

KOMITMEN INDONESIA DALAM IMPLEMENTASI SDGs NOMOR 5 UNTUK MENJAMIN KEAMANAN MANUSIA KHUSUSNYA PEREMPUAN (2015-2021)

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Indonesian government's commitment to gender equality as part of SGD 5. Gender equality is a human security concern that is fundamental to Indonesia's development. Thus, Indonesia's commitment and seriousness must be assessed to ensure that the agreed-upon SDG targets are met. The writers employ the concepts of SDGs and Human Security as analytical tools in evaluating and analyzing Indonesia's promises. The writers classify the aims specified in SDG 5 using the UNDP's seven elements of human security. The writers next explain the strategies and capacities required to handle human security based on the elements. The writers also employ a qualitative content analysis method in which the researchers evaluate diverse sources from official papers. Furthermore, the writers then examine the implementation of SDG 5 using the indicators provided by Bappenas. The writers categorize the analysis based on human security elements and provides an assessment of the government's executed strategies. Finally, the writers believes that, overall, Indonesia's commitment to implementing the SDGs program from 2015 to 2021 did not meet the desired target, but it was ideal in certain targets and indicators.

Keywords: SDGs, Human Security, Gender Equality

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini membahas tentang komitmen pemerintah Indonesia dalam menjamin kesetaraan gender sebagai bagian dari SDGs nomor 5. Isu kesetaraan gender merupakan isu keamanan manusia yang menjadi fokus pembangunan Indonesia. Sehingga komitmen dan keseriusan Indonesia perlu dievaluasi untuk menjamin tercapainya target-target dalam SDGs yang sudah disepakati. Dalam mengevaluasi dan menganalisa komitmen Indonesia, penulis menggunakan konsep SDGs dan Keamanan Manusia sebagai alat analisis. Penulis menggunakan tujuh elemen keamanan manusia berdasarkan UNDP dalam mengklasifikasikan target-target yang tercantum dalam SDGs nomor 5. Kemudian, penulis memaparkan strategi dan kapasitas yang diperlukan dalam mengatasi keamanan manusia sesuai elemennya. Penulis juga menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan *content analysis* dimana para peneliti mengkaji berbagai sumber dari dokumen resmi. Kemudian penulis menganalisa implementasi SDGs nomor 5 menggunakan indikator yang sudah disediakan oleh Bappenas. Penulis mengelompokkan analisa berdasarkan elemen keamanan manusia dan memberikan evaluasi strategi pemerintah yang sudah dijalankan. Terakhir penulis menyimpulkan bahwa Komitmen Indonesia dalam menjalankan program SDGs sejak tahun 2015 hingga 2021 dapat dikatakan belum sesuai target yang diinginkan secara umum, namun sudah sempurna di beberapa target dan indikator.

Kata Kunci: Pembangunan Berkelanjutan, Keamanan Manusia, Kesetaraan Gender

1. Pendahuluan

Isu kesetaraan gender di dalam pembangunan manusia di Indonesia menjadi komitmen Indonesia sejak kemerdekaannya. Berdasarkan pasal 27 paragraf 1 dalam Konstitusi tahun 1945, perempuan memiliki hak yang setara dengan laki-laki di mata hukum dan

pemerintahan, baik dalam ranah publik maupun privat (Larasati, 2021). Bank Dunia (*World Bank*) mengatakan bahwa isu kesetaraan gender adalah kunci utama pembangunan negara berkembang untuk mengentaskan kemiskinan dan memerintah secara efektif (World Bank, 2001). Hal ini juga didukung oleh *United Nations*

Development Program (UNDP) yang menyatakan bahwa memastikan hak perempuan dan laki-laki terpenuhi serta potensinya terasah merupakan kunci pembangunan nasional sebagai aktor pembangunan manusia (Kementerian PPA, 2020). Namun, tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa hingga saat ini isu gender dalam ekonomi, pendidikan, dalam ranah publik serta privat dan partisipasi perempuan dalam politik di Indonesia mengalami tantangan tersendiri. Ketimpangan gender di Indonesia yang diukur dengan *Gender Inequality Index* (GII) pada tahun 2019 mencapai 0,480 (BPS, 2021). Angka ini menunjukkan bahwa pencapaian pembangunan gender di Indonesia belum optimal dibandingkan negara-negara di dunia dan Asia Timur dan Pasifik (BPS, 2021). Secara umum, ketimpangan gender di Indonesia tahun 2019 berada pada peringkat 121 dari 162 negara (BPS, 2021).

Ketidaksetaraan gender tidak hanya menjadi tantangan dalam pembangunan nasional, namun juga menjadi isu keamanan manusia. Norma-norma sosial dan gender dalam masyarakat di Indonesia berkaitan erat dengan isu-isu keamanan manusia. Persepsi yang bergulir terhadap keterbatasan perempuan membatasi negara untuk melindungi hak-hak perempuan dan bagaimana melindungi keamanannya (O'Manique, 2006). Fakta ini bertolak belakang dengan makna keamanan manusia sesuai dengan *International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (2001) yang menyatakan bahwa keamanan manusia mencakup keamanan fisik, ekonomi, sosial, dan menghargai harkat dan martabat mereka sebagai manusia serta perlindungan atas hak-hak asasi manusia dan kebebasan fundamentalnya (O'Manique, 2006, p. 157). Selain penjaminan kesetaraan gender dalam sektor publik, isu pernikahan anak dibawah umur, kekerasan seksual dalam relasi hubungan, perlindungan terhadap pekerja perempuan, penjaminan kesetaraan hak pekerja perempuan dan laki-laki serta

perlindungan terhadap ibu rumah tangga merupakan isu-isu gender yang juga menjadi fokus pemerintah dalam melindungi warga negaranya.

Komitmen Indonesia untuk mengatasi tantangan isu dalam gender adalah dengan menjalankan program *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs). Program SDGs merupakan salah satu program yang didalamnya tertuang kesetaraan gender dan pemberdayaan perempuan sebagai salah satu indikator pembangunan yang berkelanjutan. Tepatnya, tertuang dalam SDGs tujuan nomer 5. Berdasarkan *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD), kesetaraan gender dan pemberdayaan perempuan merupakan kunci utama dari sebuah pembangunan dan lingkungan berkelanjutan. Perempuan memiliki peran penting dan dampak terhadap manajemen sumber daya alam melalui peranannya dalam rumah tangga, ekonomi, dan masyarakat. Oleh karena itu kesetaraan dalam isu gender menjadi krusial untuk menjamin pendekatan yang adil dan merata dalam membentuk tujuan pembangunan berkelanjutan (OECD, 2021).

Seluruh program SDGs di Indonesia dinaungi oleh Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) sejak tahun 2015. Bappenas dalam Peta Jalan SDGs (*Road Map*) Indonesia mencantumkan beberapa isu nasional dalam konteks gender. Salah satunya adalah tercantum dalam tujuan 5.3, pemerintah Indonesia mengakui bahwa tingkat pernikahan anak di Indonesia yaitu pernikahan dibawah umur 15 tahun dan 18 tahun masih tinggi dan belum mencapai target yang direncanakan. Pemerintah menekankan bahwa pernikahan anak termasuk kedalam kekerasan pada hak asasi manusia, khususnya perempuan. Tidak hanya akses pendidikan, ekonomi, dan keamanan yang terbatas, namun juga pernikahan anak meningkatkan resiko turunnya kualitas Kesehatan perempuan

dan kerugian secara ekonomi (Otto Otoo-Ooyortey&Pobi, 2003; World Vision, 2013 dalam Peta Jalan SDGs Indonesia Bappenas). Selain isu pernikahan anak, adanya penurunan angka KB juga menjadi tantangan utama dalam isu gender. Disebutkan dalam Peta Jalan SDGs Indonesia (2021), “menurunkan angka KB yang tidak terpenuhi merupakan bagian dari aksi bersama yang disebut “Keluarga Berencana” 2020 untuk mendukung perempuan dan anak perempuan mendapatkan hak dan kemandiriannya”.

Target tujuan kelima dalam SDGs merupakan salah satu contoh bahwa Indonesia berkomitmen menjalankan target-target nasional SDGs. Namun, dalam praktiknya kita mengetahui bahwa pemerintah Indonesia mengalami tantangan dan hambatan untuk mencapai target yang sudah dirumuskan baik secara nasional maupun global. Sehingga, perlu untuk mengevaluasi bagaimana komitmen Indonesia dalam menjamin terlaksananya setiap target dalam tujuan nomor 5 SDGs sebagai upaya menjamin keamanan perempuan Indonesia sejak berlakunya SDGs tahun 2015 hingga 2021. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menjawab pertanyaan tersebut dengan struktur sebagai berikut. Pertama, penulis akan memaparkan penelitian terdahulu yang berkaitan dengan isu gender dalam SDGs dan urgensi serta isu keamanan perempuan di Indonesia. Kedua, penulis akan menjelaskan dan memaparkan teori-teori yang digunakan untuk menjawab pertanyaan tersebut, yaitu konsep Keamanan Manusia dan konsep SDGs. Ketiga, penulis akan menjelaskan metode penelitian kualitatif yang digunakan dalam tulisan ini. Keempat, penulis akan menjawab pertanyaan penelitian dengan menganalisis komitmen pemerintah Indonesia dalam mencapai target tujuan nomor lima dalam SDGs. Selain itu, penulis juga menganalisa program SDGs berdasarkan tujuh elemen keamanan manusia berdasarkan UNDP. Terakhir, penulis menyimpulkan bahwa

dalam beberapa target sudah terlihat bagaimana komitmen Indonesia untuk menjamin kesetaraan gender dan terpenuhinya hak-hak perempuan, terutama dalam penyediaan payung hukum secara nasional. Namun dalam beberapa aspek seperti isu *female genital mutilation* (FGM) dan penghargaan kepada ibu rumah tangga menjadi target yang belum dapat diatasi pemerintah Indonesia. Sehingga, terus diperlukan sosialisasi tentang urgensi mengatasi isu-isu gender kepada masyarakat dan juga pemerintah.

Selanjutnya, penulis akan memaparkan penelitian terdahulu yang berkaitan dengan isu gender dalam SDGs dan urgensi serta isu keamanan perempuan di Indonesia. Kebijakan yang telah disusun di masa sebelum diinisiasinya SDG secara khusus bertujuan untuk mengatasi masalah ketidaksetaraan gender di Indonesia (Chotim, 2020, p. 76). Masalah dari ketidaksetaraan gender juga terbagi dari beberapa sektor. Pertama adalah dalam bidang tenaga kerja dimana masih terdapat rendahnya tenaga kerja dan kualitas pekerjaan bagi perempuan serta rendahnya perlindungan bagi tenaga kerja perempuan lebih lanjut dalam organisasi pemerintahan, karir perempuan masih terhambat akibat adanya dilemma antara keluarga dan karir. Kedua dalam bidang perlindungan kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang melihat masih tingginya angka kekerasan, perdagangan manusia, dan bentuk diskriminasi karena kebiasaan atau adat. Ketiga dalam bidang kebijakan publik dan harmonisasi instrumen hukum yang belum mempertimbangkan perspektif kesetaraan gender. Para pembuat peraturan dan kebijakan juga masih belum memenuhi kuota 30 persen untuk keterwakilan perempuan. Kelima adalah dalam bidang ekonomi yang meliputi terbatasnya akses terhadap infrastruktur pembiayaan, minimnya jumlah perempuan dalam ekonomi kreatif dan, penggunaan teknologi dan informasi yang terbatas di kalangan perempuan (Adelina, et al., 2019).

Dalam sasaran nasional RPJMN yang memuat peningkatan kebijakan yang mendukung pemberdayaan perempuan, terdapat penurunan kasus kekerasan terhadap perempuan, berkurangnya usia pernikahan pada usia dini, peningkatan partisipasi Pendidikan di level Pendidikan menengah dan tinggi, bertambahnya keterwakilan perempuan di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, menurunnya kebutuhan keluarga berencana yang diiringi dengan peningkatan pengetahuan perihal kontrasepsi dan, tersedianya regulasi yang menjamin adanya pelayanan, informasi, dan kesehatan dalam reproduksi (Prasetyawati, 2018).

Secara umum juga telah dijelaskan dalam penelitian sebelumnya bahwa kesetaraan dalam pembangunan di RPJMN yang berkaitan dengan isu gender bertujuan untuk meningkatkan kualitas pembangunan manusia dalam pembangunan berkelanjutan. Adapun target dari pembangunan tersebut adalah meningkatnya kualitas hidup untuk perempuan, tumbuhnya peran perempuan dalam segala aspek kehidupan, adanya integrasi perspektif gender dalam segala tahap pembangunan dan memperkuat institusi yang bertujuan untuk kesetaraan gender (Adelina, et al., 2019, p. 49).

Penelitian implementasi kebijakan yang fokus pada kesetaraan gender berdasarkan RPJMN sering mengalami hambatan mulai dari sistem dan norma adat yang dijadikan legitimasi untuk diskriminasi gender, payung hukum di level regional yang masih terhambat serta keterbatasan lainnya (Alfirdaus, 2018; Hanna, 2018). Lebih spesifik penelitian yang fokus pada implementasi kebijakan berbasis kesetaraan gender di Kabupaten Malang menyimpulkan masih terdapatnya kelemahan pemerintah dalam implementasi program yang belum dapat menyentuh masalah kekerasan berbasis gender (Suhermanto, 2021). Penelitian lainnya yang fokus pada implementasi SDGs juga melihat kolaborasi antara masyarakat

dengan perusahaan dalam mewujudkan SDGs dan pemerintah berperan sebagai penengah dari masyarakat untuk meminta kolaborasi terhadap perusahaan (Fitri & Jauhari, 2020).

Penelitian-penelitian terdahulu memiliki fokus pelaksanaan SDGs dari segi payung hukum, masalah yang masih ada, serta implementasi pada level lokal dan regional. Adapun celah penelitian yang terdapat pada implementasi SDGs untuk isu kesetaraan gender oleh pemerintah nasional yang diturunkan dari landasan RPJMN serta aturan yang berlaku masih minim. Untuk itu penelitian ini akan fokus pada celah penelitian tersebut untuk melihat implementasi dari SDGs khususnya nomor 5 tentang keamanan manusia khususnya perempuan pada tahun 2015 sejak terbitnya SDGs hingga tahun 2021.

2. Tinjauan Pustaka

2.1. *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)*

Dalam bagian ini, para penulis akan mengelaborasi terkait konseptualisasi dalam SDGs dan dilanjutkan dengan *Human Security*. Namun sebelum kami membahas SDGs dan kaitannya dengan *human security* secara holistik, perlu dipahami terlebih dulu bagaimana sosial genealogi SDGs berawal. Kajian historis menjadi signifikan agar pembaca mendapatkan pengertian komprehensif terkait dengan topik yang diangkat dalam tulisan ini.

Berawal dari *Millenium Development Goals (MDGs)* yang merupakan suatu deklarasi hasil konsensus dari 189 negara. Di dalam kesepakatan tersebut tersurat delapan (8) tujuan yang spesifik untuk mengentaskan kemiskinan di dunia dan hendak dicapai di tahun 2015. Namun demikian, masih banyak capaian yang belum sesuai dengan target, sehingga MDGs berevolusi dengan upaya mengajak seluruh elemen untuk berkoperasi dalam mensejahterakan kehidupan manusia di

masa mendatang (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2014).

Tahun 2015 tercatat sebagai peristiwa yang monumental bagi keberlangsungan hidup umat manusia. Para pemimpin dari 193 negara mencapai kata sepakat, yang direpresentasikan dalam sebuah dokumen yang berjudul *the future we want*, dalam menghadapi nasib bumi di masa depan. Selain itu, para pemimpin dunia juga menyetujui Agenda 2030 dengan konten yang serupa dengan MDGs, yakni Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan atau yang kini istilahnya dikenal dengan *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)*. Ada tujuh belas (17) Objektif SDGs, yang diantaranya adalah meningkatkan kesejahteraan ekonomi masyarakat, menjaga kualitas lingkungan hidup, pembangunan yang inklusif dan terlaksana suatu pengelolaan yang mampu meningkatkan kualitas kehidupan dari satu generasi ke generasi selanjutnya. Program SDGs juga dianggap lebih masif dibandingkan MDGs, hal ini disebabkan SDGs melibatkan negara maju dan negara berkembang dalam upaya menggapai masa depan yang lebih baik (Bappenas, 2022).



Gambar 2.1.1. Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan. Sumber: Freitas, 2019)

Secara umum, Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan atau SDGs adalah agenda 2030 yang diadopsi oleh seluruh anggota PBB yang memberikan *blueprint* tentang perdamaian dan kemakmuran manusia untuk masa kini dan masa mendatang. Pada intinya, ada 17 Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan yang

merupakan seruan mendesak untuk bertindak baik negara berkembang atau maju dalam kemitraan global. Kesadaran ini berlanjut dan berkembang untuk mengurangi ketidaksetaraan, memacu pertumbuhan ekonomi, sembari mengatasi perubahan iklim untuk menjaga lautan dan hutan. Adapun tiga (3) dimensi yang menjadi titik fokus adalah; Ekonomi, Sosial dan Lingkungan (United Nations Department of Economic and Social, 2022). Isu kesetaraan gender menjadi salah satu bagian dari dimensi sosial.

Di Indonesia, penyelenggaraan terhadap SDGs berada pada otoritas Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/ Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (PPN/Bappenas). SDGs menjadi aksentuasi pembangunan nasional di Indonesia di mana diperlukan kolaborasi antara pemerintah pusat, provinsi dan kabupaten/kota. Dalam konteks implementasi pembangunan nasional Indonesia, SDGs sudah sejalan dengan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (RPJMN).

Tulisan ini akan merangkai kaitan antara SDGs, dalam bidang kesetaraan gender. Dalam United Nations Development Program (2015), hal yang perlu diperhatikan adalah prinsip utama pembangunan manusia memiliki karakter yg primer yakni baik laki-laki maupun perempuan memiliki banyak pilihan dalam kehidupannya, menyadari potensi yang ada pada dirinya dan kebebasan menjalani kehidupan secara terhormat dan berharga. Untuk mencapai prinsip utama tersebut, kesetaraan gender menjadi indikator yang tidak dapat dialpakan karena baik laki-laki dan perempuan adalah substansi primer dari pembangunan manusia. Namun demikian, realitas yang ada pada pembangunan manusia di Indonesia masih perlu untuk diperjuangkan untuk memenuhi hak dasar manusia, seperti kesempatan Pendidikan, mendapatkan pekerjaan atau akses terhadap kesejahteraan ekonomi, akses kesehatan

antara laki-laki dan perempuan perlu seimbang dan proporsional. Permasalahan di Indonesia dalam pembangunan nasional masih terkendala masalah struktural dan kultural, di mana karakternya masih memihak pada kaum laki-laki dalam

mendapatkan akses yang dimaksud (KEMEN PPPA, 2020).

Adapun indikator setiap target sebagai bahan evaluasi pada SDGs nomor 5 tentang Kesetaraan Gender adalah sebagai berikut (Bappenas, 2020):

Target	Indikator
5.1. Mengakhiri segala bentuk diskriminasi terhadap kaum perempuan di mana pun	5.1.1. Ketersediaan kerangka hukum yang mendorong, menetapkan dan memantau kesetaraan gender dan penghapusan diskriminasi berdasarkan jenis kelamin
5.2. Menghapuskan segala bentuk kekerasan terhadap kaum perempuan di ruang publik dan pribadi, termasuk perdagangan orang dan eksploitasi seksual, serta berbagai jenis eksploitasi lainnya	5.2.1. Proporsi perempuan dewasa dan anak perempuan (umur 15-64 tahun) mengalami kekerasan (fisik, seksual, atau emosional) oleh pasangan atau mantan pasangan dalam 12 bulan terakhir 5.2.2. Proporsi perempuan dewasa dan anak perempuan (umur 15-64 tahun) mengalami kekerasan seksual oleh orang lain selain pasangan dalam 12 bulan terakhir
5.3. Menghapuskan semua praktik berbahaya, seperti perkawinan usia anak, perkawinan dini dan paksa, serta sunat perempuan	5.3.1. Proporsi perempuan umur 20 - 24 tahun yang usia kawin pertama atau usia hidup bersama pertama (a) sebelum umur 15 tahun dan (b) sebelum umur 18 tahun
5.4. Mengenali dan menghargai pekerjaan mengasuh dan pekerjaan rumah tangga yang tidak dibayar melalui penyediaan pelayanan publik, infrastruktur dan kebijakan perlindungan sosial, dan peningkatan tanggung jawab bersama dalam rumah tangga dan keluarga yang tepat secara nasional	5.4.1. Proporsi waktu yang dihabiskan untuk pekerjaan rumah tangga dan perawatan, berdasarkan jenis kelamin, kelompok umur, dan lokasi
5.5. Menjamin partisipasi penuh dan efektif, dan kesempatan yang sama bagi perempuan untuk memimpin di semua tingkat pengambilan keputusan dalam kehidupan politik, ekonomi, dan masyarakat	5.5.1. Proporsi kursi yang diduduki perempuan di (a) parlemen tingkat pusat dan (b) pemerintah daerah 5.5.2. Proporsi perempuan yang berada di posisi managerial
5.6. Menjamin akses universal terhadap kesehatan seksual dan reproduksi, dan hak reproduksi seperti yang telah disepakati sesuai dengan Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform serta dokumen- dokumen hasil revidi dari konferensi-konferensi tersebut	5.6.1. Proporsi perempuan usia reproduksi 15-49 tahun yang membuat keputusan sendiri terkait hubungan seksual, penggunaan kontrasepsi, dan layanan kesehatan 5.6.2. Regulasi yang menjamin akses yang setara bagi perempuan dan laki-laki untuk mendapatkan pelayanan, informasi dan

	pendidikan terkait kesehatan seksual dan reproduksi
5.a. Melakukan reformasi untuk memberi hak yang sama kepada perempuan terhadap sumber daya ekonomi, serta akses terhadap kepemilikan dan kontrol atas tanah dan bentuk kepemilikan lain, jasa keuangan, warisan dan sumber daya alam, sesuai dengan hukum nasional	5.a.1. (1) Proporsi penduduk pertanian yang memiliki hak atas tanah pertanian; (2) Proporsi perempuan penduduk pertanian sebagai pemilik atau yang memiliki hak atas tanah pertanian, menurut jenis kepemilikan 5.a.2. Ketersediaan kerangka hukum (termasuk hukum adat) yang menjamin persamaan hak perempuan untuk kepemilikan tanah dan/atau hak kontrol
5.b. Meningkatkan penggunaan teknologi yang memampukan, khususnya teknologi informasi dan komunikasi untuk meningkatkan pemberdayaan perempuan	5.b.1. Proporsi individu yang menguasai/memiliki telepon genggam
5.c. Mengadopsi dan memperkuat kebijakan yang baik dan perundang-undangan yang berlaku untuk peningkatan kesetaraan gender dan pemberdayaan kaum perempuan di semua tingkatan	5.c.1. Ketersediaan sistem untuk melacak dan membuat alokasi umum untuk kesetaraan gender dan pemberdayaan perempuan

Tabel 2.1.1. Target dan Indikator SDG Nomor 5

2.2. Keamanan Manusia (*Human Security*)

Hubungan antara keamanan manusia, kesetaraan gender, dan pembangunan dapat ditemukan dari gagasan peraih hadiah Nobel tahun 1998 untuk Ilmu Ekonomi, Amartya Sen. Sen (2000, p.1) menggarisbawahi pernyataan Perdana Menteri Jepang Keizo Obuchi (1999) tentang keamanan manusia atau *human security* sebagai "kata kunci bagi semua ancaman terhadap keberlangsungan (*survival*), kehidupan sehari-hari (*daily life*), dan martabat (*dignity*) umat manusia, maupun kata kunci bagi upaya untuk menghadapi berbagai ancaman itu". Dalam konteks ini, Sen (2000, p.2) menjabarkan bahwa ancaman terhadap keberlangsungan umat manusia tidak hanya berasal dari konflik bersenjata, perang saudara, atau persekusi, tetapi juga oleh berbagai masalah di bidang kesehatan publik, seperti penyebaran penyakit malaria, AIDS, dan sebagainya.

Dalam *Development as Freedom*, Sen (2000, p. 3) menegaskan bahwa

pembangunan merupakan proses untuk mencapai kebebasan hakiki (*the real freedoms*). Dalam hal ini, kebebasan hakiki tidak paralel dengan pertumbuhan GNP (*Gross National Product*), industrialisasi, pendapatan individu, atau kemajuan teknologi; akan tetapi, diukur melalui penguatan hak-hak politik dan sipil. Sen (2000, p. 189-191) menekankan posisi perempuan bukan sebagai penerima pasif terhadap upaya untuk meningkatkan kesejahteraan; sebaliknya, sebagai agen transformasi sosial yang dapat meningkatkan taraf hidup laki-laki dan perempuan. Untuk itu, kedudukan sosial perempuan harus ditingkatkan melalui pemberdayaan (*empowerment*), antara lain dengan memberi kesempatan untuk bekerja di luar rumah, meraih pendapatan sendiri, memperoleh hak kepemilikan, mendapatkan pendidikan, serta berpartisipasi dalam pengambilan keputusan di dalam keluarga dan masyarakat.

Human security memiliki empat karakteristik, *pertama*, ancaman terhadap

keamanan manusia bersifat universal bagi umat manusia; *kedua*, terdapat *interdependensi* – artinya, keamanan manusia di suatu negara terancam, maka manusia di negara-negara lain akan terlibat; *ketiga*, keamanan manusia akan lebih mudah terwujud melalui tindakan preventif daripada penanggulangan; dan *keempat*, ia berorientasi pada manusia dan berkaitan dengan proses hidup manusia di tengah masyarakat, kebebasan manusia dalam menentukan pilihan, akses manusia terhadap kesempatan sosial dan pasar, serta keberadaan manusia di tengah konflik atau perdamaian (UNDP, 1994, p. 22).

UNDP kemudian merumuskan tujuh elemen keamanan manusia yang mencakup (UNDP, 1994, p.23-24):

1. *Economic security*
2. *Food security*
3. *Health security*
4. *Environmental security*
5. *Personal security*
6. *Community security*
7. *Political security*

Economic security meliputi isu-isu yang berkenaan dengan pendapatan, pekerjaan; kemudahan mencari kerja dan mendapatkan pekerjaan, status pekerjaan; pekerja tetap dan pekerja kontrak, dan sektor pekerjaan; informal dan formal (UNDP, 1994, p.25). Elemen keamanan ekonomi memiliki keterkaitan dengan SDGs nomor 5. Target 5.4 dan 5.a menjadi isu dalam keamanan ekonomi yang meliputi penghargaan terhadap perempuan dalam sektor informal (ibu rumah tangga) dan reformasi perempuan dalam mengakses sumber daya ekonomi.

Food security merujuk kepada kebebasan setiap manusia dalam mengakses makanan, baik dalam hal kemampuan ekonominya maupun mendapatkan makanan secara fisik (UNDP, 1994, p.27). Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa setiap manusia berhak untuk menghasilkan makanan baik dengan cara bertani, menjadi pembeli, dan menjadi distributor penjualan makanan.

Health security mencakup isu kesehatan yang terjadi di negara berkembang seperti; kekurangan nutrisi, lingkungan yang tidak sehat dan aman, penyakit infeksi, penyakit pernapasan, TBC, penyakit pencernaan yang berkaitan erat dengan kebersihan air, udara, dan makanan (UNDP, 1994, p.27-28). Kaum perempuan terutama yang berada dalam lingkup masyarakat miskin memiliki ancaman kesehatan tersendiri yang yaitu kasus kematian yang tinggi akibat melahirkan. Sehingga dibutuhkan upaya pencegahan selama masa kehamilan dan memastikan adanya akses kesehatan yang baik untuk proses melahirkan (UNDP, 1994, p.27-28). Elemen *health security* tertuang dalam target SDGs nomor 5 yaitu 5.6 tentang jaminan akses universal terhadap kesehatan seksual dan reproduksi, dan hak reproduksi.

Environmental security mencakup isu kelangkaan air, pencemaran air, pencemaran udara, dan deforestasi terutama di negara berkembang (UNDP, 1994, p.29).

Personal security meliputi tujuh isu kekerasan terhadap individu. Pertama, ancaman dari dalam negara seperti penyiksaan secara fisik. Kedua, ancaman dari negara lain seperti perang antar negara, perang perbatasan, atau konflik sengketa wilayah. Ketiga, ancaman dari kelompok lain seperti konflik etnis. Keempat, ancaman dari individu atau kelompok terhadap seorang individu atau kelompok lain. Misalnya, kejahatan dan kekerasan yang terjadi di jalanan. Kelima, ancaman yang dikhususkan kepada kaum perempuan, seperti kekerasan rumah tangga, pemerkosaan, diskriminasi, dan pelecehan seksual. Keenam, ancaman terhadap anak-anak berdasarkan kondisi yang rentan dan ketergantungan mereka seperti misalnya pelecehan anak, prostitusi anak, dan kekerasan fisik. Terakhir, adanya ancaman terhadap diri sendiri seperti aksi bunuh diri dan penggunaan obat-obatan terlarang (UNDP, 1994, p.30-31).

Elemen *personal security* tertuang dalam target 5.1 perihal diskriminasi terhadap perempuan secara umum, 5.2 mengenai kekerasan terhadap perempuan, 5.c dan 5.b tentang pemberdayaan perempuan untuk meningkatkan kesetaraan gender.

Community security membahas kemanan individu dalam keikutsertaan mereka di dalam suatu komunitas atau grup. Hal ini dapat membantu individual atau sekelompok orang untuk mendapatkan identitas budayanya, nilai dan norma yang diterima dan disepakati bersama, dan menumbuhkan rasa persaudaraan. Selain memberikan efek positif, nilai-nilai tradisional sebuah komunitas dapat menghasilkan praktik pendindasan seperti praktik sunat pada perempuan (UNDP, 1994, p.31). Isu praktek sunat terhadap perempuan sebagai bagian dari komunitas tertuang dalam target 5.3 terkait praktik berbahaya, seperti perkawinan usia anak,

perkawinan dini dan paksa, serta sunat perempuan.

Political security membahas tentang pentingnya jaminan di dalam masyarakat terhadap hak asasi dasar manusia. Dalam elemen ini praktik demokrasi di dalam suatu negara sangat penting untuk menjamin terlaksananya hak-hak dasar kita sebagai warga negara (UNDP, 1994, p.32-33). Hal ini tertuang dalam target 5.5 tentang partisipasi penuh, efektif, dan kesempatan yang sama bagi perempuan untuk ikut serta dalam proses pengambilan keputusan di kehidupan politik, ekonomi, dan masyarakat.

Adapun strategi dan kerangka kerja untuk merespon ancaman keamanan manusia mengenai tujuh elemen tersebut berdasarkan *United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs* (UNOCHA) sebagai berikut (UNOCHA, 2009, p.16):

Komponen Keamanan Manusia	Strategi untuk Meningkatkan Perlindungan dan Pemberdayaan	Kapasitas yang Dibutuhkan
<i>Economic Security</i>	- Menjamin akses terhadap pendapatan dasar - Pekerjaan sektor publik dan swasta, pekerjaan berubah, wiraswasta - Bila perlu, pemerintah mengeluarkan Bansos - Diversifikasi pertanian dan ekonomi	- Modal ekonomi - Modal manusia - Keuangan publik - Cadangan keuangan - Diversifikasi pertanian dan ekonomi
<i>Food Security</i>	Hak atas makanan, dengan menumbuhkannya sendiri, memiliki kemampuan untuk membelinya atau melalui makanan umum sistem distribusi	Diversifikasi pertanian dan ekonomi serta distribusi lokal dan nasional sistem
<i>Health Security</i>	- Akses ke kesehatan dasar dan kesehatan jasa - Pengaturan pembagian risiko yang menyatukan dana keanggotaan dan promosi skema asuransi berbasis masyarakat	- Pendidikan dasar universal dan pengetahuan tentang hal-hal yang berhubungan dengan kesehatan - Praktek kesehatan adat atau tradisional - Akses informasi dan penciptaan pengetahuan berbasis komunitas

	- Sistem pengawasan yang saling terhubung untuk mengidentifikasi wabah penyakit di semua tingkatan	
<i>Environmental Security</i>	- Praktik berkelanjutan yang mempertimbangkan sumber daya alam dan degradasi lingkungan (deforestasi, desertifikasi) - Peringatan dini dan tanggapan mekanisme bahaya alam dan/atau bencana buatan manusia di semua tingkatan	- Modal sumber daya alam - Hambatan alami terhadap aksi badai (mis. terumbu karang) - Pemulihan lingkungan alami proses (misalnya hutan pulih dari kebakaran) - Keanekaragaman Hayati - Praktek-praktek adat/tradisional yang menghargai lingkungan
<i>Personal Security</i>	- Supremasi hukum - Perlindungan dan penegakkan atas hak asasi manusia dan kebebasan sipil	- Mekanisme coping - Strategi adaptif - Memori bencana masa lalu
<i>Community Security</i>	- Perlindungan eksplisit dan penegakkan atas kelompok etnis dan identitas komunitas - Perlindungan dari tradisi praktik penindasan, perlakuan kasar terhadap perempuan, atau diskriminasi pada kelompok etnis atau pribumi atau pengungsi	- Modal Sosial - Mekanisme coping - Strategi adaptif - Memori bencana masa lalu - Organisasi non-pemerintah lokal atau organisasi tradisional
<i>Political Security</i>	- Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia - Perlindungan dari kediktatoran dan penyalahgunaan kekuasaan militer - Perlindungan dari penindasan politik atau negara, penyiksaan, perlakuan buruk, penahanan dan pemenjaraan yang tidak sah	- <i>Good governance</i> - Standar etika kepemimpinan lokal - Mekanisme akuntabilitas

Tabel 2.2.1. Strategi dan Kapasitas dalam Menanggapi Ancaman Kemanusiaan

UNDP mengakui bahwa untuk menghadapi tantangan terhadap *human security* diperlukan paradigma pembangunan berkelanjutan atau *sustainable development* yang menempatkan manusia sebagai pusat pembangunan; menempatkan pembangunan ekonomi sebagai proses, bukan sebagai tujuan; melindungi kesempatan kehidupan bagi generasi saat ini dan yang akan datang; serta menghormati alam sebagai tempat bergantung semua kehidupan. Dalam hal ini, tujuan pembangunan berkelanjutan tidak mungkin tercapai tanpa adanya

perubahan drastis pada kedudukan perempuan (UNDP, 1994, p. 4).

3. Metodologi Penelitian

Merujuk pada Somantri (2005, p. 58), kualitatif merupakan jenis penelitian yang berkuat pada naturalistik-interpretatif dengan karakteristik mengkonstruksi realitas dan pemahaman terhadap makna-makna. Penelitian kualitatif juga terfokus terhadap suatu proses, otentisitas dan peristiwa dengan analisis tematik.

Somantri (2005, p. 58-60), membagi jenis penelitian kualitatif ke dalam lima (5) bagian yang disesuaikan dengan tipologinya. Pertama, observasi

terlibat, di mana peneliti memasuki dan terlibat secara langsung pada dimensi ruang dan waktu objek yang menjadi diskursus penelitiannya. Seluruh peristiwa yang dialami oleh si peneliti di ruang penelitiannya kemudian dimaknai sebagai bagian dari pada realita penelitian. Kedua, analisis terhadap percakapan (*interview*) yang khusus memusatkan perhatian terhadap komunikasi sehari-hari yang tersaji pada suatu komunitas tertentu, dalam kajian ini peneliti diharapkan untuk menangkap *meaning* dari suatu teks yang tersaji di lapangan penelitiannya. Ketiga, diskursus analisis yang membebani peneliti untuk atensi terhadap praktek dan kontekstualitas yang terjadi pada kelompok masyarakat yang dijadikan sebagai objek penelitiannya. Keempat, *content analysis* dimana peneliti menganalisis dokumen-dokumen yang tersedia dari suatu proses penelitian atau laporan penelitian yang dibuat oleh peneliti lain terkait dengan berbagai macam dokumen hingga sejarah kepentingan manusia. Kelima adalah penelitian etnografis, dimana tipologi penelitian ini memiliki corak yang tidak terstruktur namun dapat menginterpretasi makna-makna yang terdapat pada fenomena sosial.

Penelitian ini, tentunya, menggunakan jenis penelitian kualitatif dengan tipologi *content analysis* merujuk pada referensi Somantri (2005, p. 58-60) dalam artikelnya yang berjudul Memahami Metode Penelitian Kualitatif yang diterbitkan oleh Makara Sosial Humaniora. Dalam konteks analisis konten, para peneliti mengkaji berbagai sumber dokumen resmi yang diterbitkan oleh BAPPENAS/ Kementerian PPN dan membandingkannya sekaligus menganalisis dengan data resmi BPS yang terkait dengan studi kasus Komitmen Indonesia dalam implementasi SDGs Tujuan nomor lima dalam menjamin keamanan manusia, khususnya perempuan. Penelitian ini juga menitikberatkan pada studi literatur, dengan mengambil data-data

terkait dengan SDGs dan juga laporan penelitian yang berwujud survei yang kemudian peneliti olah untuk mendapatkan jawaban terkait komitmen Indonesia dalam SDGs khususnya tujuan nomor 5 dalam menjamin keamanan manusia khususnya perempuan.

4. Hasil dan Pembahasan

Isu kesetaraan gender dalam SDGs termasuk kedalam karakteristik keamanan manusia nomor empat menurut UNDP. Karakter keempat dalam keamanan manusia berorientasi kepada manusia dan berkaitan dengan proses hidup manusia di tengah masyarakat, kebebasan manusia dalam menentukan pilihan, akses manusia terhadap kesempatan sosial dan pasar, serta keberadaan manusia di tengah konflik atau perdamaian (UNDP, 1994, p. 23). Dalam perumusannya target dan indikator yang tertuang untuk mencapai tujuan nomor 5 SDGs berorientasi kepada manusia, dalam hal ini gender secara umum dan perempuan secara khusus. Tujuan nomor 5 juga berkaitan dengan proses hidup perempuan di tengah masyarakat, baik dalam ranah publik misalnya menjadi representasi politik di parlemen maupun dalam ranah privat seperti penghargaan terhadap ibu rumah tangga. Selain itu, tujuan ini juga membahas kebebasan manusia terutama perempuan dalam menentukan pilihannya sendiri dalam sebuah hubungan, proses reproduksi, akses pengetahuan, dan akses kesehatan.

Berdasarkan tujuh elemen keamanan manusia menurut UNDP, target-target dalam SDGs nomor 5 mencakup elemen *economic security*, *health security*, *personal security*, *community security* dan *political security*. Target 5.1, 5.2, 5.b dan 5.c termasuk kedalam *personal security* dalam kategori ancaman yang dikhususkan untuk perempuan berupa kekerasan rumah tangga, pemerkosaan, diskriminasi, dan pelecehan seksual. Target 5.3 termasuk kedalam *community security* karena praktik berbahaya, seperti perkawinan usia anak,

perkawinan dini dan paksa, serta sunat perempuan merupakan nilai-nilai tradisional yang diturunkan dalam suatu komunitas. Target 5.4 dan 5.a termasuk kedalam elemen *economic security* karena meliputi meliputi isu-isu yang berkenaan dengan pekerjaan dalam sektor informal seorang ibu rumah tangga dan reformasi perempuan dalam mengakses sumber daya ekonomi. Target 5.5 merupakan isu dalam *political security* karena menjamin hak politik perempuan dalam sistem demokratis untuk ikut serta dalam proses pengambilan keputusan baik di level daerah maupun nasional. Terakhir, target 5.6 merupakan isu dari elemen *health security* yang membahas hak dasar perempuan untuk mendapatkan akses terhadap kesehatan seksual dan reproduksi, dan hak reproduksi.

Selanjutnya, penulis menganalisa komitmen pemerintah Indonesia dalam implementasi SDGs tujuan nomor 5 yang sejalan dengan elemen keamanan manusia serta strategi dan kapasitas yang dibutuhkan untuk mengatasi ancaman tersebut. Penulis akan membagi pembahasan evaluasi berdasarkan kelompok elemen keamanan manusia.

Evaluasi komitmen pemerintah Indonesia terhadap SDGs tujuan nomor 5 berdasarkan Metadata Indikator: Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan (TPB) Pilar Pembangunan Sosial dinilai dan dievaluasi dengan indikator nasional yang sesuai dengan indikator global (Bappenas, 2020). Adapun untuk indikator 5.3.2 tentang persentase anak perempuan dan perempuan berusia 15-49 tahun yang telah menjalani FGM/C (*Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting*) dan target 5.4 serta indikator 5.4.1 tentang proporsi waktu yang dihabiskan untuk pekerjaan rumah tangga dan perawatan, berdasarkan jenis kelamin, kelompok umur, dan lokasi belum ada indikator nasional yang dikembangkan. Selanjutnya penulis akan mengevaluasi pelaksanaan SDGs tujuan nomor lima menggunakan data laporan tahun 2019 dari

Bappenas dan laporan tahunan yang dikeluarkan BPS.

4.1. Evaluasi elemen *personal security* dalam SDGs nomor 5

Pada target 5.1 berdasarkan data dari Kementerian PPPA, sampai dengan tahun 2020 sudah sebanyak 14 Peraturan Menteri PPPA dan 17 Peraturan Daerah yang mendukung pemberdayaan gender di Indonesia (BPS, 2020). Sedangkan menurut data dari BPS, pada tahun 2020, Indonesia sudah 100 persen mempunyai dasar hukum mengenai kesetaraan gender dan penghapusan diskriminasi di setiap bidang, dan sekitar 91,67 persen kerangka hukum pada hal kekerasan terhadap perempuan (BPS, 2021). Berdasarkan data-data diatas dapat dikatakan bahwa payung hukum di Indonesia yang mendukung dan melindungi kesetaraan gender serta pemberdayaan perempuan sudah mendekati target yang diinginkan.

Pada target 5.2 dengan indikatornya menurut laporan Bappenas secara umum mengalami peningkatan. Dapat dikatakan kekerasan terhadap perempuan baik dalam ranah rumah tangga maupun dalam ranah komunitas mengalami peningkatan namun dalam spektrum yang lebih beragam. Kekerasan tidak hanya terjadi dengan pasangan tapi juga dapat dilakukan dengan orang lain. Sebesar 23.7% perempuan pernah mengalami kekerasan dari selain pasangan (Bappenas, 2019). Data lainnya menunjukkan bahwa kekerasan yang banyak menimpa perempuan adalah kasus kekerasan dalam rumah tangga (KDRT) sebesar 75% (Catatan Komnas Perempuan dalam Laporan Bappenas, 2019). Data ini menunjukkan dibutuhkannya peran negara lebih jauh lagi untuk melindungi perempuan maupun laki-laki yang rentan mengalami kekerasan dalam hubungan. Selain itu, sosialisasi dan kampanye baik dari aparaturnegara maupun masyarakat sangat dibutuhkan untuk memberi edukasi tentang isu kekerasan dalam rumah tangga dan hubungan.

Pada target 5.b pada indikator 5.b.1 ditemukan bahwa adanya peningkatan proporsi perempuan yang memiliki telepon genggam setiap tahunnya. Per tahun 2019 persentase perempuan yang memiliki telepon genggam adalah sebesar 58,35% (Bappenas 2019). Selain itu, pengguna telepon genggam di desa pun mengalami peningkatan. Tren peningkatan ini dapat mendukung perempuan Indonesia baik di desa maupun kota untuk mendapatkan informasi yang mendukung pemberdayaan mereka. Namun, data terbaru dari BPS menyebutkan bahwa pada tahun 2020 dan 2021 terjadi tren penurunan persentase penguasaan atau kepemilikan telepon genggam oleh perempuan sebesar 0.69% (BPS, 2021). Terakhir, pada target 5.c pada indikator 5.c.1 Indonesia telah memenuhi persyaratan dalam hal sistem untuk melacak dan membuat alokasi umum untuk kesetaraan gender dan pemberdayaan perempuan yaitu dalam program pemerintah dan alokasi sumber daya serta sistem keuangan yang responsif gender (Bappenas dalam VNR dikutip oleh BPS, 2021).

Pemerintah dalam upaya memberikan keamanan dalam isu *personal security* sudah menegakkan supremasi hukum dengan melengkapi dasar-dasar hukum yang menjamin kesetaraan gender, melindungi perempuan dari diskriminasi sosial, dan upaya pemberdayaan perempuan. Namun, dalam upaya menekan angka kekerasan di dalam rumah tangga dan hubungan diperlukan kebijakan yang lebih adaptif, serta memberikan penyuluhan atau sosialisasi mengenai mekanisme coping untuk mengatasi trauma terhadap kekerasan.

4.2. Evaluasi elemen *community security* dalam SDGs nomor 5

Pada target 5.3 per tahun 2019 juga mengalami penurunan akan tetapi belum mencapai target yang sudah disepakati. Praktik perkawinan anak di Indonesia masih relatif tinggi walaupun terjadi

penurunan untuk proporsi perempuan usia 20-24 tahun yang berstatus kawin atau hidup bersama sebelum usia 15 tahun sebesar 1% dalam 10 tahun terakhir (Bappenas, 2019). Menurut BPS, dalam kurun waktu lima tahun terakhir (2016-2020) tren pernikahan dini dibawah usia 15 tahun pada perempuan usia 20-24 tahun menurun dari 0.54% menjadi 0.50% (BPS, 2021). Angka ini patut menjadi fokus evaluasi pemerintah terhadap program-program yang sudah dijalankan. Penurunan yang hanya 1% dalam 10 tahun terakhir menjadi tanda adanya hambatan dan tantangan dalam menjalankan program. Sehingga selanjutnya penting bagi pemerintah untuk mengkaji akar hambatannya agar dapat diselesaikan.

Strategi yang dibutuhkan oleh pemerintah untuk menekan angka perkawinan anak adalah dengan memberikan hak-hak perlindungan bagi anak yang menjadi praktik perkawinan anak dengan melibatkan organisasi tradisional atau lokal, aparat daerah, dan memberikan mekanisme coping bagi anak-anak yang mengalami trauma dan depresi akibat perkawinan anak. Dalam menjalankan strategi ini pemerintah perlu adaptif melihat akar masalah dan responsif memberikan perlindungan dan penegakkan hukum.

4.3. Evaluasi elemen *economic security* dalam SDGs nomor 5

Selanjutnya, untuk target 5.a pada indikator 5.a.1 menurut BPS Penduduk pertanian laki-laki 3-4 kali lebih banyak yang memiliki hak atas tanah pertanian dibandingkan perempuan. Bahkan perbandingannya mencapai lebih dari 5 kali di Provinsi Jawa Barat (BPS, 2021). Adapun 2 dari 10 penduduk perempuan menjadi pemilik atau memiliki hak atas tanah pertanian. Tingkat kepemilikan atau memiliki hak atas tanah pertanian pada penduduk perempuan terbesar berada di provinsi Jawa Timur sekitar 24.28% (BPS, 2021).

Penjaminan hak perempuan dalam kepemilikannya terhadap tanah pertanian membutuhkan kerjasama dari pemerintah daerah dan pusat untuk menjamin perempuan mendapatkan aksesnya terhadap pembelian tanah. Sehingga diperlukan modal ekonomi, bantuan ekonomi, dan skema pembelian yang membuka peluang besar bagi perempuan untuk membeli tanah.

4.4. Evaluasi elemen *political security* dalam SDGs nomor 5

Pada target 5.5 tepatnya untuk indikator 5.5.1 menurut Bappenas (2019) proporsi kursi yang diduduki perempuan di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) tingkat nasional masih belum memenuhi target 30%, meskipun menunjukkan tren yang meningkat dari Pemilu periode sebelumnya. Data ini didukung oleh laporan BPS yang menyatakan bahwa di tahun 2019 terdapat 20.52% perwakilan perempuan di kursi DPR meningkat dari tahun-tahun sebelumnya (BPS, 2021). Peningkatan angka ini juga berlaku untuk proporsi kursi di Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD) terdapat 30.88% partisipasi perempuan. Secara umum angka persentase ini menunjukkan hal yang positif dalam dunia politik walaupun belum mencapai target yang ditetapkan secara nasional. Selanjutnya, untuk indikator 5.5.2 dari tahun 2019 sampai 2020 proporsi partisipasi perempuan dalam untuk posisi manajerial mengalami peningkatan dari 30.37% - 33.08% (BPS, 2021). Kemajuan dan peningkatan pada indikator 5.5 secara umum menunjukkan bahwa perempuan saat ini sudah banyak mengambil peran baik dalam politik maupun posisi manajerial dimana memberikan warna dan pengaruh tersendiri dalam perumusan dan pengambilan kebijakan.

Kemajuan yang positif dalam target 5.5 membutuhkan nilai-nilai *good governance*, transparan, akuntabilitas untuk mendorong perempuan memiliki kepercayaan diri menjadi bagian dari

proses pengambilan keputusan. Selain itu, hal ini juga mampu melindungi perempuan dari perlakuan diskriminasi atau penindasan politik.

4.5. Evaluasi elemen *health security* dalam SDGs nomor 5

Target 5.6 indikator 5.6.1 berdasarkan data dari BPS dan BKKBN, adanya peningkatan persentase perempuan dengan usia reproduksi 15-49 tahun yang membuat keputusan sendiri terkait hubungan seksual, penggunaan kontrasepsi, dan layanan kesehatan pada tahun 2012 sebesar 28.3% menjadi 29.5% di tahun 2017 (BPS, 2020). Pada indikator 5.6.2 pemerintah sudah memiliki UU No. 36/2009 tentang Kesehatan menetapkan kewajiban pemerintah untuk menyediakan informasi, pendidikan, konseling, dan pelayanan kesehatan reproduksi, termasuk keluarga berencana kepada setiap individu, termasuk remaja sepanjang tidak bertentangan dengan nilai moral dan agama. Selain itu, ada Peraturan Pemerintah No.61/2014 tentang Kesehatan Reproduksi (Bappenas, 2019). Per tahun 2021, tercatat bahwa target 5.6 sudah mengalami kemajuan sesuai target yang disusun.

Berdasarkan evaluasi yang penulis lakukan ada beberapa poin yang perlu dicatat. Pertama, terdapat target dan indikator yang sampai saat ini tidak ada penjelasan dan proses implementasinya. Penulis juga tidak menemukan alasan dibalik hilangnya indikator-indikator ini di dalam laporan Bappenas dan BPS. Adapun kedua indikator tersebut adalah indikator 5.3.2 dan 5.4.1. Bappenas dalam metadata indikatornya tahun 2020 masih mencantumkan keterangan 'indikator global yang akan dikembangkan' pada 5.3.2 dan 5.4.1. Selanjutnya, pada laporan Pelaksanaan Pencapaian SDGs oleh Bappenas tahun 2019 tidak ditemukan penjelasan terkait dua indikator tersebut meskipun tetap dicantumkan dalam

deskripsi umum. Hal ini juga sejalan dengan laporan tahunan yang dikeluarkan BPS sejak tahun 2018. Penulis tidak menemukan penjelasan lebih lanjut terkait pelaksanaan dan pencapaian dua indikator tersebut. Di tahun tersebut pula untuk kedua indikator tersebut masih ditulis bahwa indikator tersebut akan dikembangkan dimana sampai tahun 2020 tidak ada pengembangan dan penjelasan lebih detail mengenai penerapan indikator ini. Di tahun 2019, 2020 dan 2021 bahkan kedua indikator ini tidak lagi dicantumkan.

Kedua, pemerintah Indonesia sebelum adanya rancangan dan perumusan SDGs di tataran global, sudah menunjukkan perubahan orientasi pembangunannya menuju pembangunan berkelanjutan. Hal ini diketahui dari laporan tahunan BPS dengan judul 'Indikator Pembangunan Berkelanjutan' mencakup isu ekonomi, sosial, dan lingkungan. Secara garis besar, indikator pembangunan berkelanjutan yang dirumuskan dan dilaporkan tidak jauh berbeda dengan target dan indikator SDGs dalam tataran internasional. Namun, khususnya untuk isu gender masih belum terelaborasi dengan baik mengikuti perkembangan isu di lapangan. Laporan tahunan BPS ini tetap menggunakan format yang berbeda sampai tahun 2017. Kemudian dalam laporan di tahun 2018, BPS mulai menyesuaikan Indikator Pembangunan Berkelanjutannya dengan Bappenas.

Terakhir, pemerintah Indonesia sudah berhasil merumuskan dan menyediakan payung hukum sebagai fondasi yang menjamin hak dan kesetaraan gender seperti dalam indikator 5.1 dan 5.6.2. Kemudian, pada target 5.2 dan 5.3 terkait kekerasan dalam rumah tangga atau suatu hubungan dan pernikahan dini, masih diperlukan kerja keras pemerintah nasional dan daerah dalam memberikan sosialisasi, pemahaman, dan pemberdayaan kepada masyarakat Indonesia, di mana hal-hal ini sudah sejalan

dengan strategi dan kapasitas yang dibutuhkan untuk merespon ancaman terhadap keamanan manusia. Kedua isu ini menjadi pekerjaan rumah utama yang perlu diselesaikan bersama.

5. Kesimpulan

Komitmen Indonesia dalam menjalankan program SDGs sejak tahun 2015 hingga 2021 dapat dikatakan belum sesuai target yang diinginkan secara umum, namun sudah sempurna di beberapa target dan indikator. Dalam beberapa target dan indikator, pemerintah Indonesia sudah mampu memberikan perubahan yang positif baik dalam ranah hukum maupun implementasinya. Namun, bagi beberapa target yang belum menunjukkan peningkatan, tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa dalam implementasinya pemerintah Indonesia mengalami banyak hambatan dan kendala. Kemudian, hal ini harus menjadi fokus perbaikan dalam pelaksanaan SDGs nomor 5. Selanjutnya, penulis menyadari bahwa pemerintah Indonesia belum dapat merumuskan dan menjalankan dua indikator SDGs nomor 5 hingga tahun 2021. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa isu-isu tersebut masih menjadi ancaman keamanan manusia khususnya perempuan yang belum dapat diatasi. Sehingga kedepannya diharapkan pemerintah Indonesia dibawah lembaga Bappenas maupun BPS dan lembaga pemerintah yang bersangkutan dapat segera merumuskan kedua indikator ini untuk menyempurnakan pelaksanaan SDGs nomor 5. Terakhir, penulis menyadari bahwa kesadaran dan pengetahuan pemerintah Indonesia terkait pentingnya menjaga keamanan manusia dalam konteks gender sudah sangat baik. Hal ini tercermin dari penyampaian laporan serta data di lapangan yang ditunjukkan kepada publik. Isu kesetaraan gender adalah masalah bersama namun pemerintah memiliki peran besar menggerakkan semua lini untuk memiliki tujuan yang sama.

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THE ROLE OF BUSINESS ACTOR IN IMPLEMENTING JAPANESE GASTRODIPLOMACY: THE CASE OF AWKITCHEN RESTAURANT IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Business actors as one of the non-state actors play a role in implementing a country's foreign policy, especially in introducing a national image or identity through public diplomacy, which is known as gastrodiploamacy. This article aims to identify and examine the role of a fusion cuisine restaurant in carrying out Japanese gastrodiploamacy in Indonesia. The article is developed from qualitative research applying a case study method. Based on data collecting from interviews, observations, and library research, the Japanese restaurant under investigation is not just a business actor serving fusion cuisine in Indonesia. The restaurant has contributed to showing the positive side of globalization or taming westernization, and its business activities can be categorized as unrecognized gastrodiploamacy. The restaurant has participated in implementing the function of gastrodiploamacy even though without any formal affinity and official recognition from the Japanese government agencies. The fusion cuisine restaurant has succeeded in helping carry out the mission of the Japanese state in introducing its image or identity.

Keywords: Gastrodiploamacy, Globalization, Soft Power, Business Actor, Japan-Indonesia.

1. Introduction

The idea of using national cuisine as an element in diplomacy and international relations has a very long history (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 109). Over the centuries, food ingredients, such as spices, especially salt, have been used for significant economic and diplomatic missions, either as currency or gifts in building and strengthening relationships (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 109). The government initiative to explain to foreign citizens the nuances of the food and culture of a country is known as gastrodiploamacy. Thailand, Taiwan, Peru, and South Korea are among countries that have implemented gastrodiploamacy to create a bigger nation image for themselves while increasing understanding of their culture (Sonenshine et al., 2016: 10-11). Following these countries is Japan. As a soft power superpower, in addition to manga and anime, Japan also uses food to introduce the identity and image of its country (Watanabe & McConnell, 2018).

According to Reynolds (2012), the soft power generated through food has enabled Japan to increase its global appeal, achieving "democratic change", such as adopting Japanese knowledge or problem-solving skills in countries where *washoku* (Japanese Food) is most widespread. Generally, gastrodiploamacy is always associated with state actors. However, in Japan, non-state actors such as business people can also play an essential role in carrying out gastrodiploamacy. Some business, such as Ochiai Shuzojyo Co., Ltd. (which produces shochu from sweet potatoes and unusual ingredients like ginger and pumpkin) (JETRO, n.d.), directly involves under government's auspices while some others unintendedly implement it. This article wants to examine the role of business actors in gastrodiploamacy by observing the indirect participation of the fusion cuisine restaurant in implementing Japanese gastrodiploamacy in Indonesia.

This article will be divided into three main parts. It begins with an exploration of literature to gain an understanding of gastrodiploamacy. Then, the article will discuss the participation of the fusion cuisine restaurant in implementing Japanese gastrodiploamacy in Indonesia and describe findings related to the role of business actors in gastrodiploamacy. In the final section, a lesson learned will be discussed before ending with the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Gastrodiploamacy

The use of food for political purposes, in the sense of binding, persuading, convincing, and at the same time creating international understanding and cooperation is known as gastrodiploamacy. This practice has been carried out for centuries since Biblical times, the Roman Empire, the Italian Renaissance, to the beginning of Nineteenth-century France (Flammang, 2016: 213; Sonenshine et al., 2016: 6). However, the term gastrodiploamacy was only widely known when it appeared for the first time in *The Economist* in 2002. The magazine discussed the Thai government's efforts to promote Thai food through its "Global Thai" plan (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 108).

As the food reflects the culture and is increasingly becoming an essential tool for diplomatic engagement (Sonenshine et al., 2016: 23), gastrodiploamacy is also becoming widely known. Diplomats define gastrodiploamacy as winning hearts and minds through the stomach, building emotional connections through food, showing common ground, and creating 'a safe common space where conversation can begin' (Flammang, 2016: 212-213). This is because food is able to stir emotion, trigger memories, explore the history, and define who we are (Sonenshine et al., 2016: 10). Sam Chapple-Sokol explained that the use of national food and cuisine as part of cultural diplomacy is intended to "create cross-cultural understanding with the hope of increasing interaction and cooperation" between

communities and countries (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 108; Sonenshine et al., 2016: 10).

Several author, such as Paul Rockower, also explains that gastrodiploamacy is the relationship between food and foreign policy, and how countries communicate their culture through food (Sonenshine et al., 2016: 10). According to him, gastrodiploamacy is our way of communicating our culture, reaching foreign citizens, and sharing culture, history and heritage through food (Sonenshine et al., 2016: 10). Rockower uses the term gastrodiploamacy to refer to track three diplomacy and the interactions between actors below the state level (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 108). The beauty of gastrodiploamacy is to be a medium that inspires many people and empowers the diaspora community to share their traditions and culture (Sonenshine et al., 2016: 10). Unlike the traditional symbols of the country in general, namely the flag, currency and national anthem, food has the power to attract and can be desired by many individuals, thereby increasing the attractiveness and dignity of the country (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 108). National cuisine can unite society, promote the image of a country, and enhance cultural diplomacy, as well as promote economic and trade growth while supporting the tourism industry at the global level (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016: 108-109; Flammang, 2016: 213).

Based on the studies above, gastrodiploamacy has four essential roles, including: (1) communicating culture, (2) encouraging community interaction and understanding, (3) inspire many people, and (4) empowering the diaspora community. Communicating culture here means sharing culture and heritage through food, referring to the third track of diplomacy carried out by actors below the state level. Not only by business actors, but the third track of diplomacy can also be carried out by individuals and groups, thus encouraging interaction and community. Gastrodiploamacy, also inspires many people as well as empowers the diaspora community. Food can

be an inspiration for anyone who has eaten it, including those in the diaspora community who want to share their traditions and culture.

2.2. Gastrodiploamacy by Non-State Actors

As part of public diplomacy, gastrodiploamacy is seen as an innovation in diplomacy through the culinary world and is also seen as an effective way to attract many countries to develop it (Dewi & Priadarsini, 2018). For example, Japan is carrying out its gastrodiploamacy practice through non-state actors, namely The Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad (JRO). Founded in July 2007, JRO's purpose is to "support Japanese restaurants around the world and increase the number of Japanese restaurants in order to convey the appeal of Japanese food to the world, improve the technology of Japanese restaurants, and contribute to the development of overseas markets for Japanese food and ingredients" (JRO, n.d.). Furthermore, there are six activities carried out by JRO, including: (1) Business related to support for establishing local organizations overseas; (2) Business related to the publication of magazines and creation of teaching materials for improving cooking skills; (3) Business related to human resource development through seminars; (4) Business related to understanding overseas Japanese food needs and local PR activities; (5) Business related to information exchange through exchanges between overseas members; and (6) Business related to research on the export promotion of Japanese ingredients (JRO, n.d.).

Additionally, Peru also involves non-state actors in implementing gastrodiploamacy strategies and linking them to the tourism sector (Putri, 2019). According to Putri (2019), the private sector has a significant role in developing gastronomic tourism. The commercialization of tourism products, especially gastronomic tourism, is a task that needs to be carried out by the private sector. In her research, Putri (2019) also explained that the academic sector (represented by the

academic group consisted of gastronomic experts and critics, journalists, The Pachacútec Culinary Institute, universities, and other types of non-formal education units) contributing to knowledge resources in the form of scientific research and publications, as well as human resource training. The findings in Putri's research (2019) explain that the implementation of gastrodiploamacy in Peru is a form of public diplomacy through people-to-people diplomacy. This diplomatic interaction is not only carried out by government officials but also by non-state actors such as academics, chefs, entrepreneurs, to NGOs (Putri, 2019).

As one of the countries with various culinary delights, Indonesia also develops its culture as part of diplomacy (Dewi & Priadarsini, 2018). Not only developed abroad, but Indonesia also develops domestic gastrodiploamacy through the formal and informal sectors, such as the role of non-state actors in the Ubud Food Festival (UFF) (Dewi & Priadarsini, 2018). Not only limited to a culinary festival, but UFF is also a place to preserve and promote Indonesia's culinary heritage, which directly contributes to the tourism sector and Indonesia's economic growth (Dewi & Priadarsini, 2018).

Dewi & Priadarsini's research (2018) aims to identify non-state actors who play a role in Indonesian gastrodiploamacy through UFF and analyze them using descriptive qualitative research methods. The findings explain that gastrodiploamacy is included in the second track of diplomacy, which is no longer aimed at the government and state levels, but shifts to non-state actors such as individuals, business actors, media, or interest groups. If it involves the role of non-state actors, the gastrodiploamacy process can be readily accepted compared to formal or official channels from the government (Dewi & Priadarsini, 2018). Dewi & Priadarsini (2018) believe that the steps taken through the UFF can support the tourism sector and an opportunity to increase economic growth, especially in boosting people's income.

Next is Sinaga & Sukandar's research (2019), which discusses how Turkish gastrodiplomacy is carried out in Indonesia by Zahra Turkish Ice Cream, who acts as a non-state actor introducing and spreading Turkish culture by selling Turkish ice cream, known as Dondurma. The findings in Sinaga & Sukandar (2019) research results are that Zahra Turkish Ice Cream has indeed been shown to play a role as a non-state actor conducting gastrodiplomacy to introduce and disseminate the uniqueness of the Turkish state. Starting with introducing a typical Turkish dance, then the uniform used by the ice-cream seller is typical Turkish clothing, Turkish nuance decorations, to the typical Turkish ice cream, namely Dondurma (Sinaga & Sukandar, 2019).

This study also found the reason for the establishment of Zahra Turkish Ice Cream, namely the sense of pride that the company owners have for their own country to bring Turkey's uniqueness to the international arena, especially in Indonesia. Seeing this phenomenon, the Turkish Embassy finally decided to make Zahra Turkish Ice Cream an embassy icon. This company indirectly succeeded in helping the Turkish state realize cooperation with Indonesia, especially in the economic sector. Zahra Turkish Ice Cream received positive responses and was accepted by the Indonesian public for its unique and friendly way of selling. It is not surprising that many Indonesian buyers are ultimately interested in learning more about Turkish culture (Sinaga & Sukandar, 2019).

3. Research Method

The research was conducted in 2021 using a qualitative approach with a case study research method. The investigation focused on a Japanese fusion cuisine restaurant in Jakarta, the AWKitchen by Akira Watanabe (AWK). This study used interviews and observations to collect primary data, and library research for secondary data. Thematic analysis was applied to infer meaning from data and to construct a narrative according to the analytical framework.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Japanese Gastrodiplomacy

Japanese gastrodiplomacy began to develop in 2004 when The Japan Brand Working Group (JBWG) conducted an in-depth discussion on nation branding. They released a report entitled Promotion of Japan Brand Strategy in 2005, where culinary culture was identified as one of the three most important contents in cultural diplomacy along with local Japanese fashion and products. The report also emphasized the need to develop strategies to improve food education at home and promote washoku abroad (JBWG, 2005).

In the same year, the Committee for the Promotion of Research on Food Culture (in Japanese: Shoku Bunka Kenkyū Kondankai) formed within the Strategic Council on Intellectual Property reaffirmed the importance of food as a tool for promoting a positive image of Japan as well as describing the situation of Japanese restaurants abroad in terms of quantity, preparation techniques, and customers by forming a report entitled Promotion of Japanese Food Culture (日本食文化の推進) (Committee for the Promotion of Research on Food Culture, 2005). The report also recommends several practical actions to be taken by the Japanese government, including the creation of relevant texts on Japanese cuisine standards, the establishment of culinary training courses for foreign chefs, strengthening collaboration between farmers and restaurants, and introducing traditional Japanese cuisine to foreign tourists in Japan (Committee for the Promotion of Research on Food Culture, 2005). Japan also launched The Washoku-Try Japan's Good Food Business campaign in October 2006, a joint project between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF). This project introduces Japanese cuisine, especially at events organized by Japanese diplomatic missions abroad, and creates consumer demand through the media (MOFA, 2011).

In Indonesia, according to Adam, Iqbal, and Trihartono (2017), Japanese gastrodiplomacy is a form of public diplomacy that combines diplomacy with culture, food, and nation branding. It combines elements and concepts of cultural diplomacy, building a national reputation, and Halal principles to elevate a positive image of a country. Through the implementation of The Japan Halal Food Project from 2013-2015, Japan has used its gastrodiplomacy strategy in Indonesia to elaborate on the process and the idea of creating an image of Japan as a Muslim-friendly country (Adam, Iqbal, & Trihartono, 2017). Gastrodiplomacy emerged as a tangible form of Japanese diplomacy to form a new identity to realize its national interests after the Cold War. Japan's new identity aims to establish Japan's image as a Muslim-friendly country. Gastrodiplomacy through The Japan Halal Food Project in Indonesia involves state actors and non-state actors as a logical implication of public involvement in the diplomacy process (Adam, Iqbal, & Trihartono, 2017).

Dewi's (2019) study also discusses The Japan Halal Food Project as one of Japan's efforts to form new relationships with Muslim countries, for example, Indonesia. Japan's efforts in The Japan Halal Food Project are aimed at increasing Muslim tourists visiting Japan. Besides receiving much information about Islam and Halal products, Japan can also reduce doubts about the Muslim community, especially the perception of terrorism. On the other hand, Indonesia got many lessons from Japan, especially regarding the strength of Japanese products to be implemented into Indonesian culinary products. Through the Japan Halal Food Project, Indonesia can learn from Japan by holding events, leader opinions, product marketing, and building relationships through the media. Dewi (2019) closes her research by explaining the purpose of Japanese gastrodiplomacy to make it easier for Japan to carry out a communication strategy with Indonesia. Japan sees

gastrodiplomacy as a "more holistic approach to raise international awareness of the image of an edible country through the promotion of its culinary and cultural heritage" (Dewi, 2019). This program proves that anyone can become a diplomatic actor, from the government, society, well-known figures, to the internet media (Dewi, 2019).

4.2. Globalization and Fusion Cuisine Restaurant: The Case of AWKitchen Restaurants in Indonesia

Through The Japan Halal Food Project, Japanese gastrodiplomacy is still limited to projects for creating an image of Japan as a Muslim-friendly country. It cannot officially provide endorsements to other business actors who also want to develop the image of Japan through food. Business actors also play an important role because their presence indirectly helps to benefit Japan's image. The phenomenon of globalization has succeeded in helping business actors continue developing themselves without government support outside of The Japan Halal Food Project scheme. The globalization facilitates ease for business actors, including restaurants, to develop their business overseas while promoting Japan's image as in the case of AWK.

The establishment of the AWK restaurant in Indonesia began with the owner of JADDI Foods. They tasted food directly from the AWK restaurant in Japan. The owner of JADDI Foods was then interested and wanted to meet Chef Akira Watanabe in person to establish a cooperative relationship to open a branch in Indonesia (franchise) (J. Megijet & T. Yomoda, personal communication, 04 April 2021). Then in 2014, the AWK restaurant finally opened its first outlet at Plaza Senayan, to be precise at Jalan Asia Afrika number 8. Doni Wanandi, as CEO of JADDI Foods, revealed that it took him two years to attract Chef Akira Watanabe to be interested in opening his restaurant in Indonesia (Setyanti, 2016). The difference between the AWK restaurant in Japan and

Indonesia lies in the concept. Each outlet of the AWK restaurant in Japan has its uniqueness. For example, one outlet only sells pasta, and another outlet sells pizza, so it is divided into formal, casual, bar, and resort. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, both pasta and pizza are combined into one (J. Megijet & T. Yomoda, personal communication, 04 April 2021).

The ease of doing business in the era of globalization has dramatically helped the presence of the AWK restaurant in Jakarta. Following the meeting in Japan, the two sides finally responded to each other, giving commencement to a form of cooperation and agreeing to open a branch in Indonesia. In short, globalization helps and make it easier for JADDI Foods and Chef Akira Watanabe to do business. In light of globalization, it can be also inferred that the AWK restaurant has taken advantage of globalization to create a shared social space while at the same time forming a new perception of Japan through food.

Creating a shared social space refers to how the food initially only produced in Japan and consumed by local Japanese residents, now can be produced in Indonesia and consumed directly by many Indonesian individuals and groups. We observe that this point is essential because many things can be explored deeper with a shared social space. For example, these foods have succeeded in uniting consumers from different backgrounds by having the same interest in the culinary world. Simmel (1997) explains that of all the things that everyone has in common, the most common thing is that they eat and drink. As a result, a sociological structure of eating is formed where food can connect each individual and unite the frequency even though initially, they have absolutely no special interest in gathering together (Simmel, 1997). Simmel (1997) wants to emphasize that food has an immeasurable sociological significance. Some interviewees even directly stated, "I think this can be concluded as Japanizing western food, or introducing the taste or

culture of Japanese to European culture connoisseurs with a culinary touch" (I. Nicholas, personal communication, 28 March 2021).

Another example is that food is an inspiration for researchers like the authors to dig deeper into its meaning than just eating it. We mention both examples because of the attractiveness that arises from the menu served by this restaurant, as will be discussed in the next section.

4.3. Fusion Cuisine as Soft Power

Fusion cuisine, as a new menu developed by the AWK restaurant, is an appeal for this restaurant showing a unique Japanese image and remain in accordance with the policies of the Japanese Government. Fusion cuisine that will be discussed in this research is the signature dish from the AWK restaurant. A signature dish is commonly used to describe a meal associated with a particular restaurant or chef, referring to a chef's "homemade" specialty. This specialization can serve several purposes, such as helping to give a restaurant a specific identity or turning someone into a loyal customer (Dye, 2021). Signature dishes are emotional, by using the right ingredients, a chef will have a work that is usually characteristic, viscous, and can be a reason for many people to visit a restaurant (Femina, 2018). However, a signature dish can also help reflect the image of a country, for example, when a restaurant wants to introduce its country's specialties adapted to local tastes. As a result, the signature dish gives identity and gives an impact in the form of a taste that has been adapted to the taste of the people in a certain country.

One of the signature dishes of the AWK restaurant that can attract attention and can be a reason for many people to come, namely Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil. When interviewing Chef Toru Yomoda, he explained that Nori, Shiso Herb, and Japanese Mushroom showed distinctive Japanese flavors in Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe

and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil (J. Megijet & T. Yomoda, personal communication, 04 April 2021). These three ingredients attract visitors who want to enjoy fusion cuisine or pasta mixed with Japanese ingredients.



Picture 4.3.1. Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil

The soft power of the dishes cooked by Chef Akira Watanabe makes diners who eat them feel the image or feel of Japan without having to go directly to Japan. To find out whether visitors feel Japanese images or nuances, the authors interviewed five interviewees. Few of them did not like Japanese food because it was raw and smelled fishy. Some say personally, "I do not like Japanese food because I thought Japanese food is mostly served raw" (S. Andreas, personal communication, 26 March 2021). Meanwhile, the others like Japanese food and become loyal customers (customers who returned even once or twice) of the AWK restaurant.

Several interviewees who have eaten Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil felt the nuances of Japan. Some stated that because of "the fresh taste of fish eggs" (N. Rachel, personal communication, 26 March 2021), there were who suspect "using Japanese sauce for cooking" it (D. Henley, personal communication, 23 March 2021), and some

conclude that this "food is part of Japanization" (I. Nicholas, personal communication, 28 March 2021). One of the interviewees who felt Japanese nuances described in detail that "Japanese nuances were felt even before eating the food" (G. Ivan, personal communication, 13 April 2021). This is because the pungent aroma of seaweed has been inhaled at the beginning due to the humid air of the spaghetti underneath, including when the spaghetti is stirred so that all the components are evenly mixed. He admitted that his guess was wrong because this food was delicious and tasty, especially with "the combination of fish, eggs, and seaweed" (G. Ivan, personal communication, 13 April 2021). On the other hand, there was also interviewees who did not feel the nuances of Japan when eating it, and he still felt this food as food that came from the West (S. Andreas, personal communication, 26 March 2021).

If explored more profound, the concept of soft power plays an important role, especially the point of the power of attraction or how the AWK restaurant attracts so that visitors who would love Japanese cuisine that is combined with contemporary food. Fan (2008) stated that the effectiveness of soft power depends on the perceptions and responses of the target country formed by the host country, and the target country determines what is attractive and what is not. Like this research, to find out how effective the steps that the AWK restaurant has taken, the authors conducted interviews with five interviewees who had tasted Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil. The views of several interviewees changed, and they admitted that they felt the nuances of images of Japan. Moreover, some even concluded that this food was part of "Japanization" (I. Nicholas, personal communication, 28 March 2021). The responses show that it is effective in generating soft power, particularly in promoting the flexible appeal of Japan through fusion cuisine. This also indicates that the AWK restaurant is also conducting

gastrodiplomacy in Indonesia, which will be discussed more in the next section.

4.4. Reading AWK Restaurant in Implementing Unrecognized Gastrodiplomacy in Indonesia

Seeing that both Indonesian and Japanese people have the same interest in Cod Roe, the AWK restaurant as a Japanese Italian restaurant innovated to create food that has never been found anywhere else, known as Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil. The AWK restaurant uses ingredients made directly by Japanese chefs (homemade), for example, in 2014 by Chef Tanaka, in 2016 by Chef Nakamura, and in 2018 by Chef Toru Yomoda (J. Megijet & T. Yomoda, personal communication, 04 April 2021).

With the change of chefs, the food menu will also change according to the innovations produced by each chef. Changing chefs indirectly affects the durability of AWK restaurants in Indonesia because they will always upgrade with new menus or, in other words, continue to innovate. AWK restaurant dares to call it 'pasta house' because Chef Akira Watanabe has never taken any outside ideas but instead developed his menu concept since 2004. This restaurant also collaborates with PT Masuya Graha Trikenca as one of the ingredients suppliers of local cuisine from Indonesia. The workers are dominated by people from Japan (J. Megijet & T. Yomoda, personal communication, 04 April 2021).

This section will explore four essential points from the concept of gastrodiplomacy, including the points of communicating culture, encouraging community interaction and understanding, inspiring many people, and empowering the diaspora community. Through food, Chef Akira Watanabe seems desirous to communicate Japanese culture and at the same time prove that Japanese identity can be maintained even though it is mixed with contemporary food. The Japanese culture that he wants to show is not limited to spices and

ingredients such as Nori, Shiso Herb, and Japanese Mushroom, which truly reflect the image of Japan. When Jejet, as Operational Manager, revealed that the AWK restaurant uses ingredients from Japan, another culture that he wants to show is how this restaurant always serves food with fresh and high-quality ingredients using Japanese standards, even though this restaurant has opened a branch in Indonesia. This means, that from the preparation stage to the process of serving the food, the AWK restaurant is meticulous and disciplined, as is the case with Japanese society in general.

Another cultural aspect is revealed when it is discovered that the ingredients used in the AWK restaurant are made directly by a Japanese chef or, in other words, homemade. This shows the Japanese culture, especially in the preparation of spices or cooking, that highly upholds authenticity and may even use old recipes that have been taught from generation to generation. The exciting thing is that globalization does not become a stumbling block to make Japanese people switch to fast food. On the contrary, they can still maintain their culture while continuing to innovate.

The interviewees who had tasted Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil succeeded in helping to explore the following two points of gastrodiplomacy, namely points to encourage interaction and form understanding in the community and inspire many people. These two points are related and cannot be separated, and this was proven when one of the interviewees directly stated:

"The savory taste of the combination of fish eggs and seaweed and spaghetti turned out to be delicious, I admit my guess was wrong. This food tastes delicious, savory, and salty; giving it a Japanese feel but thick from the sauce from mushrooms and the oily taste from garlic oil confirms that this is not pure Japanese food, at least 70% Japanese and 30% Western food maybe Italian considering this is spaghetti" (G. Ivan, personal communication, 13 April 2021).

In other words, inspiration and images about Japan can encourage interaction and form an understanding in the community, not only for the Japanese community but also for Indonesian. Inspiration or images of Japan, which initially saw Japan as a less attractive country, but after eating Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil, finally imagined a positive Japanese image. They began to be interested in digging deeper into Japan, culinary delights, and other cultures such as anime or manga, even fashion, and many more. Some interviewees said that the dish has succeeded in giving a new unique taste to Spaghetti, especially with the texture of the Cod Roe, which after mixing with the Spaghetti and mushrooms, adds a soft texture and Japanese feel to Italian cuisine, "definitely be interested in exploring more another fusion cuisine, especially with fresh Japanese ingredients" (N. Rachel, personal communication, 26 March 2021).

Finally, empowering the diaspora community can be seen from cooperation with one of the suppliers of local cooking ingredients from Indonesia, where the workers are dominated by people from Japan, namely PT Masuya Graha Trikenca. In this case, the diaspora community can share their traditions and culture, for example, Japanese cooking spices, with people in Indonesia. Of course, the goal is for the Indonesian people to understand the use of Japanese cooking spices. Through the Japanese diaspora community in Indonesia, the Indonesian people are expected to know, for example, the types of Japanese soy sauce and understand the differences and their uses in cooking because each soy sauce has its advantages and functions.

In light of the four points of gastrodiploamacy as described above, it can be inferred that the AWK restaurant has proven to play its role in practicing Japanese gastrodiploamacy in Indonesia. Especially in terms of communicating culture, encouraging community interaction and understanding, inspiring many people, and empowering the

Japanese diaspora community. Hopefully, those who have tasted Spaghetti Spicy Cod Roe and Japanese Mushrooms in Garlic Oil will enjoy it and find interesting things, and appreciate the idea of fusion cuisine between Japan and Italy that was coined directly by Chef Akira Watanabe.

4.5. Lesson Learned

The effectiveness of the AWK restaurant in carrying out its gastrodiploamacy mission proves that non-state actors can also play a role in helping achieve a country's foreign policy. Through this research, the authors learned that the Japanese government's initiative to involve non-state actors to help promote the country's image succeeded in encouraging them to express the image of Japan, in this case, AWK restaurant through food in a unique way. This finding is certainly very useful for countries that are promoting gastrodiploamacy, including Indonesia. The work of non-state actors such as the AWK Restaurant can also be source of inspiration for Indonesian gastrodiploamacy.

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi has emphasized that "Food is a national identity, gastro-diploamacy will support the Indonesian economic diploamacy" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). The Indonesian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Indonesian Gastronomy Association (IGA) has organized the National Seminar on Economic Diploamacy: "Gastro-diploamacy to Strengthen the Indonesian Economy" on October 2019 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2019), this event provided an opportunity to share knowledge and experience to each other regarding strategies in performing culinary business, especially Indonesian signature foods abroad.

In connection with the above efforts, the Indonesian government can take a role by encouraging Indonesian restaurants to carry out their gastrodiploamacy mission. Furthermore, the Indonesian government is expected to pay more attention, especially in

increasing the promotion of Indonesian culinary, seeing the role of non-state actors that are still not recognized even though they are the spearhead in carrying out gastrodiploamacy. While serving as Head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Policy Research and Development Agency, Dr. Siswo Pramono once conveyed that Indonesia should focus on expanding its food industry overseas, collaborating with diasporas, creating a signature tradition, and considering the sensitivity of particular dishes in other parts of the world, for example, the consumption of beef in India (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). The Indonesian government needs to encourage restaurants and support these restaurants by providing guidance and training in line with its goals in introducing its identity and image, seeing diplomatic affairs is not only related to cooperation between countries and investment, but also how to foster business actors to continue innovating. Finally, the Indonesian government is also expected to hold inter-ministerial cooperation, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Ministry of Trade or the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economic, regarding promoting local restaurants at the global level.

5. Conclusion

In order to achieve a country's foreign policy objectives through public diplomacy, business actors as one of the non-state actors plays an important role. Non-state actors indirectly contribute to driving public opinion and shaping views on the country. This article has examined the role of business actors, the AWK restaurant, as a case study when carrying out Japanese gastrodiploamacy in Indonesia. By leveraging the globalization phenomenon, the AWK restaurant has

proven to be successful in carrying out its gastrodiploamacy role and producing dishes that have soft power.

The role played by the AWK restaurant can be categorized as unrecognized gastrodiploamacy, which is a vague role that is not recognized by the state but still manages to help carry out the country's mission in introducing its image or identity. AWK restaurant has played a subtle role in Japanese gastrodiploamacy through its menu. Their fusion cuisine menu has presented the new power of attraction towards Japan. AWK restaurant also plays a role in communicating culture. The Japanese culture and nuances communicated through the food by Chef Akira Watanabe are conveyed effectively. This restaurant also plays a role in encouraging community interaction and understanding, inspiring many people, and empowering the Japanese diaspora community. It is also important to emphasize that inspiration and images about Japan can encourage interaction and shape understanding in the community, not only among the Japanese community but also with Indonesian. Through this research, the authors found a symbolic function where the AWK restaurant has carried out its purpose as a business actor who accomplished gastrodiploamacy mission but has no affinity with the state.

There are many things that have not been explored regarding the unrecognized gastrodiploamacy. One suggestion is to further examine unrecognized gastrodiploamacy at the individual level, for example, by a diaspora in a particular country. Gastrodiploamacy is an activity that anyone can do and is not limited to government and business actors.

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ANALISIS NASIB GLOBALISASI PASCA PANDEMI COVID-19

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ABSTRACT

The world is currently being hit by the COVID-19 pandemic, which threatens human civilization. The presence of this pandemic has had a multi-sectoral impact and slowed globalization. This research is intended to provide an overview of how globalization will continue despite global challenges, especially the COVID-19 pandemic. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach by conducting interviews with selected sources. This study shows that even though COVID-19 suddenly appeared amid globalization, the two of them can still go hand in hand. The currents of globalization continue to change the world from before the pandemic, during, and after the pandemic. The question that then arises during the pandemic related to globalization is whether globalization is still relevant after the pandemic ends. According to the results of this study, it can be concluded that globalization will remain relevant both now and after the pandemic ends because countries can survive the existential challenges of humankind only with cooperation and interdependence.

Keywords: Globalization, COVID-19, Human Mobility, Multilateralism, Cooperation.

ABSTRAK

Saat ini dunia sedang dilanda pandemi COVID-19 yang dapat mengancam peradaban manusia. Kehadiran pandemi ini menimbulkan dampak multisektor serta memperlambat globalisasi. Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk memberi gambaran bagaimana globalisasi akan tetap terus berlanjut walaupun di tengah tantangan global khususnya pandemi COVID-19. Penelitian ini dilakukan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan melakukan wawancara terhadap narasumber terpilih. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun COVID-19 hadir secara tiba-tiba di tengah globalisasi, keduanya ternyata tetap dapat berjalan beriringan. Arus globalisasi terus mengubah dunia dari sebelum masa pandemi, pada saat pandemi, dan setelah pandemi nantinya. Pertanyaan yang kemudian muncul di tengah pandemi terkait dengan globalisasi adalah apakah globalisasi masih relevan setelah pandemi berakhir? Menurut hasil penelitian ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa globalisasi akan tetap relevan baik di masa sekarang maupun setelah pandemi berakhir, karena hanya dengan kerja sama dan saling ketergantungan negara-negara dapat bertahan menghadapi tantangan eksistensial umat manusia.

Kata Kunci: Globalisasi, COVID-19, Pergerakan Manusia, Multilateralisme, Kerja Sama.

1. Pendahuluan

Masyarakat global pada saat ini tengah menghadapi salah satu bencana yang mengancam nyawa umat manusia, yaitu *Coronavirus disease* (COVID-19). Penyakit pernapasan menular ini pertama kali diidentifikasi di Wuhan, Republik Rakyat Tiongkok. Sontak, negara-negara di dunia dikejutkan oleh pandemi COVID-19 yang tidak diantisipasi sebelumnya. COVID-19 menurut WHO adalah penyakit menular yang disebabkan oleh virus SARS-CoV-2. Hingga saat ini jumlah kasus COVID-19 di seluruh dunia telah mencapai 251.266.207 kasus (WHO, 2021). Individu yang terinfeksi virus corona akan mengalami penyakit pernapasan, baik dalam tingkat yang ringan maupun parah. Penyebaran virus tergolong cepat menyebar ke seluruh dunia sehingga mengakibatkan tingkat kematian yang tinggi. Dalam rentang waktu kurang dari setahun telah membuat banyak negara-negara di dunia harus menerapkan sistem *lockdown* (penutupan akses masuk atau keluar suatu wilayah). Akibatnya, pergerakan manusia benar-benar dibatasi, bahkan pergerakan barang seperti halnya ekspor-impor pun menjadi terganggu dan berimbas pada penurunan ekonomi setiap negara (Fadly, 2020). Upaya ini dilakukan hingga situasi menjadi normal kembali, demi mencegah penularan yang lebih besar.

Fenomena mengejutkan ini tentunya berdampak pada segala aspek kehidupan manusia, mulai dari terbatasnya kegiatan sehari-hari seperti tuntutan untuk melakukan kegiatan dari rumah (*work from home*). Dampak negatif dari wabah COVID-19 tidak terbatas hanya pada hilangnya nyawa sepanjang memiliki efek terhadap sosial ekonomi dalam jangka pendek maupun jangka panjang di seluruh dunia. Pandemi COVID-19 hadir di saat globalisasi sedang berada dalam masa percepatan.

Melihat hal ini, penulis pun merumuskan satu pertanyaan penelitian yaitu “Bagaimana nasib globalisasi setelah

pandemi COVID-19?”, melihat dampak globalisasi yang menuai pro dan kontra bahkan sejak sebelum pandemi. Ditambah lagi, relevansi globalisasi dalam era pandemi yang lebih dipertanyakan oleh beberapa kalangan. Dalam penelitian ini penulis pun menggambarkan lebih lanjut mengenai dampak globalisasi sebelum pandemi dan pada era pandemi.

2. Tinjauan Pustaka

Globalisasi merujuk pada adanya peningkatan hubungan antar negara, sehingga menghasilkan keterkaitan dan ketergantungan antar negara maupun antar manusia dari kedua negara tersebut (Ernawam, 2017). Hubungan ini dapat disebut juga sebagai proses pengintegrasian antar negara atau antar bangsa, yang melalui perdagangan, investasi, pariwisata, perjalanan, budaya, dan bentuk interaksi lainnya. Dengan adanya globalisasi ini, maka batas-batas negara semakin sempit atau dapat pula dinyatakan bahwa dunia ini tidak ada batasnya.

COVID-19 yang menyebar cepat itu tidak bisa dilepaskan dari pengaruh globalisasi. Perkembangan globalisasi sendiri sudah terjadi jauh sebelum pandemi COVID-19 menyerang dunia. Hal itu menjadi diskursus menarik yang menuai perdebatan pro dan kontra terhadap nasib globalisasi itu sendiri, melihat bahwa dunia saat ini sedang mengalami transformasi besar menuju pada tatanan kehidupan dunia baru akibat adanya perubahan-perubahan yang semakin kompleks.

Salah satu dampak dari globalisasi ditandai dengan adanya kerja sama multilateralisme seperti lembaga-lembaga internasional yaitu WHO, IMF, Uni Eropa, dan lain-lain. Dengan adanya kerja sama multilateralisme ini mempermudah negara-negara untuk bekerja sama salah satunya dengan memanfaatkan perkembangan teknologi dan informasi. Meskipun kerja sama multilateralisme membawa keuntungan bagi suatu negara, tetapi belakangan ini negara-negara besar seperti

Amerika mulai menarik diri dari lembaga-lembaga internasional khususnya di bawah pemerintahan Presiden Trump, yang mana ia menekankan untuk menarik Amerika Serikat dari perjanjian dan organisasi internasional karena dianggap merugikan negaranya. Dengan slogan “America First” menjadi doktrin kebijakan luar negeri resmi pemerintahan Trump (cfr.org, 20/1/2017). Bukan hanya Amerika, Inggris juga memilih untuk meninggalkan Uni Eropa (UE) sebagai salah satu mitra dagang terdekat dan terbesarnya yang mulai dikampanyekan sejak 2016 dan secara resmi meninggalkan UE pada 31 Januari 2020 (bbc.com, 30/12/2020). Dari sini dapat dilihat apakah dampak globalisasi berpengaruh baik atau malahan sebaliknya melihat negara-negara besar seperti Amerika dan Inggris yang awalnya negara pertama yang menginisiasikan kerja sama global tetapi malah memilih untuk menarik diri dari kerja sama internasional.

Di samping itu, fenomena globalisasi ini mengakibatkan pandemi COVID-19 dengan cepat menyebar ke seluruh penjuru dunia, sehingga mengejutkan banyak negara. Salah satunya dapat dilihat dalam bidang ekonomi suatu negara yang menurun sangat drastis dan membuat dunia seolah-olah mulai melemah. Bahkan perpindahan manusia yang sebelumnya lebih mudah, berubah menjadi risiko utama penyebaran virus COVID-19 dengan cepat. Pada saat ini perlu dipahami bahwa tidak ada yang dapat memprediksi kapan pandemi akan berakhir karena pada kenyataannya mulai bermunculan varian-varian baru yang nantinya akan berdampak pada negara lain.

3. Metodologi Penelitian

Metode penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara langsung terhadap beberapa narasumber terpilih sesuai bidangnya. Diantaranya adalah Abhiram Singh (Staf Khusus Wakil Ketua DPR RI Bidang Politik dan Keamanan),

Ahmad Safril (Dosen Hubungan Internasional Universitas Airlangga), Alexander Wahyudi (Dosen Manajemen Universitas Ciputra), Benedicta Trixie (representatif dari Sekretariat Kabinet RI), dan Difa Farzani (representatif SHERPA G20 Kemenko Perekonomian RI). Selain itu data juga dikumpulkan dari sumber sekunder, yaitu dari jurnal, buku, artikel, serta media massa. Data-data yang terkumpul kemudian diinterpretasi secara deskriptif.

4. Hasil dan Pembahasan

4.1. Globalisasi Sebelum Pandemi

Menurut catatan World Economic Forum (WEF), globalisasi telah diakui sejak abad ke-19 ketika Kerajaan Inggris mulai menguasai dunia. Hal ini tidak terlepas dari peran teknologi dalam mewujudkan revolusi industri, yang pada saat itu perdagangan dikuasai oleh Portugis, Spanyol, Belanda, dan Inggris. Sejak 1945, ketika Perang Dunia Kedua berakhir hingga 1989, teknologi juga perlahan-lahan mulai berkembang dengan Amerika Serikat (AS) menjadi negara yang mengambil alih kepemimpinan global. Ini merupakan tanda mulainya globalisasi gelombang kedua. Lebih banyak industri mulai dibentuk dan berkembang, serta lebih banyak komoditas digunakan dan diperdagangkan. Pilihan transportasi juga semakin berkembang dan bervariasi. Bukan hanya itu, ekspor juga semakin meningkat sehingga memberikan kontribusi sebanyak 15 persen pada PDB dunia.

Dalam globalisasi gelombang ketiga, ditandai dengan berdirinya WTO (World Trade Organization) membantu arus perdagangan semakin cepat dari sebelumnya. Apalagi ditambah dengan peraturan WTO yang mewajibkan negara-negara anggota untuk menandatangani perjanjian perdagangan bebas. Hal ini pun merupakan awal dari pendalaman globalisasi (Kompas, 27/9/2020). Relevansi kepentingan globalisasi sendiri dapat juga dilihat dalam ekonomi serta

politik internasional melalui kehadiran multilateralisme. Dari sisi politik, globalisasi telah mendatangkan banyak sekali aktor-aktor baru dari luar negara. Secara tradisional negara merupakan aktor yang utama, tetapi dalam era globalisasi banyak sekali aktor lain yang berkembang yaitu aktor non-negara, seperti multinational corporations (MNCs), masyarakat sipil global, organisasi internasional, dan lain-lain.

Multilateralisme sendiri memberikan dampak yang luar biasa terhadap perdamaian dunia, ekonomi, serta kepastian hukum. Dengan adanya multilateralisme pasti ada kerja sama antara negara melalui institusi-institusi internasional, seperti organisasi internasional PBB. Hal ini membuat dunia sebelum pandemi itu menjadi saling terhubung tanpa melalui teknologi sekalipun, yang berarti kerja sama dan hubungan ini tidak hanya semata-mata dihasilkan dari teknologi, melainkan juga dari keinginan negara-negara berkembang untuk turut beradaptasi dalam tatanan global.

Gelombang ketiga globalisasi berakhir pada tahun 2008, yang akhirnya melahirkan gelombang keempat, dijuluki sebagai "Globalisasi 4.0". Munculnya teknologi digital membedakan gelombang ini dari gelombang sebelumnya (Kompas, 09/27/2020). Melihat perkembangannya sekarang ini, globalisasi memfasilitasi pergerakan manusia sehingga manusia jadi lebih mudah untuk bergerak atau berpindah dari suatu tempat ke tempat lain. Pergerakan ini difasilitasi oleh imigrasi global seperti contoh melalui lalu lintas udara yang berjalan dengan intensif. Bukan hanya pergerakan manusia, namun globalisasi juga memfasilitasi perpindahan barang dari satu tempat ke tempat lain, yang jika dibandingkan dengan masa lalu yang tentunya perpindahan barang tidak secepat sekarang.

Walaupun globalisasi membawa banyak keuntungan bagi masyarakat global, namun tidak bisa dipungkiri globalisasi juga membawa beberapa kerugian seperti menyebabkan polusi, pencemaran air, perubahan iklim, masalah kedaulatan negara, dan terkait dengan penyebaran ideologi. Begitu juga dalam kerja sama multilateralisme yang pada kenyataannya kerap terjadi diskursus antar negara sebagai aktor, tentang fungsi dan manfaat yang diperoleh anggota dari kerja sama tersebut, seperti halnya dalam institusi WTO (World Trade Organization). Sebelum pandemi, multilateralisme dalam konteks globalisasi dunia yang semakin modern dan dewasa ini pun membutuhkan reformasi dalam hal tatanan global¹.

Jika dilihat dalam dunia perpolitikan, bisa dilihat bahwa politik dan konflik tidak dapat dipisahkan, apalagi dengan banyaknya negara yang terlibat serta kepentingan suatu golongan yang semakin kuat. Keberadaan WTO sebagai organisasi pemersatu perdagangan global bahkan menjadi sumber pertikaian antar negara. Contohnya ketika Donald Trump Presiden AS sebelumnya yang mengancam untuk mundur dari WTO. Hal ini terlihat ketika anggota WTO lainnya mengkritik kebijakan perdagangan yang diusulkan dalam pertemuan tersebut. Ancaman Trump juga kembali diutarakan pada tahun 2018. Kemarahan Trump dipicu oleh fakta bahwa AS hampir tidak pernah memenangkan perkara di WTO. Perang perdagangan internasional antar negara memang tidak dapat dihindari. Para ahli pun percaya bahwa hal ini tidak lepas dari dampak globalisasi yang berpotensi mendisrupsi teknologi yang mendobrak hambatan dengan digitalisasi. Konflik tersebut juga dibahas pada pertemuan IMF-Bank Dunia di Bali pada 11 Oktober 2018, (Kompas, 09/27/2020).

¹Wawancara dengan Abhiram Yadav, (04/12/21).

4.2. Globalisasi di Era Pandemi

Globalisasi mengakibatkan perluasan perdagangan, politik dan sektor sosial. Tanpa disadari globalisasi merupakan salah satu faktor kerentanan akan wabah seperti pandemi yang terjadi sekarang ini. Jika dilihat dalam satu dekade terakhir telah terjadi sebanyak enam pandemi, yaitu flu babi (2009), ebola (2014), polio (2014), zika (2016), dan sekarang COVID-19 yang memiliki dampak paling parah.

Sejak tahun 2020 sampai pada saat ini tidak ada satu orang-pun yang dapat mengabaikan masalah COVID-19. Negara-negara, organisasi internasional bahkan masyarakat di dunia sekalipun telah disibukkan dengan kehadiran pandemi COVID-19 yang muncul secara tiba-tiba (Irawan, 2020). Sehingga tidak ada pilihan lagi bagi negara-negara untuk menutup perbatasan demi melindungi warga mereka dari adanya penularan virus COVID-19 yang menyebar dengan sangat cepat bahkan memakan ribuan korban. Akibat adanya pandemi COVID-19 yang melanda dunia banyak mendatangkan ketidakstabilan pada berbagai sektor, terlebih lagi melihat situasi saat ini yang membuat interkoneksi menjadi lambat karena pada dasarnya dunia ini sedang mengalami “*shock*” atau belum siap menghadapi pandemi. Hal ini tentunya berdampak pada kegiatan globalisasi yang menjadi terganggu seperti contohnya dalam bidang ekonomi. Perdagangan yang dilakukan antarnegara salah satunya ditandai dengan adanya perang dagang yang dilakukan antar kedua negara adikuasa yaitu Amerika Serikat dan China. Pada saat itu Amerika masih di bawah kepemimpinan mantan Presiden Donald Trump yang kemudian mengenakan tarif yang tinggi pada beberapa produk yang berasal dari China, hal ini kemudian mengakibatkan China melakukan perbuatan yang serupa dengan apa yang telah dilakukan oleh Amerika Serikat.

Bukan hanya itu saja nilai mata uang dunia hancur, pendapatan perkapita merosot, pariwisata juga turut merasakan dampaknya. Menurut Junaedi (2020) dalam artikel “Dampak Pandemi COVID-19 terhadap Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Negara-negara Terdampak” mencatat bahwa dalam dua kuartal berturut-turut pertumbuhan ekonomi nasional mengalami kemerosotan hingga 5,32% dan menurut *International Monetary Fund* (IMF) memproyeksi kerugian yang dialami perekonomian global akibat pandemi bisa mencapai 12 triliun USD atau sekitar Rp 174.000 Triliun (kurs Rp 14.500) dan 95% negara-negara dunia diproyeksi akan berada pada pertumbuhan ekonomi yang negatif.

Sektor pariwisata dan perdagangan internasional merupakan dua sektor yang sangat terdampak akibat adanya pandemi ini. Pergerakan barang menjadi lebih lambat bagi sektor perdagangan, sedangkan dalam sektor pariwisata pergerakan orang atau pergerakan manusia semakin terbatas. Masalah-masalah seperti ini kemudian ikut berdampak pada perekonomian global yang mulai melemah dan ini merupakan tantangan tersendiri bagi setiap negara, dimana semua sedang bergerak mewujudkan arus globalisasi yang positif dan hampir tidak ada batas antar negara.²

Selain dari pada itu jika ditinjau lebih lanjut lagi fenomena globalisasi dan pandemi COVID-19 bukan hanya serta merta berdampak pada bidang perekonomian saja. Misalnya Pergerakan manusia (*human mobility*) kemudian menjadi lebih terbatas dikarenakan terdapat banyak sekali batasan-batasan atau peraturan yang dibuat oleh negara-negara yang kadang melonggarkan dan juga terkadang mengetatkan peraturan di dalam negara mereka tergantung situasi terkini yang terjadi. Sehingga dapat dikatakan bahwa tidak ada yang tahu pasti kapan pandemi akan selesai, ketika dunia menganggap bahwa pandemi mulai

²Wawancara dengan Alexander, (29/11/2021)

menurun namun faktanya seiring berjalannya waktu mulai bermunculan berbagai varian-varian baru yang diprediksi jika tidak ditanggulangi segera maka akan sangat berpengaruh besar pada negara-negara lain dalam berbagai aspek yang ada terlebih lagi didorong oleh adanya pengaruh globalisasi.

Situasi sekarang ini tentunya memaksa semua orang dan industri untuk mengubah gaya hidup, gaya kepemimpinan, serta model bisnis mereka. Jika kita melihat di awal pandemi, negara-negara berusaha untuk mengamankan kepentingan negaranya masing-masing, seperti nasionalisasi vaksin dengan mengutamakan dalam negeri. Kemudian mengenai kebutuhan pangan, tentunya setiap negara juga ingin mengutamakan dahulu kebutuhan pangan di dalam negeri dari ancaman krisis pangan ke depan, seperti juga yang dilakukan pemerintahan Joko Widodo. Misalnya, pembukaan lumbung pangan nasional (food estate) di 4 lokasi utama yang dimulai sejak 2020 yaitu Sumatera Utara, Kalimantan Selatan, Sumatera Selatan dan Nusa Tenggara Timur (Peraturan Menteri Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan Nomor 24 Tahun 2020 tentang Penyediaan Kawasan Hutan untuk Pembangunan Food Estate). Hal ini dapat dikatakan menjadi tantangan baru globalisasi terutama mengenai keadilan dan pemerataan akan distribusi vaksin, pada saat yang sama diperlukan Kerja sama untuk mengatasi krisis kesehatan, karena tidak akan ada yang selamat sebelum semuanya selamat pada masa pandemi. Dengan demikian, Kerja sama justru menjadi sangat diperlukan di masa pandemi agar dapat menghadapi penyebaran COVID-19 dan mengatasi dampak sosial-ekonomi yang ditimbulkannya. Solidaritas dunia mutlak diperlukan.

Semangat multilateralisme disadari masih sangat diperlukan, sebaliknya isolasi dan proteksionisme justru menghambat kemajuan internasional. Salah satu forum multilateralisme yang dianggap cukup

penting untuk kemajuan ekonomi negara-negara maju dan berkembang saat ini adalah forum G-20. Forum ini diharapkan dapat melakukan berbagai inisiatif memulihkan perekonomian dunia. Keberadaan Indonesia sebagai presidensi G-20 2022 menjadi momentum sehingga dapat dimanfaatkan untuk menstimulasi ekonomi nasional, seperti bidang pariwisata, industri dalam negeri, dan investasi sekaligus berkontribusi menggerakkan ekonomi global.

4.3. Globalisasi Setelah Pandemi

Globalisasi merupakan sebuah proses yang tidak bisa dihindari dalam kehidupan masyarakat global. Kemunculan Pandemi COVID-19 tentunya membuat perubahan yang cukup signifikan bagi globalisasi itu sendiri karena banyak kegiatan globalisasi yang harus membutuhkan beberapa penyesuaian seperti pergerakan manusia yang mulai dibatasi, pertemuan tatap muka diadakan secara virtual (*online*) dan lain-lain. “Ini bukanlah akhir dari globalisasi, justru dengan adanya pandemi ini, seluruh dunia sedang mempersiapkan agar globalisasi dapat tetap berjalan sebagaimana mestinya dibawah tantangan pandemi seperti COVID-19 dan dapat mencapai target yang optimal,” kata Abhiram (4/12/2021). Tetapi, globalisasi setelah pandemi akan mengalami beberapa penyesuaian, layaknya hukum yang selalu menyesuaikan dengan tuntutan perkembangan zaman.

Dalam artian, globalisasi adalah sesuatu yang tidak bisa dihindari. Pergerakan manusia adalah salah satu faktor penting dalam proses globalisasi. Namun, globalisasi saat ini cenderung dilihat sebagai suatu persaingan. Dunia harus belajar bahwa globalisasi bukan suatu persaingan melainkan globalisasi merupakan salah satu cara agar negara saling terhubung dan tetap solid dengan cara bekerja sama (melindungi bumi dan pemerataan). Konsep-konsep ekonomi terhadap pemerataan harus diimplementasi,

sehingga pertumbuhan ekonomi antar benua dapat sejalan. Oleh karena itu, globalisasi nantinya akan lebih dinamis dan dilihat sebagai persaingan yang saling membangun. Seperti kata Arundhati Roy, pandemi adalah sebuah portal menuju dunia baru (ft.com, 04/04/2020), dengan demikian boleh dikatakan COVID-19 dapat menjadi portal menuju globalisasi baru yang lebih berkeadilan yang mensejahterahkan negara-negara berkembang dan negara-negara maju secara setara.

Adapun diskursus tentang deglobalisasi (antitesis globalisasi), hampir tidak mungkin dapat dijalankan karena setiap negara pasti dan masih membutuhkan bantuan dari negara lain. Stabilisasi perekonomian global dalam rangka pemulihan dampak pandemi COVID-19 sangat memerlukan kerja sama lintas negara, bilateral dan multilateral.

5. Kesimpulan

Wabah pandemi COVID-19 yang mengejutkan dunia telah memengaruhi kehidupan manusia dalam berbagai aspek bahkan sampai merenggut jutaan nyawa manusia. Dunia tidak dapat mengantisipasi

menyebarnya COVID-19 yang akhirnya secara terpaksa membuat negara-negara menutup perbatasannya. Dengan situasi “lockdown” ini tentunya aktivitas suatu negara dan kehidupan masyarakatnya terhenti. Melihat hal ini, tentunya relevansi globalisasi dipertanyakan karena sebelum pandemi pun dampak globalisasi sudah diragukan. Dalam kajian ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa globalisasi masih akan tetap relevan bahkan setelah pandemi. Memang akan ada beberapa tantangan dan perdebatan mengenai pengaruh globalisasi, namun jika dilihat seperti dalam masa pandemi sekarang, G20 sebagai salah satu contoh forum multilateralisme yang didalamnya terdapat negara-negara maju dan berkembang bekerja sama saling memberikan informasi serta menstimulasi kondisi perekonomian. Dengan demikian dapat dikatakan bahwa peran globalisasi justru semakin diperlukan untuk membantu masyarakat dunia menghadapi situasi sulit saat ini.

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IMPERIALISME BUDAYA JEPANG MELALUI FILM ANIMASI BATLLE OF SURABAYA

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ABSTRAK

Media massa sebagai salah satu sarana yang berfungsi untuk pengembangan kebudayaan, tidak hanya budaya dalam bentuk seni dan simbol tetapi juga budaya seperti tata cara, mode, gaya hidup dan norma-norma sehingga media memiliki fungsi *cultural transmission*. Saat ini, film animasi yang beredar di masyarakat lebih banyak merupakan film animasi luar terutama dari Amerika Serikat dan Jepang. Pada tahun 2015, terdapat film animasi lokal yang berhasil memperoleh penghargaan secara nasional dan internasional. Film animasi *Battle of Surabaya* menceritakan bagaimana perjuangan rakyat Surabaya 10 November 1945. Penelitian ini hendak menggambarkan bagaimana bentuk imperialisme budaya terlihat dalam film animasi lokal. Paradigma dalam penelitian adalah kritis dan merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah melalui *in-depth interview*, observasi dan studi literatur untuk sumber-sumber sekunder. Informan penelitian terdiri dari sutradara, dua orang penonton dan seorang akademisi yang mengikuti perkembangan film animasi di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya hegemoni budaya Jepang terlihat dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Selain menggunakan gaya *anime*, unsur budaya Jepang seperti makanan Jepang, etika, adat istiadat maupun kebiasaan dalam masyarakat Jepang digunakan dalam menggambarkan kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Indonesia. Hal tersebut terjadi karena masyarakat Indonesia telah lama didominasi oleh budaya populer Jepang terutama *anime*.

Kata kunci: hegemoni, animasi lokal, kritis, budaya populer, imperialisme

1. Pendahuluan

Seiring dengan perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi, hubungan antar para pelaku komunikasi semakin meningkat tanpa melihat adanya batasan waktu dan lokasi. Selain itu, kerja sama antar negara semakin terbuka lebar baik dalam bidang ekonomi, politik, militer maupun budaya. Perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi juga menyebabkan dunia media juga turut berkembang. Informasi akan seseorang ataupun peristiwa menjadi semakin mudah untuk diperoleh secara global dan aktual.

Media massa sebagai salah satu sarana yang berfungsi untuk pengembangan kebudayaan, tidak hanya budaya dalam bentuk seni dan simbol tetapi juga budaya seperti tata cara, mode, gaya hidup, dan norma-norma. Sehingga media selain memiliki tanggung jawab dalam memberikan informasi dan edukasi kepada khalayak, media juga berfungsi sebagai sebuah kontrol sosial. Seperti yang

dikemukakan oleh McQuail (2010), media massa memiliki peran *surveillance*, *correlation*, *cultural transmission*, dan *entertainment*. Dalam peranannya sebagai *cultural transmission*, media massa seharusnya dapat menjadi sebuah perantara dalam terjadinya proses transfer sebuah kebudayaan yang dominan beserta sub kebudayaan yang terdapat di dalamnya. Dengan demikian sebuah media massa seharusnya dapat merefleksikan nilai-nilai, norma maupun tata cara yang terdapat dalam kebudayaan di mana media massa tersebut berada. Dalam melaksanakan perannya untuk menyampaikan nilai-nilai budaya dalam suatu masyarakat, seharusnya media massa di Indonesia menyampaikan segala informasi yang terkait dengan tata cara, nilai maupun norma yang berlaku di Indonesia. Namun pada kenyataannya media massa di Indonesia lebih banyak menampilkan hal di luar itu. Hal tersebut dapat dilihat dengan banyaknya film animasi yang beredar di

Indonesia selama ini merupakan film animasi dari luar terutama dari Amerika (kartun) dan Jepang (*anime*). Sebut saja *anime* seperti *Doraemon*, *Dragon Ball*, *Saint Seiya*, dan *Sailor Moon* merupakan segelintir *anime* yang menghiasi layar kaca di tahun 90an. Sedangkan kartun-kartun yang beredar di Indonesia saat itu ada *Tom and Jerry*, *The Simpson*, *Captain Planet*, *Thunder Cat*, dan *He-Man*. Dengan adanya dominasi film animasi yang berasal dari Amerika dan Jepang dalam televisi Indonesia, menjadikan masyarakat menjadi tidak memiliki pilihan selain film animasi dari luar tersebut. Dominasi film animasi luar tersebut menyebabkan masyarakat menjadi terbiasa menikmati film animasi luar, yang juga turut mempengaruhi preferensi audiens dalam memilih film animasi. Saat ini dominasi film animasi luar juga turut diperkuat dengan adanya perkembangan teknologi informasi. Dengan *internet*, film animasi luar menjadi semakin mudah untuk dinikmati oleh masyarakat Indonesia. Sudah banyak *anime* yang dapat dinikmati oleh penonton di seluruh dunia melalui layanan *streaming* seperti *Netflix* (Bedingfield, 2022). Hal tersebut tentunya memiliki pengaruh terhadap industri animasi lokal. Walaupun secara perlahan film animasi lokal mulai bermunculan dalam televisi lokal maupun melalui tayangan bioskop. Kualitas animasi lokal juga semakin berkembang dan lebih baik saat ini bahkan dapat bersaing dengan animasi luar (Laveda & Nursalikah, 2022). Namun hal tersebut masih belum dapat meyakinkan masyarakat Indonesia untuk menontonnya. Penonton lebih memilih untuk menikmati film animasi luar karena sudah terbiasa. Padahal bila dilihat dengan seksama, industri animasi lokal memiliki potensi yang besar dan mampu bersaing dengan film animasi dari luar. Pada tahun 2015 Kementerian Perindustrian berusaha mengakomodasi potensi yang dimiliki oleh industri animasi lokal dengan cara mendorong televisi untuk meningkatkan tayangan animasi lokal. Panggah Susanto

dalam harian Kompas 5 Agustus (2015) mengatakan kalau industri animasi lokal di Indonesia sudah terbilang maju. Namun hasil karya animasi lokal saat ini masih banyak diambil atau dipesan oleh negara lain. Kemampuan animator lokal tersebut masih belum diimbangi dengan komersialisasi produk di dalam negeri. Sehingga sering kali produk film animasi lokal lebih banyak dibeli dan ditayangkan di televisi luar.

Selain itu, Ardian juga menyatakan “Jika animasi lokal diberi ruang, saya yakin industri kreatif akan makin tumbuh. Hal ini telah dibuktikan Tiongkok,” katanya. Pada tahun 2009, Tiongkok mewajibkan televisi lokal untuk menayangkan animasi lokal setidaknya tiga jam dalam satu hari. Hal tersebut dilakukan oleh pemerintah Tiongkok dengan mengeluarkan suatu kebijakan yang kemudian pada tahun 2011, kewajiban tersebut ditambah menjadi lima jam dalam sehari. Kebijakan tersebut menyebabkan industri animasi Tiongkok berkembang pesat.

Meskipun terdapat beberapa hal yang telah dilakukan oleh pemerintah, film animasi yang digemari oleh masyarakat Indonesia saat ini masih jarang merupakan hasil karya animator Indonesia (Sumarni, 2015). Padahal film animasi seperti *Kabayan* dan *Lip Lap* telah ditayangkan pada saluran televisi Nickelodeon, Meraih Mimpi didistribusikan di beberapa negara seperti Rusia, Film animasi *superhero* Hebring berhasil mendapatkan penghargaan sebagai salah satu animasi terbaik pada ajang yang diselenggarakan di Jepang dan beberapa film animasi lainnya. Selain itu, ada juga film animasi *Bilu Mela* yang izin penayangannya dibeli oleh lima negara. Namun sangat disayangkan, film-film animasi tersebut justru tidak dilirik oleh masyarakat Indonesia.

Pada tahun 2015, terdapat film animasi lokal yang dihasilkan oleh animator Indonesia dengan judul *Battle of Surabaya*. Film animasi tersebut berhasil mendapatkan sejumlah penghargaan

bahkan sebelum film tersebut ditayangkan di layar lebar. *Battle of Surabaya* merupakan film animasi Indonesia yang mengadaptasi kisah pertempuran 10 November 1945 yang dikenal dengan “Pertempuran Surabaya”.



Gambar 1.1. Poster *Battle of Surabaya*

Berdasarkan sejarah pertempuran Surabaya merupakan pertempuran dalam kisah sejarah antara pejuang Indonesia di Surabaya melawan tentara sekutu yaitu Inggris. Kisah ini merupakan kisah sejarah revolusi nasional atas perlawanan terhadap kolonialisme yang terjadi setelah proklamasi kemerdekaan Indonesia. *Battle of Surabaya* berusaha menceritakan kembali kisah sejarah pertempuran Surabaya namun dari sudut pandang yang berbeda yaitu melalui karakter fiktif bernama Musa.

Apabila diperhatikan secara seksama, walau pun film animasi tersebut menceritakan mengenai sejarah perjuangan bangsa Indonesia, namun terlihat dengan jelas gaya penyajian film animasi *Battle of Surabaya* banyak mengambil referensi dari animasi luar terutama dari *anime*. Hal tersebut terlihat dari karakteristik penggambaran tokoh-tokoh yang terdapat dalam film animasi tersebut.



Gambar 1.2. Tokoh dalam *Battle of Surabaya*

Terlihat adanya imperialisme budaya dalam animasi lokal yang mengangkat cerita tentang perjuangan bangsa Indonesia ataupun berisi mengenai nilai-nilai nasionalisme. *Anime* sebagai bagian dari budaya populer Jepang memegang peranan penting dalam terjadinya imperialisme budaya tersebut. Hal ini menarik untuk diteliti karena tanpa disadari imperialisme budaya Jepang telah terjadi di sekitar kita setiap hari. Penelitian ini berusaha melihat bagaimana penggambaran budaya Jepang dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*, bagaimana hal tersebut dapat terlihat dan bagaimana kaitan antara imperialisme budaya dengan budaya populer Jepang terhadap film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*.

2. Tinjauan Pustaka

Menurut Gramsci dalam Storey (2009), dominasi budaya atau hegemoni merupakan sebuah upaya dari suatu kelompok sosial dalam mendominasi kelompok sosial lainnya dalam masyarakat yang pada umumnya dilakukan melalui budaya sebagai alatnya. Berdasarkan pemahaman tersebut maka hegemoni dapat dikaitkan dengan adanya peran *anime* yang merupakan produk dari budaya populer Jepang dalam film animasi Indonesia.

Media massa merupakan sumber informasi yang dapat memberikan penjelasan mengenai proses sosial dan politik yang terjadi dalam masyarakat. Media massa juga memiliki peran dalam menentukan kesadaran, pemikiran hingga perilaku masyarakat. Dengan tanggung jawab yang besar dalam menyebarkan nilai-nilai luhur, praktik sosial, kepercayaan ataupun membentuk perilaku masyarakat

merupakan salah satu media sebagai *cultural transmission*. Namun bila media yang lebih banyak disukai dan ditayangkan maka secara perlahan akan terjadi proses transmisi budaya yang terdapat pada *anime* yaitu kebudayaan Jepang. Masyarakat akan lebih menyerap banyak informasi mengenai kebudayaan Jepang dan secara perlahan-lahan akan menerima kebudayaan tersebut sebagai bagian dari kebudayaan sendiri.

Imperialisme budaya merupakan sebuah ekspresi umum untuk para pengeksport industri media global terutama Amerika untuk mendominasi konsumsi media di negara yang lebih kecil untuk menyebarkan budaya dan nilai-nilai kepada audiens di mana pun mereka berada. Tidak hanya konten dari media tersebut yang dieksport tetapi juga teknologi, nilai-nilai dan juga ideologi. Sehingga secara tidak langsung imperialisme budaya dapat diasumsikan kepada berkurangnya budaya nasional atau lokal.

Baran (2006), mengungkapkan bahwa imperialisme budaya merupakan invasi dari negara-negara asing yang *powerful* terhadap kultur dalam suatu masyarakat melalui media massa. Kekuatan media barat terlihat dengan jelas dalam negara-negara berkembang seperti Indonesia. Bioskop di Indonesia hampir seluruhnya didominasi oleh film produksi *Hollywood*. Contoh lainnya juga terlihat dalam film animasi. *Anime* cenderung lebih populer dibandingkan dengan film animasi karya anak bangsa.

Imperialisme budaya sangat mempengaruhi kehidupan masyarakat dunia ketiga yang cenderung untuk mengikuti apa yang mereka lihat setiap hari. Schiller memaparkan penyebab terjadinya imperialisme budaya ini dikarenakan negara Barat lebih memiliki banyak uang sehingga dapat memproduksi berbagai macam produk melalui media massa. Sehingga media massa barat telah berkembang secara kapitalis. Selain itu negara Barat juga memiliki teknologi yang lebih maju. Dengan kurangnya teknologi

dan kapital maka masyarakat akan lebih terbiasa untuk mengonsumsi produk-produk barat. Hal tersebut karena negara dunia ketiga masih belum mampu untuk menghasilkan produknya sendiri. Konsumsi budaya Barat tersebut secara perlahan menjadi sebuah gaya hidup dalam masyarakat.

Imperialisme budaya berkaitan erat dengan budaya populer dalam masyarakat. Budaya populer bagi kebanyakan orang memberikan banyak kenyamanan dan hiburan seperti televisi, radio, film, komik dan animasi. Hal-hal tersebut karena dikemas secara menarik dan menghibur maka terlihat tidak berbahaya. Media memberikan hiburan untuk melepas kebosanan, kemudahan untuk berinteraksi secara luas dan lainnya. Adorno menekankan bahwa budaya populer merupakan sebuah bisnis yang serius dan memiliki efek seperti racun karena berpengaruh kepada budaya lokal yang secara perlahan mulai terkikis oleh budaya populer itu sendiri (Witkin, 2003).

3. Metodologi Penelitian

Paradigma yang akan digunakan oleh penulis dalam penelitian ini adalah paradigma kritis yang secara ontologinya merupakan suatu pandangan melihat sebuah realitas sebagai sebuah hasil perjalanan sejarah atau yang disebut juga dengan realisme historis yang dibentuk secara virtual oleh sosial politik, nilai-nilai budaya, ekonomi, etnik dan *gender* yang mengkristal dari waktu ke waktu (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009).

Dalam penelitian ini penulis menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Bodgan dan Taylor (1998) mendefinisikan pendekatan kualitatif sebagai suatu prosedur penelitian yang menghasilkan data deskriptif berupa kata-kata tertulis atau lisan dari orang-orang dan perilaku yang dapat diamati. Objek penelitian dalam penelitian ini adalah film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan cara wawancara (*in-*

depth interview) yaitu dengan melakukan wawancara terhadap sutradara sekaligus produser dari film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Selain itu, wawancara juga dilakukan terhadap dua orang penonton serta satu orang akademisi yang memiliki dan mengamati film animasi. Data hasil wawancara akan dilengkapi dengan data hasil observasi serta dokumentasi.

4. Hasil dan Pembahasan

Dari penelitian yang telah dilakukan melalui proses wawancara (*in-depth interview*), observasi dan studi dokumen pendukung lainnya, maka hasil temuan menunjukkan bahwa imperialisme budaya Jepang terlihat dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Imperialisme budaya Jepang dapat terlihat dikarenakan adanya peran teknologi dan media. Perkembangan teknologi dalam era globalisasi menyebabkan sebuah media dapat menjadi semakin tersebar luas kapan pun dan di mana pun. Dengan semakin menyebarnya suatu media maka informasi yang terkandung di dalam media tersebut juga menyebar luas.

Secara umum hasil wawancara menunjukkan bahwa imperialisme budaya Jepang dapat terjadi karena adanya *anime* yang menyebar luas melalui internet. Hal tersebut ditunjukkan oleh *key informan* serta ketiga informan lainnya. Mereka mengatakan bahwa sebagian besar *anime* yang tayang di Jepang dapat diperoleh di internet. Dengan semakin mudahnya memperoleh akses internet saat ini, menyebabkan segala informasi mengenai *anime* turut menjadi mudah untuk didapatkan kapan pun mereka membutuhkannya. Selain itu, perkembangan teknologi juga memberikan kemudahan bagi mereka untuk mengakses internet. Saat ini akses internet dapat digunakan dengan menggunakan *gadget* seperti *smartphone*, *tablet* ataupun *notebook*.

Dengan semakin sering menonton *anime* maka semakin banyak informasi

mengenai Jepang yang didapatkan. Para informan menyatakan dengan menonton *anime* mereka dapat mempelajari beberapa hal mengenai Jepang. Mulai dari bahasa, makanan khas Jepang, gaya berpakaian hingga adat istiadat atau budaya yang melekat dalam masyarakat Jepang terlihat dalam *anime*. Informasi mengenai Jepang dan kebudayaannya dapat melekat kuat dalam *anime* dikarenakan segala sesuatu yang terdapat dalam *anime* merupakan hal-hal terkait Jepang.

Semakin menyebarnya informasi mengenai kebudayaan Jepang melalui *anime* tentunya juga menjadikan *anime* maupun segala bentuk kebudayaan Jepang lainnya menjadi populer. Popularitas ini terlihat dari penerimaan akan bentuk-bentuk budaya populer oleh masyarakat di Indonesia maupun masyarakat. Semakin populer maka hal ini juga menjadikan standar baru karena munculnya asumsi kalau membuat sesuatu misalnya film animasi maka lebih baik menggunakan gaya *anime* karena telah dikenal oleh masyarakat global.

Dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*, terdapat beberapa unsur-unsur kebudayaan Jepang yang terlihat. Hal yang paling jelas terlihat adalah gaya *anime* dalam film animasi tersebut. Penggambaran makanan yang dibawa oleh salah satu tokoh (Yumna) digambarkan menyerupai *onigiri*.



Gambar 4.1. Yumna membawa nasi bungkus yang menyerupai *onigiri*

Padahal, apabila dilihat sebenarnya makanan yang dibawa oleh Yumna merupakan nasi bungkus. Selain itu juga terdapat beberapa gerakan tubuh yang umum terlihat dalam kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Jepang. Gerakan-gerakan tubuh seperti membungkuk untuk memberikan

hormat, menunjuk diri sendiri dengan menggunakan jari telunjuk ke arah hidung, memberikan barang atau sesuatu dengan menggunakan kedua tangan maupun berbisik dengan salah satu tangan menutup wajah dari samping terlihat dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*.

Dalam penelitian ini juga ditemukan bahwa dengan semakin sering menonton *anime* maka akan terbentuk *false consciousness* dalam pemikiran para penontonnya. Hal tersebut dapat terlihat dalam film animasi lokal *Battle of Surabaya*. *Key informan* mengatakan pengaruh Jepang terutama *anime* jelas terlihat dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Hal tersebut tidak dapat dihindari karena Jepang merupakan salah satu negara penghasil film animasi terbesar selain Amerika Serikat. Dengan begitu kiblat film animasi ataupun referensi terkait film animasi tentunya akan mengarah kepada kedua negara tersebut. Dengan begitu akan menjadi lumrah dan wajar apabila terdapat gaya *anime* dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Selain itu para informan juga menambahkan bahwa dengan semakin sering menonton *anime* cara pandang mereka terhadap Jepang dan kebudayaannya juga menjadi terpengaruh. Selera akan film animasi, makanan ataupun gaya berpakaian mereka akan mengarah terhadap film animasi, makanan ataupun gaya berpakaian ala Jepang.

Penyebarluasan budaya Jepang di Indonesia dapat dikategorikan sebagai bagian dari hegemoni budaya Jepang. Hegemoni merupakan suatu dominasi oleh suatu kelompok yang terjadi dengan atau tanpa adanya ancaman kekerasan. Hal-hal ataupun ide yang disampaikan oleh kelompok yang dominan terhadap kelompok yang didominasi diterima sebagai suatu hal yang wajar (*common sense*). Hegemoni diterima sebagai sesuatu yang wajar sehingga ideologi dari kelompok dominan dapat disebarluaskan dan dipraktikkan. Dalam hegemoni, kelompok yang mendominasi memengaruhi kelompok

yang didominasi untuk menerima nilai-nilai moral, politik ataupun budaya dari kelompok dominan (West & Turner, 2007).

Dalam hal ini, hegemoni budaya Jepang dapat terlihat dalam budaya populer Jepang terutama *anime* yang banyak ditayangkan pada televisi lokal. Banyaknya *anime* yang ditayangkan oleh televisi lokal tentunya turut menjalankan peran media massa terutama peran *cultural transmission* dan *entertainment*. Unsur-unsur budaya Jepang yang terdapat dalam *anime* secara disadari maupun tidak terserap oleh para penontonnya.

Key informan juga menambahkan dengan semakin besarnya selera masyarakat terhadap unsur-unsur kebudayaan Jepang, menjadikan film animasi lokal pun akan lebih memilih menggunakan gaya *anime* dalam pembuatannya. Dengan mengikuti gaya *anime* diharapkan akan semakin banyak penontonnya karena merupakan selera yang populer di masyarakat. Dengan kata lain karena selera masyarakat adalah *anime* maka untuk dapat menghasilkan film animasi yang bagus maka lebih baik menggunakan gaya *anime*. Selain itu dengan menggunakan *anime* maka film animasi akan lebih banyak menarik jumlah penonton dibandingkan menggunakan gaya animasi asli Indonesia.

5. Kesimpulan

Penggambaran budaya Jepang dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya* secara jelas tergambarkan melalui penggunaan gaya *anime* dalam film animasi tersebut. Selain menggunakan gaya *anime*, film animasi *Battle of Surabaya* juga memasukkan unsur-unsur budaya Jepang di dalamnya. Unsur-unsur budaya Jepang yang digunakan pada umumnya merupakan hal yang umum terdapat dalam masyarakat Jepang seperti etika, gerakan tubuh maupun makanan khas Jepang. Hal-hal tersebut merupakan hal-hal yang sering terlihat dalam *anime*.

Adapun unsur budaya Jepang yang terlihat dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya* adalah penggambaran nasi bungkus yang menyerupai *onigiri*, sikap tubuh membungkuk sebagai bentuk rasa hormat, etika menggunakan kedua tangan untuk memberikan sesuatu, menunjuk diri sendiri dengan menggunakan jari telunjuk yang mengarah ke hidung, dan gerakan tangan yang menutupi wajah saat berbisik atau membicarakan sesuatu yang tidak ingin diketahui oleh orang lain.

Imperialisme budaya Jepang dapat terjadi dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya* tidak terlepas dari peran media massa sebagai media *cultural transmission*. Peran media tersebut sejalan dengan penyebaran produk budaya populer Jepang yang dalam hal ini *anime* yang banyak ditayangkan oleh stasiun televisi lokal. Selain itu penyebarluasnya *anime* sangat erat kaitannya dengan perkembangan teknologi komunikasi yaitu *internet*. Dengan *internet* masyarakat menjadi semakin mudah untuk memperoleh *anime* baik secara *streaming* atau pun *download*. Hal tersebut berdampak kepada adanya Hegemoni budaya Jepang yang juga terlihat dalam film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*.

Dengan adanya hegemoni budaya Jepang menyebabkan adanya kesadaran palsu yang timbul. Kesadaran palsu yang paling jelas terlihat adalah dengan digunakannya gaya *anime* dalam membuat film animasi *Battle of Surabaya*. Hal tersebut dinyatakan oleh sutradara film animasi *Battle Surabaya* yang menyatakan bahwa gaya *anime* merupakan produk standar dalam industri agar diterima oleh masyarakat. Kesadaran palsu yang terbentuk dalam kasus ini adalah film animasi yang bagus adalah film animasi dengan gaya *anime*. Untuk dapat

menghasilkan film animasi yang dapat diterima oleh masyarakat dengan harapan menjadi populer, maka diperlukan penggunaan gaya *anime* dalam membuat film animasi.

Untuk penelitian lebih lanjut, penulis menyarankan untuk dapat dilakukan penelitian dengan menggunakan objek penelitian lebih dari satu film animasi lokal. Hal tersebut diperlukan supaya hasil penelitian akan lebih terlihat lagi apakah hegemoni budaya Jepang memang benar terjadi dalam industri animasi lokal. Untuk subjek penelitian disarankan tidak hanya mewawancarai sutradara dari film animasi yang diteliti saja namun diperlukan juga wawancara dengan para animatornya.

Sebagai salah satu tindakan perlawanan terhadap kebudayaan Jepang yang mendominasi, diperlukan peran aktif pemerintah dalam mendorong industri kreatif dalam negeri agar mendapatkan apresiasi dalam masyarakat. Sehingga tidak hanya produk budaya populer asing seperti Jepang dan Korea yang diminati oleh masyarakat. Tetapi produk budaya populer Indonesia juga menjadi pilihan yang dapat dinikmati oleh masyarakat.

Peran pemerintah dapat dilakukan dengan menetapkan regulasi secara ketat untuk industri kreatif lokal agar mendapatkan tempat di stasiun televisi lokal. Salah satu bentuk regulasi yang dapat ditetapkan adalah dengan membatasi jumlah film animasi luar yang ditayangkan dalam stasiun televisi lokal. Selain itu perlu juga ditetapkan regulasi yang mengatur agar stasiun televisi lokal menayangkan film animasi lokal. Dengan semakin banyak dan mudahnya masyarakat menikmati film animasi lokal diharapkan dapat meningkatkan popularitas produk budaya populer Indonesia.

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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY: JAKARTA FEMINIST COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Violence Against Women (VAW), in its various forms, has become a global issue for many years; it is specifically considered a violation of human rights. With all the efforts of numerous institutions, like UN Women, VAW is still prevalent in many countries, including Indonesia. The obliviousness and never-ending occurrence of VAW in Indonesia seem to encourage some activists, both in and outside the country, to initiate movements with the help of digital media (specifically social media). One of the activist groups is Jakarta Feminist. A study shows that Jakarta Feminist is using social media to both disseminate activism information and mobilize actors. However, no study has discussed how that relates to their role as Track 6 in Multi-Track Diplomacy. This paper argues that, with its nature as a new media (emphasizes participatory culture), social media could support the implementation of MTD to abolish VAW issues in Indonesia, particularly looking at the growth of activism groups – Jakarta Feminist and/ or SEAFAM. Employing the desk research and observation methods, this paper aims to describe the role of social media in the implementation of MTD. This paper finds that social media plays a significant role as a supporting tool for Jakarta Feminist in performing their role as an activist group – Track 6. Moreover, through Instagram, Jakarta Feminist could generate power with and within their followers through educative content (Track 5) and dissemination of relevant information (Track 9). By doing so, they could hold a grassroots movement (Track 4) – Women's March, then influence the government's decision as Track 1.

Keywords: social media, Multi-Track Diplomacy, Violence Against Women, Jakarta Feminist, participatory culture.

1. Introduction

Violence Against Women (VAW), in its various forms, has become a global issue for many years; it is specifically considered a violation of human rights. This issue not only affects women in one country but also throughout the world; the estimates show that (globally) “30% of women over the age of 15 experience physical and sexual violence from their intimate partner during their lifetime” (Umam Noer, et al., 2021). Apparently, among those numbers, both physical and/or sexual violence does not only come from an intimate partner but also from a non-partner (*Violence against women*, 2021). In addition, there are still other forms of VAW that are sometimes overlooked, like discrimination or verbal abuse. Despite the form of abuse one's experiencing, VAW impacts more than just women's health; it also affects their ability to

earn income, dignity, and opportunity. Accordingly, this phenomenon is seen as a global issue as it relates to UN Foundation's Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG5) - their *global goal* to achieve gender equality (Green, 2018). Moreover, Putri and Satya Dewi (2018) even argue VAW has even been identified as a non-traditional security issue. That is because it challenges the well-being of people and states around the world that arise primarily out of non-military sources (*About Non-Traditional security*, 2022). Ultimately, this issue is prevalent and affecting women and girls in many countries up until now; one of them is Indonesia.

The issue of VAW (also known as Gender-Based Violence/ GBV) in Indonesia has developed since it first emerged in the country. However, this development does not necessarily lead to fewer to zero violations.

Indonesian women have experienced gendered violence since the Dutch colonial era in various forms, such as sexual abuse of women in plantation work or unequal relationships with Dutch men (McGregor & Loney, 2020, pp. 3-4). McGregor and Loney (2020) elucidate how both domestic and international developments forced Indonesia to put gendered violence into their national political agenda; this includes the enforcement of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (p. 5). From that point, Indonesia starts to show improvement in handling the issues: the emergence of several women's rights groups and organizations to monitor VAW in the country (p. 5). Yet, the cases of GBV are still prevalent. Even worse, not everyone can gain the same information and knowledge about the issues of how to handle/ tackle them. To date, the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection records 10.193 violence cases with 9.450 victims being women (KEMENPPPA, 2022). Additionally, the number of GBV cases even increased following the occurrence of pandemic COVID 19 (Perkumpulan Lintas Feminis Jakarta, 2021). Alas, as previously mentioned, these numbers are seen as only the tip of the iceberg because many remained unaware of how to report their cases. The phenomenon shows how Indonesia, on the one hand, enhances their course of action in dealing with VAW through the establishment of several institutions or CEDAW integration. But on the other hand, it does not stop the pervasiveness of VAW cases and even people's unawareness of it from happening.

The obliviousness and never-ending occurrence of VAW in Indonesia seem to encourage some activists, both in and outside the country, to initiate movements with the help of digital media (specifically social media). Jakarta Feminist is a group of activists who initiated several feminist movements to combat VAW in Indonesia; one of the well-known movements is the Women's March (Jakarta Feminist, n.d.).

This march was first done in the United States on Saturday, 21 January 2022 and they commenced this march in Indonesia as a response to that initial movement (Putri, 2019). Furthermore, Jakarta Feminist (Indonesia) also work together with Gantala Press (Philippines) and KRYSS Network (Malaysia) and build the Southeast Asian Feminist Action Network (SEAFAM) - a movement of solidarity to support and strengthen feminist work across Southeast Asia (SEAFAM, n.d.). Both Jakarta Feminis and SEAFAM utilize digital media, specifically social media, to share their identity and present themselves as well as their programs (which include Women's March) to all Indonesians and, even more than that, the world. By doing so, the goal – gender equality and peace – would be then achieved in Indonesia.

Activism, as exemplified above, reflects the role of one actor in Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD). Through advocacy, they aim to create peace in Indonesia, specifically regarding the issue of VAW. There have been some discussions about the role of MTD in many traditional and non-traditional security issues (Effendi, 2013; Dewi, 2019; Firdaus, 2020; Aini, 2019), yet there are not many papers that have discussed particularly the significance of MTD in eliminating VAW. Whereas Putri and Satya Dewi (2018) indicate the contribution of each actor in MTD in fighting gender equality as a collective effort to preserve world peace. Although the issue itself is still prevalent in the Pacific, there still seems to be progress in handling the issue; therefore, more research regarding the VAW issue should be continued. Furthermore, the examples also somehow show that social media plays an important role in their efforts to eliminate VAW in the country. Social media makes it possible for some news to reach a much larger audience, hence persuading them to participate. Specifically, in this case of VAW, Fairbairn (2020) finds that social media acts as a tool to generate an online form of bystander intervention. Accordingly, this

paper argues that, on a larger scale, social media could support the implementation of MTD to abolish VAW issues in Indonesia, particularly looking at the growth of activism groups – Jakarta Feminis and/ or SEAFAM.

There has been an argument that says social media is a new track in MTD (Caucasus Edition, 2011). However, they also assert that “There is a need for rigorous studies of the impact of social media on conflict escalation and transformation, and the development of guidelines for more effective use of social media in peacemaking”. So far, we also find that not much research has been conducted focusing on this concern, specifically on the issue of VAW in Indonesia. Therefore, this research aims to fill the gap by answering the research question: What is the role of social media in Multi-Track Diplomacy? Also, this research intends to contribute to the discussion by giving a micro view of a particular social-cultural setting – VAW in Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Multi-Track Diplomacy

It is essential to lay some principal understanding towards the development of diplomacy and conflict resolution as the primer conceptual framework for this paper. For the past decades, there had been numerous different attempts and approaches to addressing the discourse of conflict resolution that was deemed unsuccessful in promoting sustainable peace (Kumar, 1995). This was mainly because the midpoint between the complexity of issues – both within and between states (Mapendere, 2006; Bohmelt, 2010); and parties involved in the system (McDonald, 2012) did not meet. In the context of diplomacy, narrowing down stakeholders to a single ‘track’ had also failed to address conflict substantively which proof can be traced back until the Cold War ceased (Aksoy and Cicek, 2018; McDonald and Diamond, 1993). Up until the late 20th century, the role of state and government officials ranked the only primary resort of diplomacy – often known as the “Track 1”.

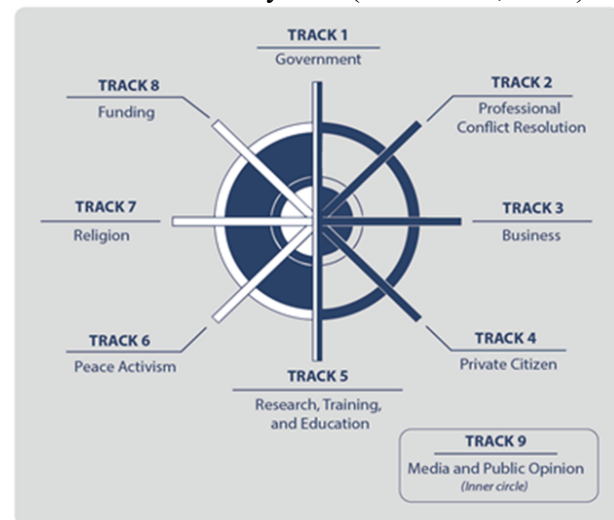
Those who are in favor of this track would argue that government officials’ interventions are “diplomatic ingredients that were essential for the peace process” (Mwanika, 2016, p.328) and “more likely to come to stable and effective outcomes” (Bohmelt, 2010, p.176).

Given the emergence of more complex global issues after the Cold War, particularly in the realm of non-traditional security, the proposition to conflict resolution shifted beyond Track 1 and eventually gave more prominence to field non-state actors and other professional institutions, such as the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), which are recognized as the “Track 2” in diplomacy (Kaye, 2007). The use of Track 2 diplomacy not only has complemented and filled the gap within the limitations of Track 1 that put too much emphasis on official relations (Landau, 2001; Kaye 2007) but also exerted significant influence in promoting institution-building and cooperation despite the challenges it faces due to the current development of international order (Feng, 2018). All in all, Track 2 does not serve as a substitute for Track 1 but the relation between these tracks indicates a “strong ... supportive mutual reinforcement as a generative feature of the regional diplomatic cooperation network” (Chen, 2021, p.16).

It was not until the mid-1990s that Professor McDonald and Diamond coined the term Multi-track Diplomacy (MTD) to accommodate the intricate yet inevitable relations of the stakeholders in peacebuilding (McDonald and Diamond, 1993). Acted as the main avenue for stakeholders to cooperate, MTD extends further recognition to non-state actors while still taking into account the essential role of government officials to negotiate in myriad issues (Raboin, 2014; Christmas, 2012). In short, McDonald and Diamond stretched what was used to be a two-track approach into 9 full-on tracks that correspond to one another (Figure 2.1), including:

1. **Government**
 Peacebuilding and conflict resolution activities that are approached formally by the government and its institutions (e.g., executive, legislative, and judicial institutions).
2. **Professional Conflict Resolution**
 Non-state actors that are involved in peacebuilding. As mentioned earlier, track 2 could be the intermediaries between conflicting actors.
3. **Business**
 A track that focuses on how economic activities could alleviate disparity and - eventually - promote peace.
4. **Private Citizen**
 Citizen Diplomacy: how the role of citizens (individually or in a group) can enforce peacekeeping through various activities.
5. **Research, Training, and Education**
 This track comprises people who are experts in the academic, research, and training field whose work revolves around peacemaking programs. They focus on researching vital gaps in conflict resolution (negotiation, diplomacy, etc.) and ensuring the curriculum involves peacebuilding study.
6. **Peace Activism**
 The activist groups whose work is focused on fighting for specific fields. (Human Rights, environment, etc.)
7. **Religion**
 Religious leaders with a handful of followers mean they have a crucial impact on peacebuilding. Not only that they can influence their followers, but their presence can also reduce conflict intensity.
8. **Funding**
 Funder, mainly philanthropists, who facilitate the tracks with the necessary support in funding to help them running.

9. **Media and Public Opinion**
 The heart of the tracks that ensure the system is working effectively using traditional and/or new media.
 Each of the tracks will always be interconnected and dependent to one another – with communication, Track 9, serves as the center of the MTD system (McDonald, 1993).



I · M · T · D Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy

Figure 2.1 - Source:

<https://imtdsite.wordpress.com/about/what-is-multi-track-diplomacy/>

2.2. The Role of Multi-Track Diplomacy in Violence Against Women

Even though women's full involvement in the peacekeeping process has been the ultimate goal addressed by the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, the world still faces challenges to create a proportional inclusion of women in peacebuilding activity both formally and informally (Dayal and Christien, 2020). Notwithstanding the necessity—as mentioned by Marie O'Reilly, Andrea Ó. Súilleabháin, and Thania Paffenholz in UN Women Report—

“If the goal of a peace process is only to end violence, then women — who are rarely the belligerents — are unlikely to be considered legitimate participants. If the goal is to build peace, however, it makes sense to gain more diverse inputs from the rest of society” (2015, p.37), women's

discrimination in general and VAW, in particular, are still considered taboo in various parts of the world (Gurrieri et al, 2016; Heidari and Mardhani-Hamoooleh, 2016). This is when MTD is vital in inscribing its influence to eradicate VAW to a large extent in developing countries (Putri, 2018). Putri also attested that “although not engaged in one program simultaneously, it can be seen that the whole tracks in MTD are actively responding to VAW issues in Pacific (2018, p.213). In line with this approach, Turner (2018) believes that the more women’s involvement in as many tracks as possible within the MTD, the higher chance the world gets to achieve just and sustainable peace.

VAW has been addressed extensively through the action of a multitude of activist institutions and movements from global scopes, such as the UN Women’s End Violence Against Women Campaign (UNiTE campaign), to regional levels such as SEAFAM in Southeast Asia, to national and local scope. However, there is only a handful of research and literature that have delved into the use of activism in MTD to address violence against women (VAW). This is going to be one of the entry points of this paper to connect peace activism (Track 6) and its influence among other MTD tracks in VAW.

2.3. The Use of Social Media in the Feminist Movement

In the case of Violence Against Women (VAW), social media acts as a double-edged sword. Unfortunately, the number of VAW cases is still increasing even with the proliferation of social media in this digital era. 56% of 14.000 girls and young women from across 31 countries said that they faced more harassment online than in the street (Sanusi, 2021). Social media, which has a new structure of technology, offers its users the ability to actively participate, get involved, and be seen and heard (O’Reilly, 2005 as cited in Marres, 2017; Beer & Burrow, 2013 as cited in Marres, 2017;

Jenkins, 2016). It facilitates society to become active contributors in many aspects of life. Moreover, social media also enables users to interact with one another, even with those whom they have not met before. However, as mentioned above, it also somehow facilitates abusers to abuse women in a rather new form. This type of abuse that is communicated through social networking sites is also known as online abuse (Watson, 2022). Some studies have discussed some forms of common online abuse: “... misogynistic, frequently includes violent threats and dismisses female contributions to online discussion” (Watson, 2022); or psychological violence (Omar Bali, et al., 2021). On the other hand, despite all this, there have been many studies that discuss how impactful social media is in mitigating VAW.

As previously mentioned, social media enables community involvement which means users can generate their content (no longer just an audience) as long as they are a part of a certain platform (specifically, Instagram). This, then, provides a platform for women to voice their voices by telling their stories. In addition, with the help of the algorithm, it is very possible for a story from a survivor to go viral (reach out to people) and, hence, be heard (de Meco & Mackay, 2022; *Gender Equality, Women’s Rights and Impact of Social Media Communications*, 2022; Simons & Morgan, 2017). Wanless and Berk (2021) emphasize the ability of social media to be an echo chamber where a user is exposed to mostly similar content with their pre-existing views and preferences, thus positioning and boosting provocative content (p. 116). They explain that “an online echo chamber is a digital space where content reflecting a specific point of view reverberates, exposing those within it ...” (pp. 115 -116). This also leads to another positive impact that according to Simons and Morgan (2017), social media encourage journalists to cover more stories related to VAW issues because it plays a key role in their sourcing practices (pp. 1213-1214). Accordingly,

some argue that social media thus has become a primary and promising tool to diminish VAW because, as mentioned above, it enables users (who are inside the echo chambers) to be encouraged to participate in the spread of persuasive messaging (Kangere, et al., 2017; Martam, 2016; Stabile, et al., 2020; Wanless & Berk, 2021). To exemplify this, social media is mostly used to raise public awareness through campaigns, encourage social movements also spark activism around the world, particularly feminist movements like the women's march (Stabile, et al., 2020; Kangere, et al., 2017; WHO, 2009; Fairbairn, 2020). Particularly, the most well-known activism in Indonesia in this regard is Jakarta Feminist. Annisa (2021) asserts that "the use of social media for feminist activism has increased in decades"; also known as digital feminist activism. She also explains that Jakarta Feminist is using social media to disseminate activism information and mobilize actors. More on the activities of this group as peace activism will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

Based on the above discussion, social media seems to have a significant impact on mitigating Violence Against Women (VAW), particularly in the rise of social movements in some countries (including Indonesia). Other than that, it has been argued that Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD) has the potential to help eliminate VAW, although not much study has been conducted. In accordance with that, knowing that social media has such an impact, this paper wants to bridge the gap between social media and Multi-Track Diplomacy in the case of VAW. We aim to discuss the role social media plays in MTD.

3. Research Method

This scientific paper utilized a qualitative research method that focused on desk research and observation. Given the scope of this research that revolves around social media usage, the use of desk-based research and its recent development that has leaned towards collecting data indirectly via the internet (Bassot, 2022) is highly pertinent.

We mainly delved into academic journals along with books, datasets, and reports from recent years. Observations were also done as part of the research method to sustain this study in analyzing people's roles and actions through social media.

This is in line with Walshe et al. (2011) who argue that "observational methods are useful for understanding what people do – their roles, actions, and behavior - ..." (p. 1049). Therefore, we looked through several Instagram accounts: @jakartafeminist, @womensmarchjkt, @womensmarchindo, @womensmarch, and @seafamnetwork and their posts ranging from 2017 up to the present. Regarding the data analysis, the result of the desk research became the precept to further examine the observation's outcome.

4. Results and Discussion

This chapter will present and critically reflect on the gathered data with the help of the theory of Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD). Referring to the focus of this research, we will begin with the discussion of Jakarta Feminist and its role as Track 6 in MTD, which will also explain their use of Instagram.

4.1. Jakarta Feminist as Track 6

One of the tracks that are included in Multi-Track Diplomacy is peace activism – Track 6. Activism builds peace through advocacy. In other words, its effort in peacemaking is actualized through a set of activities or campaigns in terms of human rights, the environment, and social and economic justice regarding certain policies taken by the government (Dewi, 2019; Aini, 2019). In the context of this research, the activism that is emphasized is in terms of human rights and equality, particularly women's right to freedom from violence. Dewi (2019) mentions some of the activities or campaigns that are run by the activists: protest, education, advocacy, rules, support, and/ or supervision. With the help of social media, Jakarta Feminist, as a group of

activists, is performing its prominent role as Track 6 in combating VAW.

Based on the observations, Jakarta Feminist has held many programs to achieve their goal – promoting feminist values to attain gender equality in Indonesia. They initiated the first Women’s March in Indonesia, involve in an international community – SEAFAM, and even establish a public service agency to facilitate victims of VAW. As previously mentioned, social media like Instagram promotes participatory culture (O’Reilly, 2005 as cited in Marres, 2017; Beer & Burrow, 2013 as cited in Marres, 2017; Effing et al., 2011; Jenkins, 2016). This brings society to the fact that, nowadays, their political participation (specifically in influencing or shaping governmental policy) has changed – no longer a one-way interaction (Bennett, 2008; Kliger-Vilenchik, 2017). Bennett (2008) asserts that they have the capacity to investigate issues of public concern, provide feedback to the leader, circulate information, produce their own content, and mobilize toward civic or political goals. Accordingly, Instagram enables Jakarta Feminist to show their existence, including their programs, to society. Moreover, it is made possible for them to also raise awareness of and even encourage community involvement in their programs; hence their goal is achieved.

Jakarta Feminist has been exposing their ideas and information through their personal Instagram account. They started their account in 2017, namely @jakartafeminist, and have gained up to 33.800 followers to date (Figure 4.1.1).

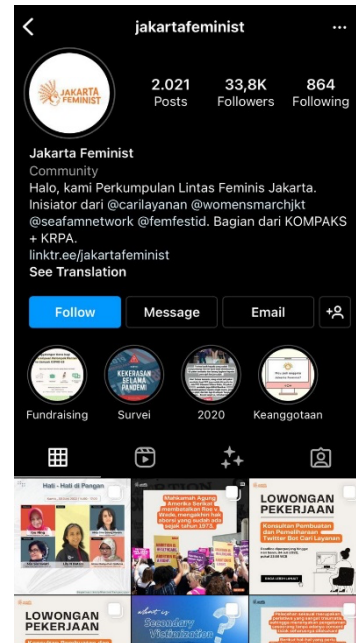


Figure 4.1.1 The account of @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Other users can identify all their programs immediately from the bio; they mention that Jakarta Feminist is the initiator of @carilayanan, @womensmarchjkt, @seafamnetwork, and @femfestid. By doing so, other related accounts become accessible to all followers or non-followers; thus, the exposure is boosted. In a way, Instagram helps them market their programs so that more people are aware of them – a strategic marketing tool (Martam, 2016). According to the observation data, there are several mostly posted content on this Instagram account that can be categorized into (1) education, (2) general information, and (3) others; all of them still promote the same value – Violence Against Women. Especially the first category, some examples are the history of Hari Kartini (Figure 4.1.2), an introduction to intergenerational trauma (Figure 4.1.3), and facts about sexual violence in Indonesia (Figure 4.1.4).



Figure 4.1.2 @jakartafeminist post about Hari Kartini. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.1.3 @jakartafeminist post about intergenerational trauma. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.1.4 @jakartafeminist reels about sexual violence. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Instagram provides multimodality in its platform to provide its users with a place to express themselves through pictures, videos, captions, etc. (Jewitt, 2013). As a result, Jakarta Feminist can design their educative content in a way that is more interesting, visually – colorful, using illustrative images, etc. Furthermore, every post can even stimulate and facilitate discussion among other users (both followers and non). This shows the manifestation of Jakarta Feminist's role as Track 6 in MTD yet with a chance to reach more people and even interact with them.

Besides education, protest is also another form of peace activism that is conducted by Jakarta Feminist. As mentioned, they initiated the first Women's March in Indonesia which took place in Jakarta; as a response to the protest in the United States. They denote that they are a part of the Women's March in the United States by using the same display picture (shown in Figure 4.1.5 and 4.1.6).



Figure 4.1.5 Women's March US Display Picture. Screen grabbed on June 26, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.1.6 Women's March Indonesia Display Picture. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

This event was held in 2017 and has become their annual event up until now. Again, one way to encourage participation in this annual event is by utilizing Instagram. That is, Jakarta Feminist create an individual account for Women's March Jakarta to distribute information regarding the technical procedure, testimonies, also reminders. Figure 4.1.7 shows an example of their content.



Figure 4.1.7 Content of @womensmarchjkt. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

The growth of this account is significant, in which they have reached over 15,300 followers (Figure 4.1.8). The development of this protest is presented in the increased number of participants – it grew from only 400 to more than 8000 participants each year (*Apa itu women's march?*, n.d.).



Figure 4.1.8 number of followers of @womensmarchjkt. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

As researchers mention, Instagram can spark activism around the world and encourage social movements (Stabile, et al., 2020; Kangere, et al., 2017; WHO, 2009); this then helps Jakarta Feminist succeeding the protest, in terms of engaging more participants.

Violence Against Women is now seen as a non-traditional security issue which threatens world peace. Therefore, Jakarta Feminist try to bring their activism further – beyond its national scope; they initiate and participate in Southeast Asia Feminist Action Movement (SEAFAM). Similarly, SEAFAM has their own social media accounts. Their account with the most followers is Instagram (@seafamnetwork) – 385 in total (Figure 4.1.9). SEAFAM was just recently launched, which is in 2020.

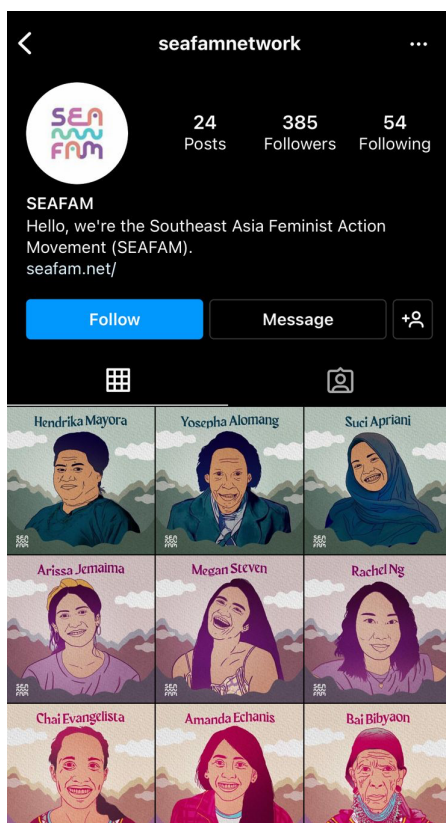


Figure 4.1.9 Number of followers of @seafamnetwork. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

According to the observation data, SEAFAM is still trying to raise awareness and engage people, so that they can perform their role in the coming days. They started

their account by socializing their goals, purposes, and their members (Figure 4.1.10); interestingly, it is presented in three different languages (Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines). Other than that, they are now focusing on telling inspiring stories from various women with a very appealing visual (Figure 4.1.11). With the help of Instagram's nature, this might encourage their followers to support by producing their content and circulating information. Moreover, the fact that Jakarta Feminist mention the SEAFAM account on their bio can be a way to boost their exposure.

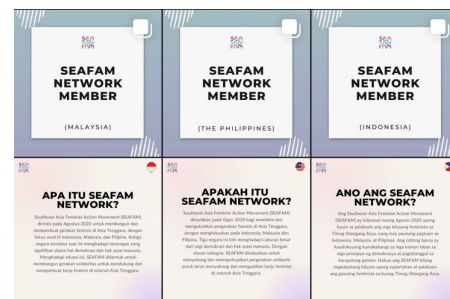


Figure 4.1.10 Initial posts of @seafamnetwork. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



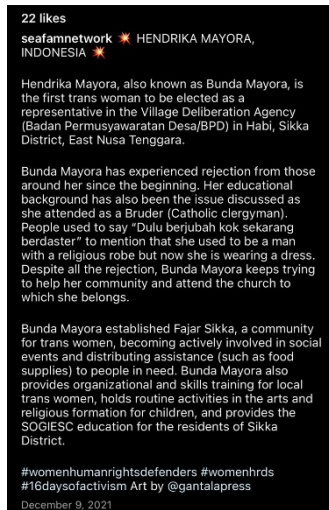


Figure 4.1.11 Inspiring stories by @seafamnetwork. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Ultimately, Jakarta Feminist shows how they perform their role as Track 6 to eliminate VAW in Indonesia by conducting the abovementioned peace activism. They educate, inform, organize protests, and even participate in an international activist community. Nonetheless, this group of VAW activists does not run only on their own. In fact, social media, particularly Instagram, enables involvement from the society to support activists like Jakarta Feminist. Furthermore, the utilization of Instagram is also intense, in which they created one account for each program while still conveying the same messages.

4.2. Activism in Social Media and Other Tracks

The existence of peace activism in social media, as exhibited by Jakarta Feminist and presented in the previous section, has impacted other tracks in Multi-Track Diplomacy in various ways. Based on the observation, there are three tracks which are significantly impacted – Track 5, 4 and 1. Although along the way, several other tracks are still somehow enhanced, yet not as significant as the three.

Track 5, namely research, training, and education, emphasizes the learning process which involves educational institutions (schools and universities) and

think tanks (Dewi, 2019). Their role in peacemaking is manifested in some activities, ranging from research and analysis of situations, and case studies, to seminars or workshops. Another activity that relates more to educational institutions is giving scholarships. Instagram has the capacity to reach more people and advocate gender equality (*Gender Equality, Women's Rights, Impact of Social Media Communication*, 2022). Therefore, Jakarta Feminist's existence in social media supports the implementation of these programs or activities in a way that helps the dissemination of information; this also then relates to Track 9. In many posts, the Jakarta Feminist team notifies their followers about any upcoming seminars (Figure 4.2.1), workshops, forum discussions, and even scholarship opportunities (Figure 4.2.2). As an example, on their Instagram, Figure 4.2.3 depicts that they posted a poster about a public forum to converse about research conducted by Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI) and PR2Media (topic: Gender Discrimination in Media Organization).



Figure 4.2.1 Information about the upcoming seminar by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.2.2 Information about scholarship @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.2.3 Information about public discussion @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

targeted people. Li, et al. (2021) discuss how social media enables its users to build a social network from shared interests and values. Hence, their content is effectively exposed to a group of people (or followers of Jakarta Feminist) who share the same interests and values – eliminating Violence Against Women (VAW). The same applies to the other type of content, like scholarship opportunities. The more exposure, the more awareness they can raise, and, finally, the more participants join the program.

The explanation above about activism in social media (Track 6) and how it also affects other tracks (like Track 5) shows the influence it brings to Track 4 – private citizens. Track 4 emphasizes citizens' contributions to development and peace activities (Dewi, 2019). As previously mentioned, the growth of participation in Women's March is significant. This depicts the success of Jakarta Feminist (with the help of social media) in generating both power with and within. Brown (2020) asserts that those with power with/ within believe that power expands when shared with others. In other words, shared power grows out of collaboration. Through their use of social media, they can persuade society to actively participate in this collaboration – Women's March, for instance. Other than that, power within can help people to realize their capacity and self-worth. Jakarta Feminist has been trying to break the stigma and encouraging citizens to speak up through their posts. To exemplify, together with Brawijaya University (Track 5), they educate their followers about secondary victimization (Figure 4.2.4) to assure every victim of the importance of speaking up. In other words, social media allows them to reach more people and convince them that they can do so – power within.

AJI does not have their own Instagram account, while PR2Media's account is only followed by 130 persons. That is, being promoted by Jakarta Feminist might help them in reaching more people, not only more in quantity but also more precisely

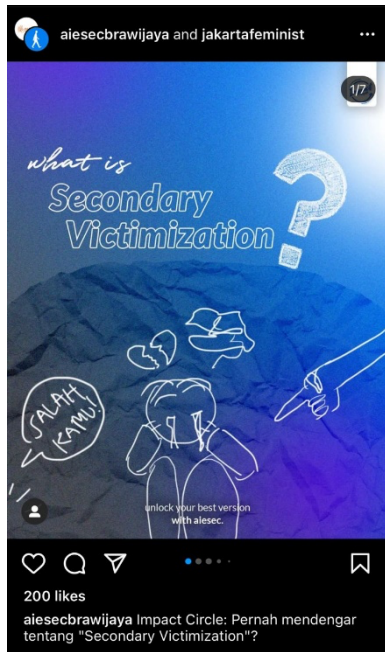


Figure 4.2.4 Collaboration post by Brawijaya University and @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Finally, besides the Women's March, Jakarta Feminist successfully produced a research report current situation regarding VAW in Indonesia during the pandemic. The data is taken through an online survey on their Instagram account (Figure 4.2.5). Again, Instagram features make it possible for them to not only reach more people but also allow other users to actively participate.

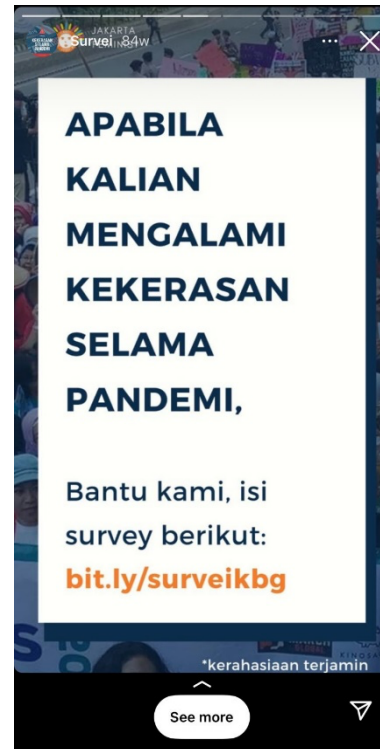


Figure 4.2.5 Online survey by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

The high influence of Jakarta Feminist can also be depicted in its relations with Track 1. The best example of this interaction can be seen In Indonesia, through the journey of Track 1 – which is represented by government officials, in enacting the Law of Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) that remained as a bill proposal (RUU) for over than 6 years. In the course of these 6 years, Jakarta Feminist along with other feminist movements did not cease to not only guard the dawdling process of the law but also help giving substantial input to the bill. Through social media, Jakarta Feminist kept promoting the importance of a law that is siding to the holistic safety of the victims, instead of holding them liable (Figure 4.2.6). Jakarta Feminist also promoted numerous activities prior to the implementation of the RUU PKS in order to compel the government to legalize the bill (Figure 4.2.7).

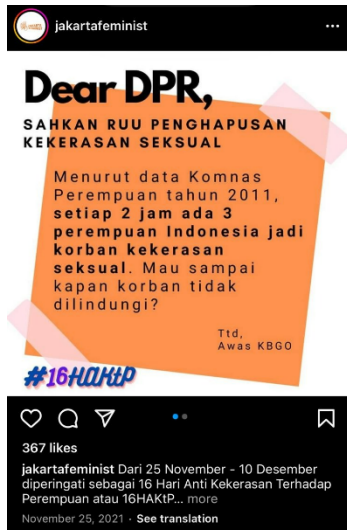


Figure 4.2.6 Online Petition & News by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.2.7 Seminar Info by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

In a broader lens, this interaction depicted a crucial relation between activism and government officials, particularly in the context of legislating law in a democratic country. The bottom-up approach has been deemed to be more successful in creating a transformative law than a coerced top-down enforcement (Marat, 2016). In this case, the Jakarta Feminist and its social media bombardment served their purposes well as Track 6 to “mobilize their fellow disadvantaged group members and gain broader societal support for their cause” (Kutlaca et al, 2020, p.1). Jakarta Feminist managed to gather public society endorsement by promoting “Power With” and “Power Within”, as mentioned in the previous discussion, and influence government’s decision to accelerate the enforcement of RUU TPKS.

4.3. Relations & Scope

At this point, we can see how even though MTD has always been illustrated as a well-rounded and inclusive system, there will always be a gap between the role of tracks in addressing various conflicts. Different issue might require a different approach that involves different stakeholders. This might not necessarily be a bad thing, since tracks’

dynamics have been proven extremely helpful in achieving holistic solutions, especially in the realm of VAW (Putri, 2018). What needs to be taken into account is how effective each track has contributed to providing the most thorough response. This will hinder stalemate amongst stakeholders.

This part of the discussion will further argue that social media has significantly helped broaden the relations of each track in MTD and their influence cross-level in addressing VAW. Given the fact that the MTD consists of stakeholders from various parties with different yet intersecting interests, Track 6 has become the perfect intermediary to create grassroots movement and direct its power to parties surpassing them – a relation that even though possible but seemed to be distant within and across the MTD (Umar, 2015). With that being said, at the local level, Jakarta Feminist with the help of its Instagram as the medium to disseminate information and awareness had successfully promoted a bottom-up approach to suppress VAW at the national level.

Interestingly, the role of social media also expanded Jakarta Feminist's range to collaborate with the regional feminist movement in Southeast Asia along with Malaysia and the Philippines under the SEAFAM (Annisa, 2021).

This network of activists would be more vigorous to achieve collective outcomes bound by similar backgrounds and issues, despite their contrast in various technicalities (Bennet, 2003). Based on the discussion, we would argue that SEAFAM enables Jakarta Feminist and other national movements to work in two-way influence. This network does not only act as the "shelter" for local activism groups, but it also has the power to intervene and bring around the pressuring issue of VAW to stakeholders both nationally, regionally, and globally.

5. Conclusion

The objective of this research was to investigate the role of social media, specifically Instagram, in Multi-Track

Diplomacy (MTD). In doing so, we were looking closely at activism by Jakarta Feminist (with the help of social media) in combating Violence Against Women (VAW) in Indonesia. Below the result will be explained, followed by suggestions for further research.

After observing the online activities of Jakarta Feminist along with doing desk research, it is fair to conclude that social media, particularly Instagram, plays a significant role as a supporting tool for Jakarta Feminist in performing their role as an activist group – Track 6. Instagram works two ways: 1) it facilitates Jakarta Feminist to produce their content in more interesting and engaging ways; 2) it also allows society (both followers and non-followers) to actively participate in the programs (like giving comments, circulating information, joining survey, and even participating in protest – Women's March). The power of Instagram helps Jakarta Feminist to reach more people and even persuade them to contribute. That is, they become more influential in which they do not only affect their role as activists but also on other tracks like Track 5, 4, 1, and 9. Through Instagram, Jakarta Feminist could generate power with and within their followers through educative content (Track 5) and dissemination of relevant information (Track 9). By doing so, they could hold a grassroots movement (Track 4) – Women's March, then influence the government's decision as Track 1.

The focus of this research is on Jakarta Feminist as an activist group for Violence Against Women. In that sense, further research is needed to display another perspective by expanding the focus and analyzing another activist movement in Indonesia or even in other countries. Also, further study with different data collection methods will also be needed to deepen the analysis. For instance, qualitative interviews will be very beneficial in gaining a deeper understanding of activism in social media.

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FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCT INDUSTRY AS THE ECONOMIC DEFENCE FOR INDONESIA'S COVID-19 ECONOMIC CRISIS

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ABSTRACT

The global economic crisis as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic has become one of the worst crises in the current era of the integrated modern economy. The decline in GDP and economic growth in almost all countries was forced to experience negative contractions throughout 2020. The paralysis of the manufacturing industry and the obstruction of the global production chain became one of the main causes of the crisis. All countries in the world are forced to re-evaluate and look again at the right solution amid international trade uncertainty. Indonesia, which is still dependent on the manufacturing industry, is forced to look for other solutions that can be applied in this situation. By prioritizing agricultural and food products, Indonesia has managed to get out of the economic crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, this paper aims to identify the government's decision to make agricultural and food products the spearhead of the national economy. Using a qualitative approach, and focusing on identifying solutions for the agriculture and food industry, the research team tried to look at the economic logic in international and national contexts. In this paper, the researcher's team agreed that Porter's Diamond theory can be used as a reference for the based framework because it is considered to be able to explain in detail the relationship between government decisions and changes that occur amid modern international trade uncertainty.

Keywords: COVID-19 Pandemic, Pandemic Economy Crisis, Food and Agriculture Industry, Porter's Diamond Theory, International Trade.

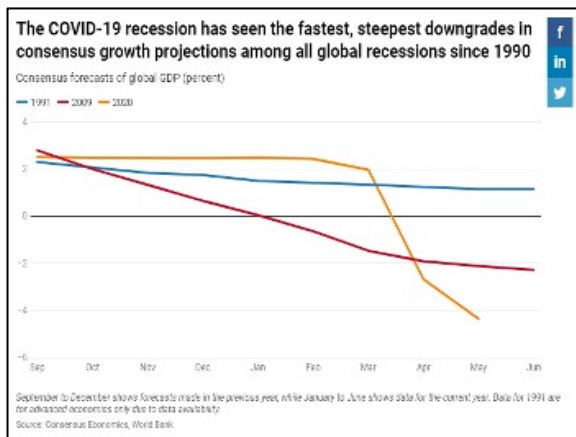
ABSTRAK

Krisis ekonomi global akibat dari pandemi COVID-19 menjadi salah satu krisis terparah di era ekonomi modern terintegrasi saat ini. Penurunan GDP dan pertumbuhan ekonomi hampir di seluruh negara terpaksa harus mengalami kontraksi negatif sepanjang tahun 2020 silam. Kelumpuhan industri manufaktur dan terhambatnya rantai produksi global menjadi salah satu penyebab utama krisis tersebut. Seluruh negara di dunia terpaksa untuk kembali melakukan evaluasi dan melihat kembali bagaimana solusi yang tepat di tengah ketidakpastian perdagangan internasional. Termasuk Indonesia yang masih bergantung dengan industri manufaktur terpaksa mencari solusi lain yang dapat diterapkan dalam keadaan ini. Dengan mengedepankan produk pertanian dan pangan Indonesia berhasil keluar dari keterpurukan krisis ekonomi pandemi COVID-19. Maka dari itu, tulisan ini bertujuan untuk memberikan identifikasi terhadap keputusan pemerintah yang menjadikan produk tani dan pangan sebagai ujung tombak perekonomian nasional. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dan berfokus kepada identifikasi solusi industri tani dan pangan, tim peneliti mencoba untuk melihat logika ekonomi dalam konteks internasional dan nasional. Dalam penyusunan tulisan ini, tim penulis sepakat bahwa teori Porter's Diamond bisa digunakan sebagai acuan pikir dalam tulisan, karena dinilai dapat menjelaskan secara mendetail mengenai hubungan antara keputusan pemerintah dan perubahan yang terjadi di tengah ketidakpastian perdagangan internasional modern.

Kata kunci: Pandemi COVID-19, Krisis Ekonomi Pandemi, Industri Pertanian dan Pangan, Teori Porter's Diamond, Perdagangan Internasional.

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a significant impact on the global economy, starting from a decline in economic growth, a decrease in the volume of international trade, and even affecting the country's fundamental principles on how countries are required to maintain their economy (Pattinussa, 2021).



Picture 1.1.: Consensus forecast of global GDP (pct).
The Global Economic Outlook During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Changed World (worldbank.org)

Based on the data above, it can be seen that there was a sharp decline in GDP (Gross Domestic Income) from March to May 2020. This decline was due to international trade restrictions imposed by countries worldwide to limit the spread of COVID-19. The consequence that must be accepted is the decline in domestic production due to falling demand in the international market.

According to the World Bank, approximately 70% of full-time workers from developing countries (manufacturing countries, such as Indonesia, India, and Thailand) are threatened with layoffs. (World Bank, 2020). While these numbers are equivalent to one in three workers worldwide being threatened with termination of employment. Therefore, it is important for countries like Indonesia, which are still very dependent on the manufacturing industry (Investment Ministry/BKPM, 2018), to consider and formulate appropriate policies to overcome the problems of the economic crisis in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic.

One of the interesting points that need to be considered in seeking or assessing a suitable formulation, is to pay attention to the anomalies in the process of formulating solutions to the economic crisis in the first two-quarters of the global economic crisis due to the pandemic (2020). In general, in the era of the modern international economy, global economic problems are responded to by consensus. By the nature of economic cooperation, it tends to be multilateral (cooperation with more than two countries, within the region or inter-regional) (Lee, 2013). For example, in the 1997-1998 Asian Crisis solution where Asian countries such as Indonesia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Thailand were asked to open up their economies more to foreign investors and were required to revise fiscal and monetary policies simultaneously. In this way, the economies of these countries can rise and become the economic power of Asia as we know it today (South Korea, Indonesia, and Malaysia).

Changes in the approach of countries in solving economic problems currently lead to individual economic problems, by stimulating domestic employment by providing subsidies to local MSMEs (Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) and domestic manufacturing industries as has been done in the United States and other European countries (OECD, 2020). Then according to data from the World Bank and the ILO (International Labor Organization), in addition to providing subsidies and bailouts to industries that are considered vital by the government in strong economic countries such as China, it also encourages people to enter the capital market (Pattinussa, 2021).

However, for Indonesia, in the early days of the pandemic, where manufacturing (factory) production is very difficult to do and it is difficult to be consistent in producing goods as a result of government regulations regarding PPKM (Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities) which continue to change and affect the domestic

productivity climate and many reducing the number of workers and then affecting the market climate on a micro basis (supply and demand in the market), causing instability in the price of goods in the market. The effect of these price changes affects the behavior of producers and their presence in the market (Wahyuni, 2021).

Data in the first quarter of 2021 (the fifth quarter since the COVID-19 pandemic entered Indonesia) shows that there are at least 87.5% of Indonesian MSMEs affected by COVID-19, and then it affects the banking credit system because MSMEs constitute 72.5% (16 million MSMEs) of the total creditors in banks (Saputra, 2021). This is a dangerous sign for the government if it continues to rely on the manufacturing industry as a foothold to rise from the slump in the national economy due to COVID-19.

It was recorded that in the fourth quarter, the government managed to find a solution to generating national economic growth. According to data obtained by the researcher's team, Indonesia managed to emerge from the economic crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic with a growth rate of -1.6% to 0.6% (end of 2020). This is higher than in the second quarter of 2020, where the growth rate only reached -5.32%, and in the first quarter of -3.49%. Growth from -5.32%. The economic growth rate of -1.6% to 0.6% (in Q4 2020) can be achieved by strengthening the agriculture and food sectors. For example, the increase in agricultural and food production in the final quarter of 2020 succeeded in providing growth of an average of 20.8% (MtM) and 16.2% (YoY). (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020). Various policies and supporting regulations were made to further sharpen the agriculture and food sector as one of the main solutions for the revival of the national economy at that time.

Based on the phenomenon of the increase in the agricultural and food sectors as a pioneer in the revival of the national economy from the global economic crisis.

The writing team wants to observe and explain how agriculture and food are one of the most optimal solutions to be taken by the government to overcome the national economic crisis amid global uncertainty in the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis.

2. Literature Review

In this section, the writing team wants to provide an overview or understanding of the topic under study based on previous studies. The writing team divides the findings from previous writings into three sub-chapters, namely the Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic Crisis on Food; Economic Independence; Indonesian Food and Agriculture Security.

2.1. Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic Crisis on Food

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a negative impact on the international economy. Not only third-world countries but countries with strong economies such as the United States and China are forced to feel the economic impact of the COVID-19 virus. According to Lukasz Gruszczynski in a journal article entitled "The COVID-19 Pandemic and International Trade: Temporary Turbulence or Paradigm Shift?" Stating that the worst impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the international economy is at the micro level, namely how the food chain in society can be fulfilled. Gruszczynski argues that trade and manufacturing failures are only a side effect of the real concern, namely the food crisis (Gruzsczynski, 2020).

In line with Gruszczynski's opinion, Chainani in a scientific article entitled "COVID-19 & the Little Red Dot – Important Lessons for Trade in Times of Global Pandemics based on Singapore's Experience", argue that countries that depend on the mobilization of goods and services sector are very vulnerable, because of too sudden changes in the global production chain system (both in the form of goods and services). This can be seen from the direct

impact of COVID-19 on the Singaporean economy. Furthermore, (Chainani, et al.) argue that Singapore's dependence on the international trading system and the "regime" in it has made Singapore overwhelmed in dealing with the crisis. GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and FTA (Free Trade Agreement) which became the foundation of Singapore's economy suddenly became useless, as a result of the sudden cessation of international trade. (Chainani, et al.). In line with Chainani, Jonathan Anderias Lassa, in a journal article entitled "Food Security Under COVID-19 in Indonesia: From Protection to Empowerment", said that the country's economy like what happened in Singapore is also happening in Indonesia. (Lassa, 2021).

Furthermore, Kamel Mouloudj in a journal article entitled *The Impact Of Covid-19 Pandemic On Food Security* explained that there are at least four dimensions of food safety that are affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the first is the availability of food, namely the amount and quality of food. existing ones (this relates to domestic production capacity and international trade); second, access to food, the community essentially has access to decent food. This means that the community has the right and authority in the economic, political, social, and legal aspects to be able to choose and eat in the community's environment; third, usability, the community is required to benefit from the food that is in an area; fourth, stability, food must be sufficient for the community/household under any circumstances and conditions (including sudden changes in the structure/economic climate). In their writing, (Mouloudj, et al.) argue that the trend shown as a result of the pandemic/during the COVID-19 pandemic is negative (Mouloudj, et al, 2020). Thus, food security in every country is at stake during the crisis due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

2.2. Economic Independence

Based on the writings of Eqbal Al-Rahmani in a book entitled *Economic*

independence: Concepts and strategies, a theoretical investigation and an empirical case study, it is stated that in general economic independence is a tactic or strategy for third world countries that have just broken away from western colonialism, to be completely free from modern imperialism. An interesting proposition offered by Al-Rahmani is that economic independence does not mean opposing international trade regimes, or radical international trade (trade cooperation), but offers another side, where unbalanced interdependence often occurs in international trade. Thus, when trade fails, third world countries will suffer the most (compared to developed countries), so sooner or later third world countries with endowed factors must be prepared to be more flexible. (Al-Rahmani, 1988).

In line with Al-rahmi, Heba E. Helmy in a journal article entitled *The Index of "Economic Independence": A New Measure of an Economy's Ability to Survive Unilaterally* said that the economic independence of a country signifies the strength and position of a country in the international structure. Helmy also added that in several cases of international trade, developed countries often impose unreasonable (illegal) and coercive sanctions so that other countries that do not have political and economic power, comply with the requests of these countries. Overall Helmy believes that economic independence can be a benchmark (index) and is vital for countries that are subject to economic sanctions to survive and defend themselves. (Helmy, 2017).

Slightly different from the two previous authors, Dharam P. Ghai in a journal article entitled *Concepts and Strategies of Economic Independence* stated that economic independence could be an alternative for countries with endowment factors to not only survive unfair sanctions, but also become a tool in defense of the country's economy from the impact of natural disasters, and global economic disasters. With economic independence, the state

becomes freer to determine its future (Gihai, 1973).

2.3. Indonesia's Food and Agriculture Security

Zuhud Rozaki in his article entitled "COVID-19, Agriculture, and Food Security in Indonesia" said that food and agriculture security in Indonesia is growing rapidly in almost all aspects. This is because only the agricultural sector is not fully dependent on the production chain in the industry. By relying on natural wealth capital and national demand and high national needs, the agriculture and food sectors can create more jobs. However, unfortunately, according to Rozaki, the national protein and nutritional needs have not been optimally fulfilled and this will continue to happen in the future (even after the pandemic), because the workforce in agriculture is currently elderly (elderly), while young Indonesian workers reluctant to enter into the agriculture and food industry (Rozaki, 2020).

In contrast to Rozaki, C. Peter Timmer in a journal article entitled "Food Security in Indonesia: Current Challenges and the Long-Run Outlook is optimistic about the future of food security in Indonesia", according to him, the role of the government in formulating agricultural and food stimulus policies in Indonesia has been appropriate (eg subsidies for superior seeds and a qualified agricultural support system). Furthermore, Timmer emphasized that the challenge for food security in Indonesia is pricing in the domestic market because prices that tend to be too volatile can affect farmers' performance and national food security. Therefore, the role of *Bulog* (Logistics Business Entity) to determine the minimum price of rice, for the lower middle class is considered important (Timmer, 2004).

Slightly different from Rozaki and Timmer, Michelle Engel Limenta and colleagues in a journal article entitled Indonesian Food Security Policy argue that food security is not only achieved through independent production. Limenta and

colleagues describe the process of malnutrition in Indonesia, while the achievement of food production is quite high and is considered capable of meeting domestic needs, the condition of the Indonesian people who are in the lower middle class makes people unable to access nutritional needs of different foods. Therefore, in the conclusion of their paper, Limenta and colleagues argue that the government can only answer domestic nutritional needs, including national food security, if the country engages in international trade and cooperation in agriculture. The goal is not only to meet domestic needs but also to get people out of the poverty trap (Limenta & Chandra, 2017).

3. Research Method

The researcher team uses qualitative research methods in this journal article because the researcher's team see that the data provided in economic reasoning or logic will be very useful if additional interpretations of meaning can be given in the context of global political contestation. Thus, the phenomenon or case being investigated can later be seen in more depth. Then, the limitations of researchers in collecting field data, require the researcher's team to make more use of qualitative data and secondary data from table studies (eg studies, literature, and government reports). In presenting the data, the researcher chose to use the descriptive-explanative method to maintain the consistency of the use of the literature study which was used as the main source.

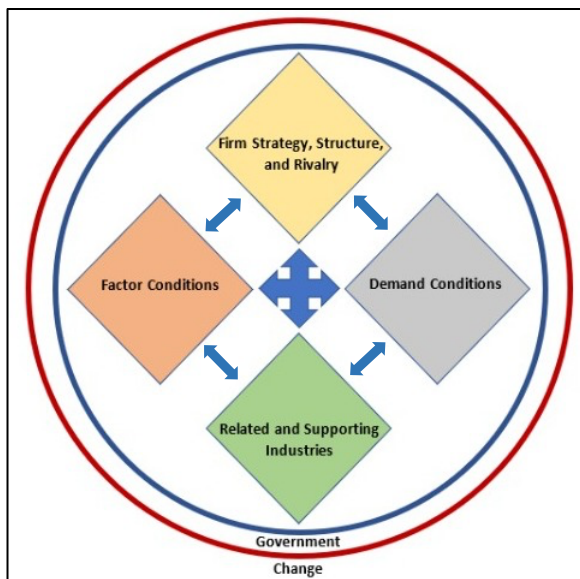
4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Damage to the International Trade System

International policies that require countries to lock down have an impact on trade activities. This has caused global economic activity in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic to experience significant changes, as can be seen from the changing trend of international trade in a negative direction. Indonesia, which is included in the

trading system, is also affected by the same, especially in the domestic economic sector. It was recorded that in the first quarter of 2020, the economy was still growing at around 2.97% (YoY), but in the second quarter, it contracted by 5.32% (YoY) (Purwanto, 2021). Then, contraction also occurred in almost all countries in the world, such as the United States, which was negative 3.5%; Germany negative 5%; UK negative 9.9%; Japan negative 9.9%; France negative 8.2%; and Italy negative 8.9%. Including countries in the region such as Malaysia, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Singapore experiencing a downward trend of negative contraction by an average of 5% (Purwanto, 2021).

An explanation of the symptoms of a downward trend in international economic growth can be explained by using modern economic theory or commonly known as Potter's Diamond Theory.



Picture 4.1.1. Porter's Diamond Theory Model.
 Adopted by the researcher's team

In this theory, it is explained that there is a fundamental attachment of endowment factors (factors of ownership of production in a country); with firm strategy, structure, rivalry (business actor strategy, structure, and competition); demand conditions; and related & supporting industries. The four variables are interrelated and connected, in other words, a slight change in the ownership factor of a

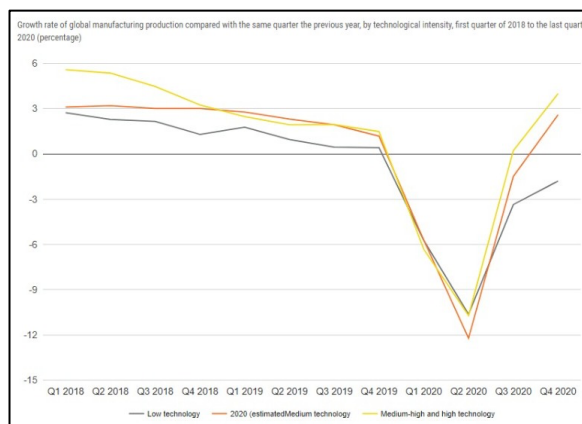
product in a country, the related company must also change the strategy and nature of the rivalry that is built between companies, as well as demand conditions in the market, also affected.

The four variables above are the basic core of the explanation of international trade in the modern era. However, these variables are very volatile (influenced) due to the influence of related government policies and external changes (e.g. force majeure). In the context of the economic crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic, it can be seen immediately that these four elements do not work optimally as a result of the government's lockdown policy (PPKM), which then shuts down all production activities, and in the long run, can change and shut down the country's domestic production system, even in the global realm as a result of globalization and the modern interdependent global production chain system. The decline in the function of the global economic system occurred in the manufacturing industry sector (finished goods industry such as textiles and clothing), this was due to declining market demand, which was the impact of the decline in global people's purchasing power as a result of the economic crisis caused during the pandemic.

The decline in economic strength also occurred as a result of the decline in the competitiveness index from rank 27th to rank 50th during the early 2020 pandemic, while the manufacturing industry (which is highly dependent on the production and distribution of goods) as emphasized by the Porter's Diamond concept that the business climate and healthy competition between producers can have a positive impact on the market as well as the quality and quantity of goods produced in a country, must experience a decline as a result of the failure of the national production system (the impact of PPKM, in the form of stopping production activities on a national scale). This has had a major and direct impact on the manufacturing industry in Indonesia. It is noted that in 2020-2021 the manufacturing industry has

decreased production capacity (capability) from 75.36% to 67.60% (Warta Ekonomi, 2021).

Not only in Indonesia, globally the industry that is most affected by the COVID-19 pandemic is the manufacturing industry, this is because there are many raw materials for international manufacturing industries such as electronics (mobile phones and televisions as much as 85% of raw materials for mobile phones and 75% raw materials for television) comes from China. So, when there are restrictions on the mobilization of goods between countries, it can be ascertained that industrial raw materials, and manufacturing production activities (co: cell phones, and televisions) are also restrained along with the imposition of restrictions on industrial activities. With the loss of raw materials and the disruption of global production chains due to the pandemic, the global manufacturing industry has decreased by 8.9% (United Nations, 2020).



Picture 4.1.2. Global Manufactured Production. ==
[SDG Indicators \(un.org\)](https://sdgindicators.un.org/)

The data shows that at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in Q1 and Q2 (quarter 1 and quarter 2) of 2020, the manufacturing industry was powerless due to changes in government policies related to COVID-19. If the global giant (manufacturing) industry that is currently the most developed cannot survive, the government is required to find other alternatives to overcome the problems of the global economy. However, the damage to the

global manufacturing industry system not only brought havoc to the economies of almost all countries, but also made all parties aware that what Porter described on external market factors (change and government) was still relevant, and that the economic system that was predicted to have been mature, it still needs to be evaluated.

The need for evaluation of national trade policies must be viewed from the perspective of contemporary global political realities. All countries are closing in on themselves, prioritizing national interests, and trying to repair the damage caused by the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, so the value of collaboration in international trade is difficult to feel. The IMF (International Monetary Fund) states that the current global political and economic trend is towards individualism "...And the absence of a properly coordinated international response ought to have come as no surprise, given the celebration of "my country first" global politics in recent years." In this statement, it can be seen that the existence of domestic political interests (among political elites) and feelings of nationalism has caused the international economic system to be damaged and difficult to restore (Susskind, 2020).

Superpower countries such as the United States itself, which is often known as a liberal country (re: cooperation) also close themselves off and are labeled selfish because it closes access to vaccine base materials, and this openly closes the only solution for other countries to solve the global pandemic (Feffer, 2020). Like what happened in the United States and other countries, the issue of deglobalization, nationalization (and populism), and the closure of international trade became one of the factors why the government had to think of other ways to adapt to the international economic conditions at that time.

4.2. Opportunities for Indonesia

The COVID-19 pandemic crisis, apart from bringing damage to the global economic system, also offers opportunities at the same

time, especially for Indonesia. The economic downturn has made all countries look back at what is important and a priority in the global economy. The paralysis of the global production chain, which of course also affects domestic purchasing power, brings another danger that is more threatening to humans, namely the food crisis. Simply put, when the (general) market economy cycle stops. So, automatically there will be a process of dating the basic needs of humans (decrease in basic economic functions). At the beginning of the 2020 pandemic, the trend of global consumptive patterns experienced a shift from hedonism (focusing on the willingness and not need) to utilitarianism (focusing more on the use value, and function of goods), this was due to a decline in income and purchasing power in the global community. (Yang, et al. 2020). In Indonesia, giants retail such as Matahari Department Store (focusing on clothing) and Centro Department Store (focusing on beauty tools and knick-knacks) were forced to close several outlets due to the impact of the decline in people's purchasing power. (Azanella, 2021).

The shift away from the mass consumption pattern of society is a sign that there is a change in market demand on a large scale. As previously discussed, COVID-19 completely disrupted global trade and supply chains in the first two quarters. As a result, the global food supply chain has experienced a similar decline. In general, the prohibition of import-export activities (international trade) aims to meet domestic needs and trigger the growth of domestic producers. However, unfortunately in this idea, things like comparative advantage are not taken into account. For example, South African countries experience crop failures of around 40% on average due to the absence of supporting materials, such as superior seeds, pesticides, and lack of human resources (due to pandemics and other outbreaks such as Ebola that hit other countries). South Africa). No less important, protectionism carried out by countries is temporary so it is not

supported by the right rules and regulations. In the end, the resulting product is distrust between countries toward international trade (Aday, 2020), and a total failure in efforts to meet food needs, because not all countries have the right climate and vegetation conditions to meet the food needs of their people.

In the end, the unpreparedness of countries and the decline in the function of international trade brought people closer to a food crisis. Lucky for countries with good vegetation and farming climate because it has natural advantages like Indonesia. If viewed through Porter's model, it can be understood that this is a positive change that can revive the Indonesian economy, given the availability of food, land, and energy which is quite abundant. The next problem was how the government's role as an external factor adapted to changes and succeeded in reviving the national economy at that time.

4.3. Food and Agricultural Products as Economic Defence

Indonesia managed to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic crisis because of its strong agricultural sector. In a public interview, the Deputy Minister of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia explained:

“Di dalam situasi krisis, sektor pertanian adalah bempers dari sektor-sektor lain. Sektor-sektor yang lain bisa kontraksi, sektor pertanian yang menjadi bempernya. Sektor pertanian adalah salah satu sektor yang tetap baik di dalam perekonomian, pertumbuhannya itu tetap positif,”

This is not happened without reason because other industries in Q1 and Q2 of 2020 experienced a complete shutdown so the decline in various national industries fell. However, this does not apply to the agricultural sector, which only experienced a 1% decline but with a positive trend in the following quarters. This is due to the

domestic nutritional needs (during the pandemic) that must be met from agricultural goods. At least about 85% of people with COVID-19 in Indonesia relieve symptoms that arise by eating fruits and vegetables. (Hamid, 2021).

Soaring domestic needs, influenced by the national emergency nutritional needs, this is also due to the readiness of the national food industry and farmers in facing the pandemic. Signs of the readiness of the Indonesian food and agricultural industry, marked by a decline in national imports during 2020, which was around 54%, apart from the closure of international trade, the absorption and supply of domestic food and agricultural products was more than sufficient (Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia, n.d.). The government's decision to prioritize the domestic food industry is the right decision, given that Indonesia has a good quantity and quality of agricultural goods.

In Porter's Diamond theory, it is explained that one of the strengths of a country in conducting international trade is the factor of capital or goods that can be produced more efficiently and effectively. The research team sees that food security and national agricultural products are one of Indonesia's advantages, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Good soil structure and evenly available agricultural labor are the main reasons why the agricultural industry survives. It was recorded that 28.9% of the Indonesian workforce was engaged in the agricultural sector in 2020 ago, indicating that the national agriculture and food sector is a reliable industrial sector. In addition, the termination of work for farmers during the Enforcement of Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) during the pandemic almost does not apply in the food sector (Hamid, 2021).

Apart from supporting conditions such as endowment factors, agricultural products also receive support from the government. Based on press release No. HM.4.6/175/SET.M.EKON.2.3/11/2020,

Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Airlangga Hartanto said that the increase in exports of food products in the third quarter of 2020 reached 16.2% (YoY) and 20.8% (MtM) (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, 2020). This success did not escape the government's contribution in providing seven assistance policies to economic actors in the agriculture and food sector, namely: first, the development of food estates in the context of strengthening the national system; the second is the development of a rice business cluster using a land management approach; 3rd export-oriented horticulture with a partnership model of creating shared value (CSV) between the central government, local governments, the private sector, and farmers; 4th inclusive partnership on horticultural commodities by implementing synergies between academia, business, government, and communities; 5th development of 1,000 cattle villages, a program to increase cattle productivity; 6th national seaweed industry development (optimizing domestic seaweed production); 7th development of fisherman-farmer corporations by establishing upstream to downstream agribusiness models by empowering local human resources (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, 2020).

Apart from the form of policy, the government also provides direct injections of funds to domestic farmers in the form of People's Business Credit (KUR). In 2020, the absorption of the budget is more than 100% of what the government has set. The government's encouragement in the form of deregulation, to direct financial assistance increased Indonesia's exports in 2021 with a total of 60 export destinations with foreign exchange earnings of 7 trillion rupiahs. (Kompas.com, 2021). In addition, the government's seriousness in promoting the agriculture and food sector as a leading industry is by holding digitalization training such as the Climate Smart Agriculture Program (CSA). Farmers and food industry players can adapt to the weather and know

which vegetation is suitable for the climate. Then, in the same form of training, the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture implemented the Strategic Irrigation Modernization and Urgent Rehabilitation Project (SIMURP). The goal is so that national farming industry players can be efficient and effective (Department of Animal Husbandry and Animal Health of West Nusa Tenggara Province, 2020).

The national agricultural and food industry, which has full support and can continue to operate during the pandemic, of course also requires the intervention of private actors (agriculture-related industries). Therefore, the government also provides support in the national agriculture and food industry by encouraging private companies to contribute and 'awaken' the national economy. It is recorded that in 2020-2021 there have been 650 collaborative projects with the private sector, and support from 1600 international and national experts, to become the Indonesian agricultural and food industry a strong backbone during the COVID-19 pandemic crisis.

Collaboration in the Indonesian farming industry has indeed shown a positive trend and has proven successful in bringing Indonesia out of the 2020-2021 COVID-19 economic crisis. The government as a facilitator is assessed and trusted to be able to restructure, regulate regulations, and provide appropriate support. In accordance with the

principle in Porter's Diamond theory that the state is one of the determining factors in overcoming sudden changes, namely the COVID-19 pandemic. Not only direct assistance, to farmers and actors in the farming and food industry business, but the government also facilitates other related actors or industries as supporters of the agriculture and food industry during times of crisis.

5. Conclusion

Agricultural and food products are the right answer to the current COVID-19 global crisis momentum. With government intervention, endowment factors, restructuring, and industrial intervention related to agriculture and food, Indonesia were able to survive and get out of the slump in the national economy. Ensuring this raises fundamental questions about the future of Indonesia's agriculture and food in the structure of the national economy. Previously in the 1997 Asian crisis, the manufacturing industry succeeded in being the solution, but now agriculture and food have become the solution to the 2020 COVID-19 economic crisis. This is a warning sign that a country's national economic strategy should not be rigid or only rely on one industrial sector. All industries must move forward together and simultaneously innovate so that further global crises can be faced.

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