Development, Research Papers and Policy Studies, No. 11(Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asia Studies, University of California, 1984), p. 305, quoted from Amita Acharya, Building a Security Community: ASEAN and Regional Order, translated by Wang Zhengyi and Feng Huaixin, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2004 , Page 81.

It can be seen from the above that Indonesia has put forward the concept of "National Resilience" with Indonesian or regional characteristics based on the international and domestic environment it faces and the understanding of leaders. Because of its introversion and non-confrontation at the external level, this thought presupposes the potential to be promoted to the regional level. In the follow-up practice, Indonesian leaders also actively advocated this thought through regional platforms.

5 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INDONESIA'S RESILIENCE THOUGHT

After Indonesia put forward the idea of resilience, it received a positive response from Southeast Asian countries and became the core principle of ASEAN's security norms. Moreover, in comparison with other countries' security visions in Southeast Asia, the influence of the resilience ideas proposed by Indonesia is more prominent.

5.1 "Resilience" has become the basis of ASEAN security norms

After the idea of "resistance" was put forward, it received positive responses from other countries in Southeast Asia.

They affirmed the value of the ideology of resilience and further enriched this idea based on their own experience and demands.

Malaysia is the most powerful country in Southeast Asia that can compete with Indonesia. However, Malaysia has expressed support for this idea, but believes that a commitment to regional cohesion should be added. Former Malaysian Foreign Minister Shafie believes that regional resilience is "a capability of every member country in a region, and this capability can all be used to advance their foreign policy's first priority: their organic interconnection and interdependence." . [27]Thailand's Special Representative-Thanon Koman believes that regional resilience is "a functional condition of a group of countries in a region, which includes resilience, strength, and endurance. This situation can enable each country to develop its national resilience in the spirit of regional unity, cooperation and loyalty, and enable each country to deal with internal and external threats and challenges, both direct and indirect."[28]

27 Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "National versus Regional Resilience? An Indonesian Perspective", in Derek da Cunha (ed.), Southeast Asian Perspectives on Security, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000, p.88. Quoted from Wang Zichang Guo Youxin, National Interest or Regional Interest: The Political Economy of ASEAN Cooperation, p. 84.

28 Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "National versus Regional Resilience? An Indonesian Perspective", in Derek da Cunha (ed.), Southeast Asian Perspectives on Security, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000, p.89. Quoted from Wang Zichang Guo Youxin, National Interest or Regional Interest: The Political Economy of ASEAN Cooperation, p. 85.

Lee Kuan Yew proposed to integrate regional resilience into the construction of a "Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality".

Southeast Asian countries not only verbally expressed their willingness to accept "resilience", but also included it in a series of agreements signed by ASEAN, thus becoming the core of ASEAN's security mechanisms and norms. In February 1976, at the first ASEAN summit, national resilience and regional resilience were written into the "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia" and the "The Declaration of ASEAN Concord" respectively. In fact, national resilience and regional resilience are both inward-looking concepts, emphasizing the promotion of security through autonomy rather than through military alliances or relying on the umbrella of major powers. At the same time, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore all have military agreements with foreign powers. Therefore, the integration of this idea of resilience shows Indonesia's shaping power at the regional normative level. Since then, these two concepts have continued to be written into other agreements, such as the "Declaration of ASEAN Concord II " in 2003 and the "ASEAN-Political Security Community Blueprint" in 2009. Through this series

of institutionalization processes, ASEAN security norms based on national resilience and regional resilience have gradually formed. In addition, in the development and evolution of ASEAN's security concept, that is, comprehensive security-cooperative security-security community, resilience is also its basic core.

The support of countries in Southeast Asia for this idea is also reflected in specific practices. For example, when East Timor declared independence in 1975, it was strongly opposed by Indonesia. It believed that East Timor's independence meant social chaos, foreign subversion and a policy of confrontation with Indonesia. Therefore, under the pretext of "restoring law and stability", Indonesia sent troops to invade and occupy East Timor. The international community strongly condemned Indonesia's behavior, but the ASEAN countries collectively remained silent and believed that the East Timor incident was Indonesia's internal affair. When Singapore abstained in the UN resolution for fear of becoming the second East Timor, it was opposed by Indonesia, which eventually forced Singapore to change its position. [29]This behavior of ASEAN countries is not only a manifestation of ASEAN's principle of non-interference, but also a manifestation of its resilience thinking, because resilience refers to issues that threaten domestic security.

5.2 Resilience stands out in norm competition

5.2.1 The "Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality" (abbreviated as ZOPFAN) proposed by Malaysia, a country in the region.

In 1968, Malaysian Member of Parliament Ismail proposed the "Peace, Freedom and Neutral Zone" concept (hereinafter referred to as the "Neutral Zone") to deal with security challenges at home and abroad. In April 1970, Malaysia's diplomatic representative Goshali Shafi announced at the preparatory meeting of the Non-Aligned Conference that neutralization would become Malaysia's official policy. He pointed out, "Under the premise of observing the principles of national self-determination and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, Malaysia hopes that non-aligned countries will not only recognize the neutrality of Indochina, but also the neutralization of the entire Southeast Asian region. This neutralization is protected by the three major powers of China, the Soviet Union and the United States to prevent any external interference, threats or pressure."[30] In other words, the "Neutral

29 See Wang Zichang and Guo Youxin, *National Interest or Regional Interest: The Political Economy of ASEAN Cooperation*, pp. 102-103.

30 Foreign Affairs Malaysia, Vol.3, No.1 (June

Zone" concept mainly includes two aspects, one is the guarantee of the big powers, and the other is to avoid external interference. The ideology of this "neutral zone" has sparked fierce controversy in Southeast Asian countries. Thailand doubts whether China can act as a guarantor of the neutral zone. Indonesia is angry at Malaysia's proposal of a neutral zone without consulting with it. It also believes that the neutrality guaranteed by the major powers will provide an excuse for major powers to interfere. Therefore, it advocates that the Southeast Asian countries themselves assume the responsibility for regional security, that is, strengthen national resilience. Singapore is cautious about this proposal and believes that neutralization cannot be achieved without the full sincere consent of major powers. After intense discussions, the ASEAN countries revised this idea of Malaysia. The revised draft, later known as the Kuala Lumpur Declaration, adopted Indonesia's objection that the neutral zone is no longer given legal guarantees by major powers, but political commitments by major powers.

It can be seen from the above that Malaysia's neutral zone has been widely questioned by ASEAN countries. After intense discussions and revisions, Indonesia's objections were adopted, which means that even the idea proposed by Malaysia clearly reflects Indonesia's position. It can be seen that Indonesia has played a greater role in the design of the ASEAN regional security system.

5.2.2 The "Asian collective security" initiative proposed by the Soviet Union, a country outside the region

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union was in a period of attack and defense. Britain and the United States successively announced their withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The Anglo-American retreat has left a power vacuum in Southeast Asia. As a result, the Soviet Union became more and more involved in the security affairs of Southeast Asia, seeking a dominant position in the security structure of Southeast Asia, so it proposed the "Asian Collective Security System" initiative. (Hereinafter referred to as Ya'an System). Brezhnev pointed out, "This kind of system is the best replacement for the existing military and political bloc and is a need for the progress of the situation". [31] After this initiative was put forward, the Soviet Union actively advocated it. For example, in late June

1970), p.37, quoted from Yu Changsen and Fang Qianhua, "A Discussion on the Strategic Conception of ASEAN's 'Peace, Freedom, and Neutral Zone'", Nanyang Issues Research, Issue 2, 2005.

31 Gao Hongyin, "The Origin and Trend of the Soviet Union's Contending for Hegemony in Southeast Asia", Nanyang Issues Research, Issue 3, 1978

1973, Yeftushenko promoted the "Ya'an System" in the name of "birthday" to the wife of the President of the Philippines. In November, the Soviet ambassador to Singapore pointed out that the "Asian Security System" can benefit the social and economic development of Asian people in the international division of labor.[32] However, the Soviet Union's initiative was generally opposed by Southeast Asian countries. On October 17, 1972, the Indonesian "Jakarta Times" published an article saying: "The Southeast Asian countries have realized that this collective system is just a trap for the Soviet Union to push these countries into its influence." [33]In April 1973, ASEAN held its sixth ministerial meeting, which specifically discussed the issue of the 'Asian Security System'. The ASEAN member states unanimously rejected the Soviet Union's nominal 'security', but in fact it was a hegemonic attempt. They believe that the Asian security system does not meet ASEAN's goal of political neutrality. In the end, ASEAN countries unanimously rejected the "Ya'an System" proposed by the Soviet Union.[34]

32 See "Soviet revisionist expansion activities in Southeast Asia", Research on Southeast Asian Issues, Issue 1, 1974.

33 Anti-Revision Writing Group, "The Struggle of Southeast Asian Nations Against Soviet Revision Hegemony", Research on Southeast Asian Issues, Issue 1, 1974.

34 Yu Changsen and Fang Qianhua, "A Discussion on the Strategic Conception of ASEAN's 'Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality'", Nanyang Issues Research, Issue 2, 2005.

In fact, it was expected that the Soviet Union's 'Ya'an System' initiative was opposed. Against the background of rising nationalist sentiment in Southeast Asia and unusual anti-colonialism, this Soviet initiative naturally has no market. Moreover, ASEAN has established the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, so even when the Soviet Union wanted to associate its "Ya'an System" with the "Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality" vision, it was still rejected by Southeast Asian countries.

In short, from the different attitudes of Southeast Asian countries towards Indonesia's "resilience", Malaysia's "Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality" initiative, and the Soviet Union's "Asian Collective Security" initiative, we can see their differences among Southeast Asian countries. The importance is decreasing in order, and the idea of resilience gains an advantage in the competition with the other two, which also demonstrates Indonesia's ability in shaping regional safety regulations.

6 CONCLUSION

This article uses the ASEAN regional security norms based on the ideology of resilience as an case to explore how Indonesia obtained regional normative power. According to the definition of regional normative power, this article discusses the self-construction of norms, the advocacy of norms, the

response of norm recipients, and the game with normative competitors. The research results show that Indonesia has put forward an introverted concept of national resilience based on the international and domestic environment it faces and the understanding of leaders. This concept is to deal with the security threats faced by Indonesia, but the security problems encountered by Indonesia at the time were also common problems faced by other countries in Southeast Asia, and the idea of resilience is inward, so it has the potential to expand to the region. Indonesian leaders have actively advocated in Southeast Asia to develop national resilience into regional resilience. This move has received positive responses from other countries in Southeast Asia. The idea of resilience has been included in a series of agreements signed by ASEAN member states. Therefore, the idea of resilience has become the foundation and core of ASEAN regional security regulations. However, the idea of resilience proposed by Indonesia has also encountered competition from regulated competitors, including the "Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality" initiative proposed by Malaysia, a country in the region, and the "Asian collective security system" initiative proposed by the Soviet Union, a country outside the region. However, the ASEAN member states have the highest acceptance of resilience. They reformed the "Neutral Zone" concept, and reflected Indonesia's position in the reform results. They directly rejected the "Ya'an System". Therefore, through this series of processes, it can be seen that Indonesia has played a greater role in the formation of security norms in the ASEAN region and obtained normative power. Indonesia has also achieved its status as a regional power through this leading role at the regulatory level.

It needs to be pointed out that Indonesia's leading role at the regulatory level cannot be achieved without the support of other Southeast Asian countries. And the support of other countries in Southeast Asia also has the consideration of regulating Indonesia, which means that it wants to restrain its pursuit of regional hegemony by including Indonesia in the framework of multilateralism. Indonesia also recognizes this point, so it exercises restraint on many issues, does not use its military and economic resources to intensify conflicts, but adopts a "flexible" approach, that is, to achieve its goals by playing a role in regulations or norms. This low profile has won the respect and support of countries in Southeast Asia.

In short, this article applies the concept of normative power proposed by Manners to the regional level, and makes a preliminary attempt. In the future, this concept may be applied to other regions. The research in this article

also shows that the regional level has a certain degree of particularity, that is, the normative competition faced at the regional level includes not only foreign powers, but also intraregional countries. In the context of the rise of regionalism, the normative competitiveness of the countries in the region may be stronger. Therefore, if the regional countries want to obtain regional normative power, they need to focus on the normative competition of the countries in the region.

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Think Globally, Act Locally: Village Response to Covid-19 in Indonesia

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Abstract

In the current global society, an outbreak of infectious disease such as coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19) can rapidly spread all over the world, including Indonesia. Aside from spreading new infections, the outbreak also has an effect on poverty, disparity and inequality. These factors are threatening the rural communities which have a higher health disparity and poverty rate compared to urban communities. Due to this problem, the government policies need to prioritize the management of village funds to overcome and prevent the covid-19 outbreak. The objective of this study is to analyze the management policy of the village fund 2020 that is beneficial and effective for the rural communities. This study uses a qualitative method and descriptive approach, using the Cost Effective Analysis and Sensitive Analysis. The result of this study shows that the Village Fund 2020 Policy prioritized the COVID-19 Response Village (*Desa Tanggap COVID-19*) and Cash For Work (*Padat Karya Tunai Desa*) programs are effective and beneficial to achieve the goal of strengthening the economy and health of rural communities, if the fund allocation in each program are ideal.

Keywords: *Village Funds 2020, Cost Effective analysis, Sensitive Analysis, Covid-19, Program priorities*

1. INTRODUCTION

On March 11, 2020 COVID-19 was declared as a global pandemic by the Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO), which means the infectious outbreaks spread all over the world. The spread is driven by the speed of our travel across borders and continents. The COVID-19 spreads to every country in the world. Citing data from The Johns Hopkins University Center for Systems Science and Engineering (2020) on August 23, 2020, there are 23,357,435 people with positive infection of COVID-19.

Within these numbers, the United States of America is the country with the highest with 5,838,632 positive cases, followed by Brazil with 3,582,632 positive cases. The world total death toll is 807,677. Meanwhile in South East Asia (ASEAN) the highest number of COVID-19 cases are Philippines with 187,249 cases and Indonesia with 153,535 cases. These numbers are increasing every day. Previously in 2014, to prevent further pandemic outbreaks, WHO creates a more flexible guidelines on pandemic influenza preparedness and response, emphasizing on the importance of action that can be improved and targeted according to the requirement (Fraser et al, 2004), this is reflected in every country plan which needs to be updated (Bauch, 2005; World Health Organization, 2009ab). But these aspects seem to be ignored by some countries in responding to the current pandemic, causing it to spread to 177 countries.

The impact of COVID-19 on the world economy is increasing. The pandemic will cause a loss of more than US$1 trillion and global economic growth under 2%, far lower than previous prediction at 2.5% (World Bank, 2020). This affects the world economy, including Indonesia. According to Sri Mulyani, the Republic of Indonesia's Minister of Finance, COVID-19 can affect the population's daily activity, including the economic sector. Effects that can be observed in the real sector directly such as hotel employees, manufacturing industry, and others, ended in termination of employment (*PHK: Pemutusan Hubungan Kerja)* for the workers (Sugianto, 2020). Aside from this, the pandemic also affects local traders, especially since the restricted mobility orders. Shopping centers are lacking visitors due to the concerns regarding coronavirus spread. Traders stated that their sales are plummeting since COVID-19 cases spread in Indonesia. Similar situations also affect laborers. Factory laborers are susceptible to the new coronavirus Covid-19 (Purwanto, 2020; Aria, 2020). The effects are predicted to last until the pandemic outbreak ends. The result of Mathematical Modeling and Simulation by Bandung Institute of Technology predicts that the pandemic will reach its peak in mid April 2020. Even with the dynamic existing data, the predictions are subject to change (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

Aside from economic impacts, the field of health among the people is directly affected. This matter is worsened by a disparity in access to health care in rural areas compared to the urban areas (Balqis, 2015). Moreover, research study by Mubasyiroh et al. (2018) titled Index of Healthcare Accessibility in Indonesia (*Indeks Aksesibilitas Pelayanan Kesehatan*

di Indonesia) shows that: 1) existing disparity of supply in health workers and healthcare facility in urban and rural areas; and 2) existing disparity of the supply, demand, and barrier factor between urban and rural area, and between poor and non-poor areas. The research shows that the rural areas have worse health care facilities compared to the urban areas, therefore resulting in non optimal health care services.

Based on these problems, the government through the Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration (*Kemendes PDTT*) and Ministry of Finance reallocated funds focusing on response to COVID-19. The fund reallocation in the form of Village Fund 2020 through Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration regulation number 7 year 2020 on Second Revision of Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration Regulation number 11 year 2019 regarding Priority of Village Fund Usage year 2020 and Circular number 8 year 2020 regarding COVID-19 Response Village and Village Cash Labor Intensive Assertion (Republik Indonesia, 2020). The policy of village fund 2020 prioritizes to strengthen the economic gears through Village Cash for Work (*PDKT: Padat Karya Tunai Desa)* and strengthen the people's health through the prevention and response towards COVID-19. But are these programmes effective to the rural communities? To answer this question the researcher tried to analyze the link between cost and effectiveness, and sensitive analysis in the priority of the Village Fund 2020 programme.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Village Government

Policy about Village Government are further specified in Government Regulation Number 47 Year 2015 regarding Change of Government Regulation Number 43 Year 2014 about Policy of Constitution Act Number 6 year 2014 about Village. As stated in Article 1 Paragraph (2) of Constitution Number 30 Year 2014 regarding Government Administration, the function of government is the function to run government administration that includes duty of regulation, service, development, empowerment, and protection. Furthermore, in the Constitution Number 6 Year 2014 about Village it is stated that Village Government is carrying out government business in the local public interest inside the governmental system of The Republic of Indonesia. Within village governmental affairs there are several duties that must be carried out. According to Purnomo (2016) the village government has 4 (four) duties: (1) Village Government Planning;

(2) Organizing village government organization; (3) procurement of village government resources; and (4) supervision of Village Government operation.

2.2 Village Funds

In order to support the task and function of villages in governing and developing villages in all its aspects, Constitution Number 6 Year 2014 grants the Government authority to allocate the Village Funds. The Village Funds are allocated every year from the State Budget (APBN) given to every village as one of the village's source of income. This policy also integrated and optimized all of the budget allocation scheme from the Government to existing villages. The legal basis of Village Funds are specified in the Presidential Decree (PP) 8 year 2016 regarding Second Revision of PP 60 year 2014 about Village Funds derived from State Budget. According to this policy, the goals of Village Funds are: 1) improving the public service in villages; 2) eliminating poverty; 3) advancing village's economy; 4) resolving disparity of development between villages; and 5) empowering the rural communities as subjects of developments.

3. METHOD

The researchers use the qualitative method with a descriptive approach, this study uses a data collection technique based on library researches such as policy or regulation, policy paper, books, and government reports that are relevant to examine and analyze. Library research is a research activity done by collecting information and data with the help of various materials that can be found in libraries such as reference books, result of similar previous researches, articles, notes, and various journals that help to form the theoretical basis of the problem that will be studied (Mirzaqon & Purwoko, 2017; Khatibah, 2011). The research is systematically done to collect, process, and conclude data using certain methods/techniques to find answers for the problem. (Danandjaja, 2014; Sari & Asmendri, 2020). Library research is an investigation that aims to collect data and information from the library resources such as books, magazines, documents, historical notes, and other similar sources (Pasolong, 2013). The data obtained from this research will be interpreted with the steps of data collection, data assessment, data interpretation, and data conclusion to the result of data interpretation and data analysis. This technique is required to analyze the policy of Village Funds 2020 management for the rural communities.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The government's consistency in

attempts to improve villages welfare in Indonesia can be proven by the implementation of Village Funds (*DD: Dana Desa).* According to Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (2020), the budget allocation for village funds from State Funds (*APBN: Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara*) of 2020 reaches Rp. 72 trillion with each village receiving an average of Rp. 960 million. Following direction from President Joko Widodo through PMK Number 205/PMK.07/2019 regarding Village Funds Management, the mechanism of Village Funds 2020 distribution are divided into three steps, with the following proportion of 40% (step I), 40% (step II), 20% (step III). The distribution of step I is projected to be finished in January at the earliest and June at the latest. Next, step II will be in March at the earliest and August at the lastest, while step III will be finished mid-year or around July at the earliest. Before COVID-19 massively spreads the government agrees to prioritize the revitalization of BUMDes and agrees to include BUMDes/BUMDesma in the target of RPJMN 2020-2024 by including the target indicator of 1,670 developed BUMDes/BUMDesma with clear superior products and guidance for every independent villages in Indonesia to achieve BUMDes in developed category as a form of *best practices* that can be replicated.

However, now through the Circular Letter (*SE: Surat Edaran)* from the Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration Number 8 Year 2020 regarding COVID-19 Response Village and Cash For Work. This circular letter is published on March 24, 2020. The circular letter will be used as a guideline to the implementation of COVID-19 Response Village and Village Cash Labor Intensive Assertion using the village fund. There are several important points in the circular letter, inlucing: *First,* creating COVID-19 Response Village and forming Volunteers of COVID-19 Response Village with the following structure: Head of Village, BPD (*Tuha Peut)*, Village Apparatus, Members of BPD, Village Chief, PKH Partners, Religion Figures, Local Custom Figures, and more that will work together with Babinkamtibmas, Babinsa, and Village Assistant. The task for these volunteers are to educate through socialization, registering the local resident who are susceptible to disease, identifying village facility that can be transformed into isolation ward, conducting disinfectant spraying, providing hand sanitizer, providing health care equipment for early detection, and preventing outbreak and transmission in the pandemic. Aside from these, they also provide important information, recording data of visitors to the village, recording data of village

resident's mobility to other regions, recording data of residents returning from outside regions, making sure there are no big social gatherings and activity within the community. *Second*, Pattern of Cash For Work *(PKTD: Padat Karya Tunai Desa).* In the effort to prevent pandemic outbreaks, the village funds will be used with PKTD pattern through self management using natural resources and human resources of the village. Jobs are prioritized for members of poor, unemployed families, and other marginal members of the community. The wages are paid daily. The implementation of PKTD activities applies safe distancing between one worker and another, with two meters minimum, and masks are mandatory for workers with symptoms such as coughs. *Third,* change of APBG. The circular letter explicitly becomes the foundation of APBG Changes or APBDesa, which is shifting the expenditure of sectors and sub-sectors into the disaster management sector, pressing emergency matters sector, and sector of implementation for village development for PKTD activity. For villages classified as areas with extraordinary circumstances (*KLB: Keadaan Luar Biasa)* regarding COVID-19, the APBG can be directly changed to adapt with the needs of Corona response. The criteria of KLB are specified in regent/mayor (regional) regulation regarding the management of village budget.

COVID-19 Response Village

The Cost-Effectiveness Analysis (CEA) in health refers to an economic evaluation where cost and consequences from alternative intervention are stated in health (activity) price per unit (A.S National Library of Medicine, 2016). Currently, CEA is a tool commonly used to evaluate intervention of health activity (Kernick, 2003). According to Noor Haslinda et al (2017) this analysis is focusing on evaluation of alternative cost and involves the measuring of benefits quantitatively or natural units such as saved lives or prevented deaths, which then will be compared to the effectiveness of alternative options to give the project or programme related to health. Analysis of cost effectiveness is used to determine the technical efficiency in comparison of cost and consequences from competing intervention for certain groups of patients in certain budgets. CEA is used to identify the option that is most cost effective to achieve predetermined goals or criteria, that cannot be measured in monetary terms such as health results. This can also decide the most effective option for a fixed amount of pre allocated budget to achieve the policy's goal. In an attempt to identify and evaluate the benefits, with the most cost effective method to achieve the intended

goal. Health economic evaluation using CEA is suitable in situations where there are clear goals of health, which can be maintained and measured in suitable units. Therefore, the first priority of the programme of forming COVID-19 Response Village can be measured with CEA in order to measure the benefits and compatibility with the goals, that is to overcome and prevent the Coronavirus Disease 2019.

COVID-19 Response Village overcome and prevent pandemic outbreak by forming: 1) Forming Volunteers of COVID-19 Response Village which consist of Head of Village, BPD, Village Apparatus, BPD Members, Village Chief, PKH Partners, Religion Figures, Local Custom Figures, and others that are partnered with Babinkamtibmas, Babinsa, and Village Assistant; 2) Activity of COVID-19 Response Village includes education through socialization, registering the local resident who are susceptible to disease, identifying village facility that can be transformed into isolation ward, conducting disinfectant spraying, providing hand sanitizer, providing health care equipment for early detection, and preventing outbreak and transmission in the pandemic. Aside from these, they also provide important information, recording data of visitors to the village, recording data of village resident's mobility to other regions, recording data of residents returning from outside regions, making sure there are no big social gatherings and activity within the community. Among the activities mentioned above, there are 5 (five) budgets that can be allocated, including buying disinfectant, providing hand sanitizer, procuring masks, providing simple health care equipment, and providing an isolation ward. These activities are adopted on Ministerial Decree of Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration Number 63 Year 2020 on New Normal Protocols in Village. From figure 1, 8,3% of the million budget is preallocated. Therefore it can be assumed that 79,7 million is the budget for the aforementioned 5 activities. The cost and effectiveness can be determined by calculating the cost-effectiveness ratio (CER) (Haslinda et al., 2017) as the following:

$$CER: \frac{Rp.79.700.000\ (a)}{5\ (b)} = Rp.15.940.000$$

Notes: (a) Total Cost
(b) Units of Effectiveness

From the result of the calculation above, the available budget for 5 activities that require funds is Rp. 15.940.000, for the total amount of 7 (seven) units of activity (including procuring masks for sick patients and village volunteers). The result of the CER above can be modified to accommodate each village which

has different field specifications, such as geographic and social confidence, different number of village volunteers, and the number of suspected COVID-19 positive cases. Unit of activity refers to any measurable output that aligns with the goal of the programme. (Haslinda et al., 2017). Therefore the effectiveness of the COVID-19 Response Village can be seen, which aims to maintain the rural community health from the current pandemic outbreak. As an example, there are 3,547 people in the rural community of Mane Village in Aceh Province (BPS Nasional, 2010). With average funds of Rp. 15.940.000 for 3.547 people, this can be classified as effective. The calculation basically is an average cost-effectiveness ratio (ACER) in which the denominator represents the positive result of intervention and the quantifier represents the cost to achieve output. An intervention with lower ACER is relatively more efficient (Gift, et al, 2007).

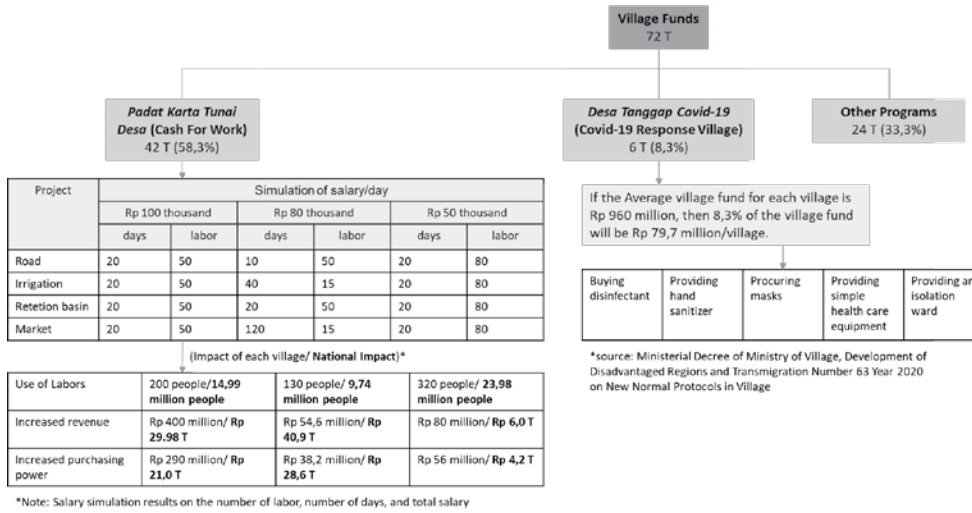
Furthermore a vigilant principle must be applied by village volunteers that fight in the front line. Wearing a mask is obligatory for village volunteers. Due to the high risk and possibility of self contamination, it must be avoided. As for drawbacks, the long term use must be balanced between infection risk and the wearer must not take off the mask during meetings with patients. There must be a regular policy regarding the use of personal protection gears to avoid confusion which can risk the health and safety of high priority health care providers (Chughtai et al, 2020).

Cash For Work

According to the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (2020), budget allocation for village fund from State Funds (*APBN: Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara*) of 2020 reaches Rp. 72 trillion, with an average of Rp. 960 million per village. One of the priorities for this village fund is the Cash for Work (*PKTD: Padat Karya Tunai Desa).* PKTD is a form of labor intensive activity that is expected to absorb a large labor, by giving direct cash wage to the laborer involved in daily or weekly works, in order to strengthen the community's purchasing power, increasing the economic growth, and the welfare of the community. The PKTD programme is a part of the village fund management principles: *first* is self-managed, which means the planning and implementation of the activities are done independently by the villages, not contracted to a third party/private contractors, or contractors from other regions. *Second,* using labor-intensive principles, so the programme can absorb as much local labor as possible and provide an income for the laborers. *Third*, using local resources and materials, in order to grow and develop

the village's productive economic activity, which can provide a new income for the people that possess material such as rocks, sand, and more.

To measure the cost and benefits of PKTD it can be compared to the face value. The researcher uses sensitive analysis in the 58,3% priority of PKTD, divided by 8,3% of Covid-19 Response Village, and 33,3% of other programs. The specific analysis can be are the following:



Project	Simulation of salary/day					
	Rp 100 thousand		Rp 80 thousand		Rp 50 thousand	
	days	labor	days	labor	days	labor
Road	20	50	10	50	20	80
Irrigation	20	50	40	15	20	80
Retetion basin	20	50	20	50	20	80
Market	20	50	120	15	20	80

Use of Labors	200 people/**14,99 million people**	130 people/ **9,74 million people**	320 people/ **23,98 million people**
Increased revenue	Rp 400 million/ **Rp 29.98 T**	Rp 54,6 million/ **Rp 40,9 T**	Rp 80 million/ **Rp 6,0 T**
Increased purchasing power	Rp 290 million/ **Rp 21,0 T**	Rp 38,2 million/ **Rp 28,6 T**	Rp 56 million/ **Rp 4,2 T**

Figure 1: Sensitive Analysis of Cash For Work (PKTD)

Based on Figure 1, it can be observed that the researcher creates 3 simulations of the number of labor with wage/day. The first simulation uses Rp. 100,000 of wage/day, second uses Rp. 80,000 of wage/day, and third uses Rp 50,000 of wage/day. The three simulations are used in 4 construction activities, including road, irrigation, retention basin, and market construction. The research finds that the impact for each village and national impact are the following: 1) Labor Absorption in the first simulation with 200 people/village are employed, with a total worker in Indonesia of 14,99 million people. The second simulation with 130 people/village are employed, with a total worker in Indonesia of 9,74 million people. Lastly the third simulation with a total of 23,98 million people with 320 people/village; 2) The increase of income in the first simulation with Rp. 100,000 is Rp. 400 million per village with the national income of Rp. 29,98 trillion. On the second simulation, daily wage is Rp. 80,000 the impact of income is Rp. 54,6 million per

village and Rp. 40,9 trillion on national income. Meanwhile the third simulation of Rp. 50,000 resulted in Rp. 80 million increase of income per village, and Rp. 6 trillion national income; and 3) The first simulation resulted in an increase of purchasing power in rural communities of Rp. 280 million and Rp. 21 trillion nationally. Second simulation resulted in Rp. 38,2 million per village and 28,6 trillion nationally. The third simulation resulted in Rp. 56 million per village and Rp 4,2 trillion nationally. From the sensitive analysis simulation, the amount can be modified to the number of poor residents that must be involved and the amount of budget from Village Funds 2020. Furthermore, 24 T is used for the existing programs to support the Village Development Index (includes cash handout to small entrepreneurs and developing village-owned enterprises in the village), which aims to act as an incentive/aid to help them manage the business.

5. CONCLUSION

The government's consistency in the attempt to strengthen the economy and health of rural communities in Indonesia in the fight against COVID-19 can be proven through the implementation of Village Funds 2020. Through the circular letter from the Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration Number 8 Year 2020 regarding COVID-19 Response Village and Village Cash Labor Intensive Assertion. The goals of these programmes are to overcome and prevent Coronavirus Disease 2019. Aside from that, the programmes also facilitate more income for residents that are affected by poverty or work severance during the pandemic outbreaks. The result of this study shows that: *first*, in the programme of COVID-19 Response Village priority with an average cost of Rp. 16,000,000 for 3,547 people (example), it can be considered as effective. The calculation is based on average cost-effectiveness ratio (ACER) in which the denomination represents positive results from the intervention, while the quantifier represents the cost to achieve output. Intervention with lower ACER is relatively more efficient. *Second*, in the programme of Cash For Work (PKTD) the researcher creates 3 simulation of labor amount with wage/day, the result shows that every village can use one of the three calculation from this sensitive analysis result, and it can be modified to the number of poor residents that must be involved and the amount of budget from Village Funds 2020.

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The Securitization of Global Health Issue: The WHO's Failure in Pandemic Mitigation of COVID-19

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ABSTRACT

Health related issues in diplomacy have become an inherent topic in the international community recently. The rise of COVID-19 pandemic has brought a new horizon in the way state actor played their role within the globalized world. Never before we witness a flu pandemic dispersed so rapidly and covered by all mainstream news outlets causing panic and instil fear to almost every citizen of the world. It sparks questions and challenges for not only governments but also multilateral organization. This paper observes the way COVID-19 pandemic challenged the resilience of the global order in all aspects namely economic, social and political, and brought tensions between the East (China) and the West (the United States and its allies). Such order disruption reflects the malfunction of WHO in dealing with global health problems proportionally, especially when it comes to using its IO's strength in managing and maintaining COVID-19 updates. The paper concludes that the failure of the WHO-mandated global health management will lead to the securitization of the world, which benefits the media, pharmaceutical companies and state branding as well.

Keywords: *health issue, diplomacy, COVID-19 pandemic, global health management, securitization*

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the first quarter of 2020, the world is facing a global pandemic COVID-19. This pandemic has disrupted all aspects of life and no state is ready to deal with it. This situation correlates with the unresponsiveness of the World Health Organization (WHO) as the global health management since the COVID-19 outbreak. The world believes that WHO in its capacity as an International Protection Regime (IPR)

should be able to address this common problem (Cronin, 2003), a global health issue, to create collective action globally. It is normally not rational for states to protect the population of other countries because it should be under domestic affair. However, the significance of transnational issues of the pandemic inevitably affects the power relations between actors in the international system and their perception of threats. The health issue has become an integral part of transnational problems, especially since WHO was created as one vital organ of the United Nations to address these health issues in a multilateral context. Alertness to the emergence of this pandemic at the early stage supposed to be the main concern of WHO. Unfortunately, the WHO appears to have failed providing proper direction to member states in terms of health protocols and specific health procedures.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The traditional security theory focusing on the issue of military threats has expanded within the explanation of the Securitization theory. The theory views state security issue covers a broader aspect than military threats and problems. According to Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, securitization is "… the move that takes… beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue as either a special kind of politics or as above politics (Buzan et al. 1998, 23). In this regard, the term securitization is simply understood as a process in which an issue is understood as a security problem. In essence, securitization is a perspective that covers both understanding and treating a particular issue as an extraordinary danger accompanied by a high-level threat beyond the existing normal limits.

Belongs to the Copenhagen Schools, this theory assumed that actors transform regular domestic-level political problems into high-level political issues affecting states at the national level. Security as a socially constructed phenomenon is very subjective. This view held by the Copenhagen School is a guiding aspect towards security and issues related to security. Securitization process consists of three distinct phases: 1) creation of existential threats (ie, problems or events such as climate change) before the reference object (ie, a state or group of states) (this phase is called "speech act"), 2) commencement of special/ emergency/extraordinary measures in security and protection of the object of reference from existential threats and 3) Acceptance of speech acts by one or more audiences (Romaniuk, 2018).

According to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998 as cited in Hidayat,

2017) in theory, every issue developed in the public sphere can be put on a non-politicized spectrum, thus not related to state security and does not require public debate and public policy. It becomes politicized when it enters the public space that requires state decisions and allocation of government resources to resolve it. It can also, although very rarely, requires the involvement of a group of individuals representing the state so that it raises a security issue that is interpreted as an existential threat.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

WHO AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION REGIME

We cannot ignore the bias factor in the role of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) relative to the position of dominant member states within the organization. Certain groups of states will use IGOs for pursuing interests and expanding power capacity. The Realists view the role of IGOs as a form of unilateral action by the state upon the use of rational calculations as part of the organization and to minimize costs for other expenses. To challenge the sceptical view of the existence of IGOs, Institutionalism builds a paradigm that there are transnational issues as a common public interest that need to be addressed collectively. This leads to collective action based on member concerts through structures and rules (Abbott and Snidal, 1998). The UN as the largest IGO ensures the world that its action will refer to the mandate in maintaining relations among states based on the principle of independence. UN does not have a special preference for certain member states, especially strong countries, which will limit UN's autonomy (Abbott and Snidal, 1998). Based on this principle, IGOs will establish policies and regulations to resolve international problems, which leads to the characteristics of the contemporary international system apparatus defined as regime (Little in Baylis and Smith, 2005).

To ensure all aspects in the international sphere are in well order, states establish a regime to maintain, regulate and control international relations in accordance with their place. The regime will provide an opportunity to express collaboration in promoting the common good and world order (Little in Baylis and Smith, 2005). The basic principle offered by the regime is reciprocity among actors, not power. A regime has mandate to ensure harmonious interaction among states, including to deal with transnational issues, such as global pandemic. The idea of regime is protecting human survival. At least, this is what liberal institutionalist believes.

The term protection has been interpreted in a broader sense in international relations recently. Since the formation of the UN, there has been a shift in terms of protection mechanism in the context of transnational relations in responding common problems. The responsibility to protect is no longer in the scope of domestic state alone due to the interpretation that transnational issues are issues that must be addressed through collective action. Assuming that the state operates in an anarchic system competitively (Little in Baylis and Smith, 2005), the need for structures and rules to maintain international order is essential. State behavior must be guided by certain rule of law established by regime.

The regime will ensure that the preservation and welfare of humanity distributed fairly based on mutual benefits. This will cement solidarity through collective action which is institutionalized into the regime. UN operational reforms have over the years sought the best mechanisms to protect the world from threats. Operations will be carried out by UN agencies such as WHO with a mandate to improve global health (Lee, 2009) and establish public health policies. This is due to the consensus of states that put health issues into the main global concern. Global health becomes essential issue in the post-war era when industrial and economic activities spurred massive growth resulting a significant increase in the world's population. Huge population translates into higher implications to health conditions as the basic human rights required to be protected by the state. In addition, health is also an integral part of foreign policy. If it is left unregulated, it will cause tensions and disputes among actors. This is where the role of WHO's as a global leader in maintaining health comes into play. Unfortunately, such role has been downplayed by rising state tensions recently.

The spirit of global health management carried out by WHO did not materialize when the pandemic first struck. WHO has a responsibility to urge its members to implement public health emergencies that receive international concern. This is to prevent the worse impact of the pandemic. Unfortunately, what happens next is a mixed of uncertainty and dubious decision by the WHO in addressing the global pandemic. The lack of transparency of data and weak procedures are putting the trust to WHO away. This phenomenon questions the existence of WHO, whether it is still relevant in the current situation. A critical perspective emerges in looking at the role and function of this health regime.

In contrast with the liberal-realist view, IPR only establishes a clear positive

relationship between hegemonic interests in protecting certain populations and the formation of multilateral regimes to do so (Cronin, 2003). The IPR mechanism with the existence of WHO established a set of rules and regulations to bring order in the international arena, especially in dealing with transnational diseases that have led to the global pandemic, COVID-19. As mentioned earlier, the regime will ensure smooth relations between states. Because the regime will identify common interests and problems that will be resolved by collective action through cooperation. Political leaders are willing to be bound under the same framework to defend their interests without unitary action to pursue them. The priority scale in IPR will be set based on the agreement of member states rather than voting arrangements, then the output that is embodied in the policy will have strong implications for members. The process itself will require a strong or core states role to influence the rest of the regime. Only then the distribution mechanism will be more strategical to do (Cronin, 2003). The degree of solidarity will be even more intense because institutions will address regulations that will reflect the goals of each member states.

This IPR paradigm cannot be fully applied in the current situation during COVID-19 as member states choose to implement unilateral measures to protect their people. In fact, US as the most influential actor in WHO chose to leave the organization in response to its relationship with China (Sachs, 2020). This leads to degrading trust of IPR. And when it occurred to states, they return to conventional security politics powerplay.

The tension between the US and China has become increasingly visible in the COVID-19 pandemic. China was accused to be failed in implementing health protocols at their laboratory project in Wuhan Province. Not to mention the weak regulations in Chinese animal market (Verma, 2020) was believed to be the source of the biggest world crisis after the great depression. The pandemic spreads throughout the world. US suffer from the highest death toll. The virus claims the lives of more than 100,000 US citizens (Sachs, 2020). The situation is increasingly fuzzy when the multilateral mechanism through WHO does not fully support proper mitigation. Initially, US used to use WHO as a vehicle to maximize their advantage as a dominant force, but recently they have become active opposition to the multilateral order (Sachs, 2020). US developed a negative feeling because WHO was too lenient in dealing with China's failure in implementing health protocols during the early stage of the outbreak. At the same time, China realized its position in

this situation, so they managed to shift its position from troublemaker to hero. China has provided a lot of aids and assistance in dealing with the situation through mask diplomacy (Verma, 2020). This situation makes WHO emphasizes more on the distribution of power rather than relying on absolute power to powerful states, such as the US. This background is what encourages US to blame China and WHO. The IPR mechanism, then, plunged into a very problematic situation.

The regime's mandate will be formulated based on the consensus of member states. In the process, hegemonic power will control the pattern, in this case US as the founder of the organization will take advantage of the multilateral order to exercise its power. Hence, its withdrawal from WHO stimulates a global response to the organization. Many scholars view the decision to withdraw from the WHO as the consequence of President Trump administration's failure to deal with the pandemic. At the same time, the US plays the role of victim blaming the Chinese government for the source of the problem. On the other hand, the phenomenon also reflects to the diminishing global trust. People prefer the national order to the multilateral or IPR mechanism. The media also exacerbate the situation with their intense daily coverage of global COVID-19 update. Major headlines show increased deaths, the failing healthcare services worldwide, major economic recession, and other negative updates. This leads to even more health securitization.

HEALTH SECURITIZATION AS A RESPONSE OF REGIME FAILURE

The COVID-19 Pandemic is putting the world in insecurity. Disruption in all aspects of life, especially in the economic sector, brings serious problems throughout the world. The combination of daily news updates with state behaviour makes the situation even more problematic. The news update brings high tension to the business sector. Well-established companies in the US are not immune to it as JC Penney, Gold's Gym, Hertz, and many other companies have gone bankrupt. The remaining others (Boeing, GE, IBM, Chevron, etc) are still surviving due to implementing massive layoffs and furloughs (Perloff, 2020). The same doom is also happening in many countries due to the governments' lockdown policy. Even worse, The situation also raise the issue of racism and xenophobia mainly target Chinese citizens and Asians (Verma, 2020). China responded with an official statement stating that COVID-19 may not have originated from China.

It could also be originated from other places because they (major power) had just played a military world game before the outbreak occurred (Verma, 2020). Statesmen also utilized social media to frame international views on the pandemic situation, rather than taking concrete action to address the issue. The situation is getting worse, when the health regime through the existence of WHO does not build any health initiatives.

The issue has brought fear and the world population feel devastated. The pandemic destroys people's life and also disrupt relations between states. The state chooses to build its own mechanism to protect its citizens because WHO as the IPR cannot fulfil its mandate in protecting the global population in the first phase of a pandemic outbreak. Henceforth, we can understand that health is one integral aspect in international relations. Global health problems will determine the high and low of political domains inherent in relations between states.

Global health defines global governance, in terms of security. Health care mechanisms will determine medical measures intended to defend populations from a pandemic or bio-terrorism (Davies, et all, 2020). The correlation between health and security issues is a major concern in the international community. The IPR mechanism as a health management plays huge role to improve global health conditions. Nonetheless, power relations between health actors is clearly defined. States (multilateral groups/ WHO), pharmaceutical companies, health infrastructure, as well as the media will interact in striking clarity when addressing the health issue. This is done with the aim of improving the world health awareness which has implications for certain mechanisms to address international health problems. Davies in his writing states that global health is a form of smart power that is run by the state and in collaboration with other non-state actors (Davies, et al, 2020). As mentioned earlier, global health management will determine the existence of IPR. If IPR cannot manage the situation, states will shift its focus to health securitization.

The negative sentiment toward IPR emerged during the COVID-19 pandemic will challenge the the state to reclaim power in tackling the issue. Usually, global health problems will be more effectively resolved through multilateral mechanisms, such as WHO as a global health institution that establishes standard procedure protocols in public health emergency action. Another actor who can bring more optimism in a global pandemic situation is the media. The role of the media is very significant in providing

daily updates about the world situation during the pandemic. Unfortunately, the current media framing only helps spreading scepticism on the issue of COVID-19 which leads to the implementation of misleading policies and brings more threats and fear to the public. As Buzan said, the situation is not only a matter of efficiency, in which the state performs internal (social order) and external (group defense) functions, but also the country's problems which are a source of controversy and threats (Buzan, 1991). Media containment of its negative cover will be more effective if international regimes, such as WHO, can establish good health initiatives in the early phases of a pandemic outbreak. It matches with the mandate given to the organization in managing the issues.

The failure of WHO mitigation effort to develop good health initiatives leads to a process of securitization in the next phase of the pandemic situation. Securitization is the successful process of labeling a problem as a security problem and resulting in a transformative state reaction on how to deal with it (Adiong, 2009). Securitization will define issues that are labelled as security issues, securitization actors, objects of reference, audiences and speech acts (Buzan, Waever,Wilde, 1998). In relation to the pandemic situation, a clear difference between these factors is visible. Global health issues become international concern that pose a threat to the world's population. Thus, the problem itself will retain the power (health initiatives through mitigation measures) attached to WHO as a global health regime. The failure of the WHO will benefit the media in mobilizing the issue to make urgent headlines in its daily publication. When referring to economic motives, this situation brings more benefits to the media business through increasing ratings with the release of updates about COVID-19. This situation is also the right momentum for pharmaceutical and other health companies to innovate drugs to overcome the problem of the COVID-19 disease. Vaccine pioneers will reap bigger profits for market share.

The pandemic situation has a negative impact on various aspects of life and is directly correlated with human rights. Thus, it will trigger emergency measure taken by states. Such measures vary from implementing health protocols, mass testing, travel ban, to lock down policy. Consequently, The world's population will live in a frame of anxiety and fear. Then, the people will prefer state mechanisms to the guidelines of the international regime.

Securitization phenomenon supports realist view on the existence of international regime. Realists emphasize the scepticism to see international regimes. They see international regimes more as coordination than collaboration,

because power is seen to play a very important role (Baylis, Smith, 2001). This means that countries from the north will form regime policies (Baylis, Smith, 2001), as long as the regime is beneficial to its national interests, the state will acknowledge the regime as the best mechanism to ensure world protection.

4 CONCLUSION

This study focuses on the failure of the WHO as an international protection regime in tackling the outbreak of the COVID 19 pandemic. The absence of an initial response, data and procedures issued by WHO as an international body gave rise to international scepticism on the existence of WHO. As a result, a process of securitization of health issues emerged by each country as a unitary actor. The securitization of the health issue is a tool for the two major states, namely the United States and China, in order to demonstrate their respective strengths.

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Communications Pattern of Government Natuna Againts Pandemic

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Abstarct

Natuna, Riau an area that is currently also facing a complicated pandemic. Information management for the public still relies on new media which can only be accessed by some of the public. Unconfirmed information began to circulate through media channels that could potentially cause new problems, especially in terms of mental health. The purpose of this study was to analyze and describe the communication practices carried out by the government in an effort to campaign for clean and healthy behavior against the pandemic. This type of research is a qualitative study using a descriptive approach. The method used in this study is a communication ethnographic approach by observing the communication activities of the subject under study. The data collection method used in this research is the interview technique. Apart from interviews, this study also uses the observation method. The results showed that uneducated literacy culture causes communication patterns that are not dynamic and information twisted, therefore a communication message orchestration strategy is needed as a recommendation of this study.

Keywords: *Information literacy for healthy during pandemic, Communication Pattern of Government, Organization Communication*

1. INTRODUCTION

Organizational communication is a set of behaviors in an organization in which each individual and group is involved in interaction and gives meaning to something that happens (Romli 2011). Communication is an important aspect in the process of achieving the goals of an organization, because all the needs in the organization are carried out on the basis of communication which can simply be described by exchanging information for the benefit of the organization. The intended interests are clearly related directly to the main objectives of the organization, one of which is

public services which are the goals of government organizations. Public services are defined as service activities carried out by public service providers in order to meet the needs of service recipients as well as the implementation of provisions already regulated by law (Ratminto and Winarsih, 2008). From this statement, it can be said that the public has access to use services from the government regarding efforts to fulfill needs that are already based on applicable regulations, including to meet information needs related to preventive efforts and handling of Covid-19 infections.

Covid-19 is the name of the infection caused by the coronavirus and the case was first discovered in Wuhan, China at the end of December 2019, which then quickly spread to several Asian countries, Europe and even now has spread in America. Officially, the World Health Organization (WHO) on March 11, 2020 announced The incidence of Covid-19 infection, which attacks many people across continents, is designated as a pandemic (the scale of the spread of disease that occurs globally throughout the world), which at that time reached 126,063 cases (cnbcindonesia.com on March 12, 2020). Indonesia for the first time announced a case of Covid-19 infection through President Joko Widodo on March 02, 2020 at the Presidential Palace, Jakarta where it was announced to the public that there were two cases of patients infected with the corona virus which was followed by the delivery of general information from the two Indonesian citizens regarding their travel history (kompas.com March 03, 2020). After the official information is submitted nationally, the central government implements several policies which are forwarded to each region to be implemented and monitored. No exception, namely the Natuna Regency Government, Riau Islands Province.

Considered an area that has easy access to foreign countries, the Riau Islands certainly must have high-level anticipatory efforts related to the Covid-19 pandemic conditions. This needs to be paid attention to considering that the coronavirus is suspected to be imported case, because from the first case and six other cases as of date March 10, 2020, people who are confirmed positive for Covid-19 have a history of foreign travel. In this case, of course the Natuna Regency Government, Riau Islands Province has an important role in determining good steps to deal with pandemic conditions that cannot be separated from the organizational communication process that occurs in it. As reported on kompas.com that in relation to Covid-19, Natuna residents held demonstrations at the local government in order to reject the decision to make the Natuna region

As a quarantine area. Many factors related to the communication process influenced the occurrence of this conflict, especially those related to the role of the government, because currently only the government has full power in seeking to handle and prevent Covid-19. This shows that communication in government organizations does not only concern internal organizations, but also external organizations which are no less important.

As is well known, Covid-19 is a new virus specimen, which has not yet been officially found for a preventive vaccine and treatment drug (bbc.com on April 1, 2020). This fact is certainly something new and risky in the world of health, and for the government it certainly requires a process of review that is not playing games before making public policies. Therefore, this article aims to examine the communication patterns of the communication management system in the Natuna Regency Government, Riau Islands Province in the context of handling and preventing Covid-19.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 1 (SARS-CoV-2) or better known as the Corona virus is a new type of coronavirus that can be transmitted to humans through the respiratory system, resulting in disorders such as acute pneumonia and its fatal potential to result in death. Since the announcement of the Covid-19 case, the Central Government confirmed in a press statement published on March 16, 2020 that policies related to Covid-19 at the regional level must first be discussed with the central government through communication with relevant ministries and the Covid-19 Task Force. This is done to find the efficiency of the proposed solution so as not to make matters worse. Apart from that, the press statement also explained the central government's appeal as a preventive measure which includes techniques for maintaining cleanliness and increasing personal immunity.

But before that, the Covid-19 phenomenon had caused people in several areas in Natuna to hold demonstrations with various kinds of demands. This incident is inseparable from information circulating in the mass media that Covid-19 is imported case originating from Wuhan, China. The demonstration case was carried out by residents of Natuna, Riau Islands, who refused to have their territory used as an observation site for Indonesian citizens who were evacuated from Wuhan. On the basis of this, the Natuna community also conveyed several demands to the local government which were conveyed by the Chairman of the Indonesian National Youth Committee (KNPI) Natuna. Of course this incident cannot

be separated from the organizational communication management system implemented by the Natuna Regency Government (Natuna Regency Government) in managing information related to Covid-19.

Many opinions formulate organizational communication based on its dimensions, such as internal and external communication (Effendy, 2007) or superior to subordinate communication, subordinate to superior, horizontal communication, and cross-channel communication (Faules and Pace, 1993). Communication within government can indeed be said to be part of organizational communication, as this statement is supported by the opinion of Silalahi (2004) that communication in government there is a flow of delivery and reception of messages that depend on each other, and communicants who act as recipients of information are divided into many parties like internal organization, private sector, community and other external non-governmental organizations. Organizational communication can be said to be one of the bureaucratic reform activities in the field of good public relations in order to improve service quality and public welfare (Kemenpan RB, 2011). This is the basis that should be applied in the communication management system of the Natuna Regency Government in conveying information related to preventive actions or handling Covid-19 to the public.

There are several dimensions of organizational communication related to the Natuna Regency communication management system related to Covid-19. Based on the communication dimension according to Effendy (2007), it is suspected that there was an error in the external communication dimension of the Natuna Regency Government which resulted in demonstration conflicts. This is due to information from the government regarding the policy of using the Natuna area as a quarantine point for Indonesian citizens who will be repatriated from Wuhan. From this explanation, it can be said that information related to Covid-19 was not conveyed in accordance with the proper communication model as in Figure 1. (Silalahi, 2004), especially the government-public-government model.

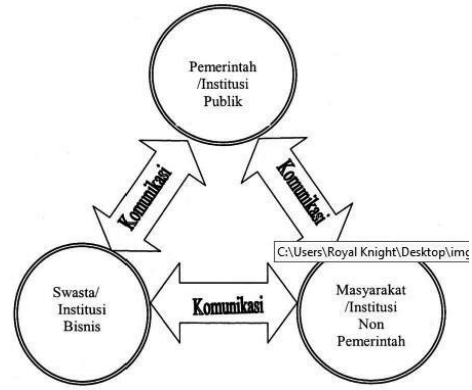

Figure 1. Communication model in perspective good governance

The demonstration that was carried out by Natuna residents was a clear manifestation of the inadequate communication model from a good governance perspective. There are many things that affect the occurrence of conflict, which in essence is in the process of communication. One of the key factors in the communication process is message (Effendy, 2011). As is well known, the demonstration against the rejection of the Natuna area as a quarantine area occurred before the official announcement regarding central government policies, one of which contained information about preventive measures. In fact, this demonstration took place before the announcement of the first case of Covid-19 in Indonesia, at which time Indonesia was still opening tourist visits from abroad. Therefore, it can be said that regarding Covid-19, at that time the government was not wise in making decisions, while news from the media was enough to cause panic in the community. The Natuna community is no exception, who, in fact, have easy access to and from abroad.

Regarding information that will later become material for messages in the organizational communication process by the Natuna Regency Government, it needs to be seen from several dimensions. In this case, messages related to Covid-19 were obtained through cross-channel communication. According to Faules and Pace (1993), cross-channel communication is communication to exchange information that has crossed functional boundaries. This means that technically, there needs to be a role for communicators from experts on the development of coronavirus to convey the urgency of facing the pandemic. This role is important as a contributor to ideas for the government to formulate public policies that do not cause conflict. However, what happened was that the message received by the community was deemed incomplete and the arguments proposed in the demonstration were deemed unrealistic. This is what underlies the implementation of cross-channel organizational communication in the form of pressure made by the Deputy Regent of Natuna, Riau Islands, Ngesti Yuni Suprapti to ask Minister of Health Terawan Agus Putranto to provide a direct explanation to Natuna residents. More or less communication patterns like this are depicted in Figure 2 (Silalahi, 2004). Due to the role of communicators from across channels, in this case the central government, the decision of the Natuna region as an observation point for Indonesian citizens returning from Wuhan was finally realized.

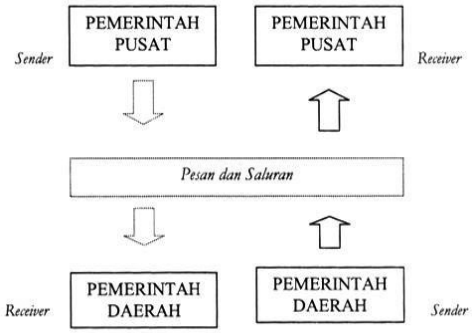

Figure 2. Model of communication between central and regional autonomous regions

METHOD

This research is a qualitative research using a descriptive approach. The method used in this study is a communication ethnographic approach by observing the communication activities of the subject under study. The subjects in this study were the government and the Riau Islands Covid-19 Task Force. Data collection methods using interview techniques and observation methods. Observation is used to identify problems in the research process. To test the validity of the data, this study used source triangulation, time triangulation, trangulation researchers and trangulation techniques. The triangulation technique is done by comparing the results of interviews and observations. Research triangulation by comparing the results of field data by each researcher so that it becomes a conclusion. Meanwhile, time triangulation is a periodic comparison of data through the local government.

Two-stage data analysis, namely data analysis carried out in the field and carried out after leaving the field. The analysis is carried out in the field first to sharpen the research focus. Second, create studies and develop analytical questions. Third, write the researchers' comments as reflective notes. The fourth discusses the relationship between the subject and the focus of the study. Fifth, reread the literature to develop ideas. While the analysis carried out when leaving the field was reducing data, presenting data and drawing research conclusions

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The communication management system implemented by the Natuna Regency Government has begun to improve since the demonstration ended and the Indonesian citizen returned from quarantine in a healthy condition. This was proven by April 14 that there were no positive cases of Covid-19 in the Natuna region (natunakab.go.id on 14 April 2020). As is well known, the demonstration that was carried out by the Natuna community in order to reject the decision for their territory to be made a quarantine point, one of which was demanding that the regional government be the mouthpiece

of the central government. This is certainly a real impetus in creating a communication model between the center and the regions so that it can run better. This was further encouraged by a press statement from the center which stated that all regional policies regarding Covid-19 were discussed first with the central government. Of course this answers the reason for the demonstration conflict.

The efforts to implement central policies related to the handling and prevention of Covid-19 carried out by the Natuna Regency Government through several activities constitute a form of cross-channel communication that is in accordance with the communication model as in Figure 2. While the mismatch of the communication model from the perspective of good governance as in Figure 1 has been successfully avoided. Of course this cannot be separated from the role of the public and the private sector. It can be seen on the official website of the Natuna Regency government which informs about the participation of the community from various groups such as daily cooperative activists, small traders, medical personnel, religious leaders and so on in efforts to prevent and handle Covid-19. Apart from visiting, information related to the handling and prevention of Covid-19 was also conveyed by the Natuna Regent via video conference.

This clearly shows that the dimensions of internal communication according to Effendy (2007) are running properly. Communication between the Bupati and his staff can be represented by validity and the timeliness of information that is presented periodically through the official website of the Natuna Regency Government, because this is related to the delivery of information regarding the applicable regulations as well as the agency's work standards that have been announced. In addition, the appearance of a website that can attract internet visitors is also inseparable from the communication of the Head of Information and Communication Staff to his staff through providing clear work instructions. This means that in the dimension of downward communication stated by Fules and Pace (1993), the Natuna Regency Government succeeded in carrying out a communication process that was oriented towards organizational goals, namely the public interest.

Figure 3.Projection Ready for Covid-19

As explained by Goni (2016), that organized pattern communication can be formed well if there is a cooperative connection between superiors and subordinates in delivering messages and efficient communication channels. This does not rule out the possibility that formal and informal communication channels have an equally important role within the Natuna Regency Government. According to Effendy (2007), formal communication systems generally follow power lines that have been formally stated in an organization, while informal communication systems are characterized by the formation of social relationships as the power to determine authority transmitted through formal system. This means that there is a possibility that the cooperative relationship that occurs within the Natuna Regency Government forms social relationships that have a positive impact on the communication process in it. Of course, this is a separate motivation outside the functional positions of the organization for people in it to improve their performance in serving the public. The Natuna Regency Government has also re-implemented cross-channel communication through the dissemination of information on the number of confirmed cases at the national level. Of course, the information in it is obtained from the Ministry of Health, where the process of obtaining the data is through communication that has crossed the functional boundaries of the government apparatus. There are possible reasons related to the delivery of this information, namely because of the geographical location of Natuna which allows traffic between countries, so that the reach of communicants will be wider and national scale information needs to be conveyed by the Natuna Regency Government.

CONCLUSSION

Based on some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that the communication management system related to the handling and prevention of Covid-19 implemented by the Natuna Regency Government did not run well, even without a pattern. However, after feedback from the external communication process from the government to the public, the government communication management system related to the handling and prevention of Covid-19 has become more neat and targeted.

This cannot be separated from the role of the central government which has begun to realize the need for national policies to be implemented in the regions. But more than that, it needs further studies for the central government in making national policies considering that Indonesia has many regions with high geographical,

demographic and cultural diversity. Of course, these things differentiate the type of policy and the timing of its implementation, where one region and another region cannot adapt quickly in implementing national policies that have been decided in the midst of this pandemic.

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This conference will explore and develop the central theme and will discuss subtopics in a range of perspectives and intellectual discourse. Some of the issues addressed include in the following subtopics:

- International Relations, Security & Foreign Policy in the Disruptive Era
- Human Rights, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
- Gender, feminism and International Relations
- New transformation in the global economy
- People mobility, international migration, and diaspora
- Social Movement, Global Justice, and Building Resilient Society in the disruptive era
- Challenges and opportunities of Communication in the disruptive era
- Challenges to Public Administration in the disruptive era
- Multiculturalism and minority rights in a disruptive era
- Politics of development & varieties of welfare regimes
- Populism and democratic backsliding
- Religious resurgence, communal identities, and radicalism
- Health care rights and citizenship in a time of the pandemic

UNIVERSITAS JENDERAL SOEDIRMAN
Gd. UNSOED Press
Jalan Prof. Dr. H.R. Boenyamin 708 Purwokerto
Kodepos 53122 Kotak Pos 115
Telepon (0281) 626070
Email: unsoedpress@unsoed.ac.id

ISBN 978-623-6783-36-8