

KERJA SAMA PARIWISATA BAHARI INDONESIA DENGAN ASEAN DALAM RANGKA PENGEMBANGAN EKONOMI MARITIM

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ABSTRAK

Sebagai salah satu negara anggota *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN), Indonesia menjadikan pembangunan sektor pariwisata sebagai salah satu sektor prioritas. Indonesia menyimpan potensi pariwisata bahari yang dapat mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi negara. Penelitian ini berfokus pada penerapan program kerja sama ASEAN ke dalam pariwisata bahari Indonesia serta kontribusinya terhadap pengembangan ekonomi maritim. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif-analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan Indonesia telah mengaplikasikan program kerja sama ASEAN dalam sektor pariwisata ke dalam kebijakan nasionalnya. Indonesia memanfaatkan kebijakannya dalam mendorong promosi dan penguatan akses serta fasilitas di destinasi wisata. Pariwisata bahari sebagai sektor yang berkembang pesat telah menunjukkan kontribusinya terhadap perekonomian nasional dan pembangunan ekonomi maritim Indonesia melalui peningkatan devisa, Produk Domestik Bruto (PDB), dan tenaga kerja.

Kata Kunci: Kerja sama, Indonesia, ASEAN, Pariwisata Bahari, Ekonomi Maritim

ABSTRACT

As a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Indonesia prioritizes the development of its tourism sector. Indonesia's vast marine tourism potential serves as a catalyst for national economic growth. This study focuses on the implementation of ASEAN cooperation programs in Indonesia's marine tourism sector and its contribution to maritime economic development. The research employs a qualitative approach with descriptive-analytical methods. The findings indicate that Indonesia has integrated ASEAN cooperation programs in the tourism sector into its national policies. Indonesia utilizes these policies to promote, enhance accessibility, and improve facilities at tourist destinations. Marine tourism, as a rapidly growing sector, has shown its contributions to the national economy and Indonesia's maritime economic development through increased foreign exchange earnings, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and employment.

Keywords: Cooperation, Indonesia, ASEAN, Marine Tourism, Maritime Economy

1. Latar Belakang

Luasnya perairan Indonesia membawa potensi ekonomi maritim yang luar biasa. Potensi kelautan menjangkau berbagai sektor penting di Indonesia, termasuk salah satunya adalah sektor pariwisata yang dianggap sebagai sektor andalan dalam meningkatkan devisa negara dan memberikan sumbangsih besar bagi

perekonomian nasional. Menurut laporan Badan Keahlian Negara DPR RI (2023), PDB pariwisata Indonesia meningkat dari 4% pada 2011 menjadi 5,5% pada 2019, sementara devisa pariwisata naik dari USD 8,55 miliar menjadi USD 16,91 miliar di periode yang sama (Badan Keahlian Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2023). Meskipun terjadi penurunan pada 2020

akibat pandemi, PDB pariwisata mulai pulih pada 2021 dan terus meningkat sejak 2022. Pariwisata bahari tidak hanya memberi implikasi signifikan bagi perekonomian negara melalui pendapatan devisa, namun juga melalui penciptaan lapangan kerja dan pengembangan infrastruktur.

Wisatawan mancanegara yang berkunjung ke Indonesia paling banyak datang melalui pintu masuk bandar udara Ngurah Rai dengan jumlah 7.972.651 pada tahun 2023 (BPS Indonesia, 2023). Hal ini menunjukkan minat terbesar wisatawan terletak pada pariwisata bahari Bali. Namun di sisi lain, data tersebut menunjukkan kurangnya pengetahuan wisatawan asing terhadap ragam pariwisata bahari yang ada di Indonesia. Dengan demikian, penting bagi pemerintah untuk lebih mengembangkan strategi pemasaran dan infrastruktur di destinasi-destinasi bahari lainnya.

Dalam perspektif globalisasi, wisatawan modern semakin mencari pengalaman autentik yang hanya dapat ditemukan di destinasi tertentu. Pariwisata berbasis budaya dapat meningkatkan perekonomian lokal melalui penguatan sektor budaya dan tradisi yang diperkenalkan kepada wisatawan (Greg Richards, 2018). Oleh karena itu, pariwisata yang tetap mempertahankan identitas lokal memiliki peran penting dalam menghasilkan pengalaman wisata yang orisinal dan unik. Ini membuat destinasi tersebut berbeda dari tempat lain. Hal ini tidak hanya memberikan nilai tambah secara ekonomi dengan menarik lebih banyak wisatawan yang mencari pengalaman berbeda, tetapi juga berperan dalam melestarikan budaya dan warisan lokal yang sering kali terancam oleh arus globalisasi. Dalam jangka panjang, strategi ini memungkinkan masyarakat lokal untuk mendapatkan manfaat ekonomi sekaligus mempertahankan jati diri mereka di tengah tekanan globalisasi yang terus meningkat.

Negara-negara ASEAN menjadikan pembangunan sektor pariwisata sebagai

salah satu sektor prioritas dalam meningkatkan perekonomian di kawasan ASEAN melalui peningkatan kualitas pariwisata. Penerapan strategi yang lebih kuat di sektor pariwisata menjadi penting dalam menghadapi pergerakan *ASEAN Community*, sehingga diperlukan kerja sama yang erat di antara negara-negara anggota ASEAN. Demi mewujudkan *ASEAN Community*, *Master Plan* mengenai *ASEAN Connectivity* disusun dengan isi mengenai target pencapaian dan potensi hambatnya (Moenir & Halim, 2020). Pelaksanaan kegiatan *Master Plan* berupa pembentukan strategi memperkuat interaksi ASEAN melalui *physical connectivity* yang mencakup pengembangan infrastruktur fisik, *institutional connectivity* meliputi efektivitas institusi dan cara kerjanya, juga *people-to-people connectivity* yakni meningkatkan hubungan antar warga negara ASEAN. Salah satu bentuk penyelenggaraan *people-to-people connectivity* adalah melalui sektor pariwisata.

Berkaitan dengan hal di atas, terdapat tiga pilar utama yang dibentuk sebagai dasar pembentukan masyarakat ASEAN, yakni *ASEAN Economic Community* (AEC), *ASEAN Security Community* (ASC), dan *ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community* (ASCC) (Darman Moenir et al., 2021). Untuk mendukung pengembangan pariwisata, dibentuklah *ASEAN Tourism Forum* (ATF) yang merupakan bentuk kerja sama regional dengan tujuan untuk mempromosikan wilayah ASEAN sebagai tujuan wisata yang terkenal dengan keragaman budaya. Melalui salah satu pertemuan ATF, dibentuklah sebuah rencana kerja panjang yang disepakati oleh negara anggota. Rencana kerja ini dikenal dengan *ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan* (ATSP) (Darman Moenir et al., 2021).

ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan (ATSP) merupakan bagian dari AEC yang berfungsi sebagai panduan strategis yang disusun ASEAN untuk mengembangkan sektor pariwisata di kawasan Asia Tenggara.

ATSP diharapkan dapat dikembangkan dan diimplementasikan oleh negara anggota ASEAN demi meningkatkan daya tarik di bidang pariwisata. Dengan kata lain, ASEAN memandang sektor pariwisata sebagai komoditas yang dapat meningkatkan pendapatan negara, sehingga ATSP dirancang sebagai rencana besar sekaligus menjadi salah satu strategi ASEAN dalam mendorong proses integrasi ekonomi kawasan.

Di sisi lain, ASEAN juga memiliki kesepakatan kerja sama terkait tenaga kerja, yaitu *Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Tourism Professionals* (MRA-TP), yang dirancang sebagai bagian dari upaya liberalisasi sektor jasa. MRA-TP dibentuk untuk memfasilitasi mobilitas tenaga kerja di sektor pariwisata, serta menetapkan standar kualifikasi profesional yang diakui di seluruh negara anggota. Kualifikasi diberikan dalam bentuk sertifikat kepada tenaga kerja yang berhasil memenuhi standar yang ditetapkan. Semua negara anggota ASEAN memiliki hak untuk mengeluarkan sertifikasi atas pekerja profesional pariwisata.

Berdasarkan hal di atas, tulisan ini akan melihat bagaimana bentuk kerja sama antara Indonesia dan ASEAN (dalam kapasitasnya sebagai organisasi regional) dalam sektor pariwisata serta implikasinya terhadap pariwisata bahari di Indonesia. Besarnya potensi pariwisata bahari Indonesia dapat dijadikan sebagai keunggulan dalam meningkatkan pendapatan negara dan memperkenalkan Indonesia di kancah internasional yang berdampak pada peningkatan jumlah wisatawan mancanegara yang berkunjung ke Indonesia. Selain itu, pariwisata bahari Indonesia yang terletak di kawasan terpencil cenderung kurang didukung oleh infrastruktur yang memadai serta mendapat promosi yang masih sedikit. Oleh karena itu, penting untuk mengkaji lebih lanjut terkait bagaimana kerja sama antara Indonesia dan ASEAN dapat mempercepat pengembangan sektor

pariwisata bahari yang tidak hanya berdampak pada peningkatan pendapatan negara, tetapi juga mendorong integrasi ekonomi kawasan serta memajukan pariwisata berkelanjutan.

2. Tinjauan Pustaka

Sebagai negara kepulauan dengan garis pantai yang panjang dan sumber daya laut yang melimpah, Indonesia menyimpan potensi pariwisata bahari yang dapat mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi negara. Sayangnya, minimnya infrastruktur dan promosi di kawasan yang mempunyai potensi wisata maritim seperti pulau-pulau yang terpencil pada gilirannya menjadi hambatan besar dalam pengembangannya. Di tingkat regional, pentingnya sektor pariwisata telah diakui oleh negara-negara ASEAN. Pariwisata dianggap dapat mendorong ekonomi kawasan karena sektor ini dapat menciptakan lapangan kerja, menarik investasi, dan meningkatkan pendapatan daerah. Atas dasar inilah, diadakan kerja sama antara negara-negara ASEAN dalam perencanaan strategi yang lebih kuat di sektor pariwisata. Demi mendalami analisa terkait kerja sama antara Indonesia dan ASEAN di sektor pariwisata bahari, penulis melakukan kajian literatur untuk melihat perbandingan dari penelitian sebelumnya.

Menurut Moenir & Halim (2020) dalam penelitian mengenai implementasi *ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan (ATSP)* sebagai kerangka kerja untuk pengembangan pariwisata bahari Indonesia, ATSP 2011-2015 bertujuan untuk merancang cetak biru regulasi, produk, dan skema pemasaran serta pengembangan pariwisata di ASEAN, dengan harapan dapat diterapkan di tingkat lokal untuk meningkatkan daya saing dan pendapatan negara (Moenir & Halim, 2020). Hal ini bertujuan agar ASEAN dapat menjalin hubungan kerja sama dengan negara di kawasan Asia Tenggara dalam pengembangan sektor pariwisata, termasuk pariwisata bahari. Dengan adanya kerja

sama yang terjalin, peluang untuk meningkatkan akselerasi pertumbuhan ekonomi menjadi lebih besar. Di sisi lain, ATSP 2011-2015 menunjukkan bahwa kerja sama negara dalam suatu kawasan dapat memperkuat daya saing di sektor pariwisata. Di sisi lain, dalam konteks pariwisata bahari Indonesia menekankan pentingnya sektor ini sebagai peluang pasar yang menguntungkan. Hal ini ditunjukkan dengan delapan dari sepuluh destinasi prioritas yang merupakan destinasi bahari di antaranya adalah Danau Toba (Sumatera Utara), Labuan Bajo (NTT), Tanjung Kelayang (Bangka Belitung), Tanjung Lesung (Banten), Kepulauan Seribu (DKI Jakarta), Mandalika (NTB), Wakatobi (Sulawesi Tenggara), dan Morotai (Maluku).

Penelitian tersebut menyoroti ATSP sebagai hasil dari kerja sama multilateral ASEAN telah menjadi alat diplomasi pariwisata yang penting. ATSP dirancang untuk meningkatkan daya saing pariwisata negara anggota, termasuk Indonesia, melalui promosi kawasan sebagai destinasi tunggal. Konsep *regional cooperation* menjadi inti dari artikel tersebut dengan fokus pada bagaimana Indonesia menggunakan ATSP untuk memajukan pariwisata bahari. Selain itu, sinergi antarnegara ASEAN dalam menangani isu-isu seperti keberlanjutan lingkungan dan pengelolaan sumber daya alam laut menjadi sangat penting karena banyak isu lingkungan, seperti polusi laut, perubahan iklim, dan eksploitasi berlebihan terhadap sumber daya laut, bersifat melampaui batas dan mempengaruhi negara-negara di wilayah secara kolektif. Melalui sinergi, ASEAN dapat menciptakan kebijakan bersama yang lebih efektif untuk melindungi ekosistem laut, mendorong pelaksanaan pembangunan berkelanjutan, dan memastikan bahwa sumber daya alam laut tetap dapat dimanfaatkan oleh generasi mendatang. Di sisi lain, kerja sama ini memiliki beberapa tantangan tersendiri. Kurangnya koordinasi lintas sektor di tingkat domestik dan persaingan antarnegara anggota ASEAN menjadi salah satu

tantangan utama (Moenir & Halim, 2020). Hal ini relevan dengan konsep *liberal institutionalism* yang menekankan peran institusi multilateral, seperti ASEAN, dalam menciptakan tata kelola yang lebih baik di kawasan. Selain itu, penelitian tersebut menunjukkan bahwa diplomasi pariwisata tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai alat untuk menarik wisatawan, tetapi juga sebagai sarana untuk memperkuat posisi Indonesia di area internasional.

Zulkifli dkk. (n.d) mengemukakan bahwa Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia (KKI) memiliki potensi besar dalam mendorong pengembangan ekonomi maritim melalui peningkatan sektor perikanan, pariwisata, konektivitas dan transportasi laut, serta investasi di sektor maritim (Zulkifli et al., 2023). KKI membuka peluang terciptanya keseimbangan antara pertumbuhan ekonomi dan pelestarian lingkungan. Pendekatan tersebut sejalan dengan tujuan keberlanjutan lingkungan yang menjadi isu utama dalam hubungan internasional modern. Kebijakan ini sekaligus mendukung penerapan ATSP, menjadikannya sebagai instrumen penting dalam memperkuat kerja sama regional dan meningkatkan daya saing sektor kelautan. KKI seperti yang tertuang dalam visi Poros Maritim Dunia telah mendorong penguatan kerja sama internasional di sektor maritim, termasuk dengan negara-negara ASEAN. Dalam artikel tersebut, konsep kerja sama kebijakan luar negeri menjadi fokus dengan perhatian khusus pada bagaimana kebijakan domestik diintegrasikan ke dalam inisiatif regional. Selain itu, dengan adanya KKI, pertumbuhan ekonomi lokal dapat ditingkatkan bersamaan dengan didorongnya pemasukan devisa industri pariwisata.

Lasally et al (2023) menjelaskan bahwa *ASEAN Tourism Forum (ATF)* menjadi sarana bagi Indonesia dalam mengembangkan sekaligus mempromosikan pariwisatanya agar lebih dikenal baik ditingkat regional maupun internasional (Lasally et al., 2023). Hal ini dapat terwujud dikarenakan ATF tidak hanya

dihadiri oleh delegasi ATF dan negara anggota ASEAN, namun juga beberapa negara mitra seperti Jepang dan Korea, serta organisasi internasional seperti *United Nations World Tourism Organization* (UNWTO) dan *World Travel & Tourism Council* (WTTC) (Lasally et al., 2023). Indonesia terhitung lemah dalam hal promosi pariwisata, sehingga ATF memberikan keuntungan besar bagi Indonesia. Selain upaya promosi dan branding luar negeri, ATF menjadi sarana dalam menarik investor luar negeri untuk berinvestasi ataupun bekerja sama dalam mengembangkan pariwisata Indonesia (Lasally et al., 2023).

Sebagai media multilateral, ATF memegang peran penting dalam memperkuat posisi Indonesia dalam meningkatkan visibilitasnya di pasar global melalui pendekatan diplomasi pariwisata. ATF menyediakan ruang bagi negara-negara anggota ASEAN untuk mempromosikan destinasi mereka secara kolektif. ATF menyediakan kesempatan untuk membangun kerja sama secara luas yang tidak terbatas pada negara anggota ASEAN saja. Melalui ATF, Indonesia dapat memanfaatkan peluang untuk menjalankan kepentingan nasionalnya, seperti dalam hal promosi budaya maritim secara global. Berdasarkan hal ini, ATF dapat dianggap sebagai wadah diplomasi soft power dengan memanfaatkan keunggulan negara untuk meningkatkan citra nasionalnya. Lebih lanjut, konsep diplomasi pariwisata menjadi kunci analisis dengan penekanan pada bagaimana ATF digunakan sebagai alat untuk memperkuat hubungan antarnegara anggota dan mempromosikan merek pariwisata regional. Partisipasi aktif Indonesia dalam ATF menunjukkan komitmen negara Indonesia untuk berkolaborasi dengan mitra regional dalam menghadapi tantangan global seperti perubahan iklim dan pandemi (Lasally et al., 2023). Inisiatif seperti ATF dapat membantu menciptakan persepsi positif terhadap

kawasan ASEAN sebagai destinasi yang aman dan menarik (Lasally et al., 2023). Perspektif *constructivism* dalam hubungan internasional dapat digunakan untuk memahami artikel ini, khususnya dalam menjelaskan bagaimana identitas dan narasi kolektif ASEAN sebagai destinasi pariwisata dibentuk melalui forum tersebut.

Berdasarkan kajian literatur yang telah dibahas, dapat dilihat bahwa ATSP dan ATF berkontribusi besar dalam memfasilitasi kerja sama regional terutama dalam hal promosi destinasi pariwisata di ASEAN. Sementara itu, KKI menekankan pentingnya pemanfaatan sumber daya laut secara optimal dan berkelanjutan. Sayangnya, sektor kelautan masih menghadapi sejumlah tantangan seperti kurang memadainya infrastruktur dan promosi yang belum optimal.

Penelitian-penelitian sebelumnya memberikan kontribusi yang signifikan terhadap penelitian yang akan dilakukan terkait kerja sama pariwisata bahari Indonesia-ASEAN dalam rangka pengembangan ekonomi maritim. Pertama, penelitian ini akan melanjutkan analisis mengenai peran ATSP dan ATF dalam mendukung pengembangan pariwisata bahari Indonesia dengan fokus pada bagaimana kerja sama regional dapat memaksimalkan potensi ekonomi maritim. Kedua, penelitian sebelumnya menyoroti tantangan seperti promosi dan infrastruktur. Ini menjadi dasar untuk menganalisis langkah-langkah yang diperlukan untuk memperkuat kerja sama dan meningkatkan daya saing sektor maritim Indonesia di ASEAN. Penelitian ini diharapkan mampu menjawab bagaimana kerja sama antara Indonesia dan ASEAN dapat berperan dalam memaksimalkan potensi ekonomi maritim melalui sektor pariwisata bahari.

3. Metode Penelitian

Penelitian ini akan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif-analisis. Metode

deskriptif-analisis dalam penelitian kualitatif digunakan untuk menggambarkan, memahami, serta menjelaskan suatu fenomena berdasarkan data, sehingga metode ini memungkinkan suatu fenomena digambarkan sebagaimana adanya. Penggunaan metode deskriptif-analisis dalam penelitian ini didasari oleh arah penelitian yang condong pada penggambaran fenomena secara detail.

Adapun data yang digunakan berupa artikel jurnal terdahulu, berita media terkait, serta laporan dan dokumen kenegaraan terkait kerja sama Indonesia dan ASEAN dalam pariwisata bahari dan kontribusinya terhadap ekonomi maritim sebagai ekonomi yang berbasis pada sumber daya laut, pesisir, dan sektor-sektor terkait yang mendukung pemanfaatan lingkungan maritim secara berkelanjutan. Data yang diperoleh akan dianalisis untuk mengeksplorasi fenomena secara menyeluruh dan mendalam. Data yang dikumpulkan akan diuraikan ke dalam bentuk naratif untuk memberikan pemahaman yang komprehensif mengenai kontribusi pariwisata bahari terhadap peningkatan ekonomi maritim di Indonesia.

4. Hasil dan Pembahasan

Penelitian ini membahas secara mendalam mengenai peran ASEAN dalam mendukung pengembangan sektor pariwisata bahari di Indonesia. Dalam kapasitasnya sebagai organisasi regional, ASEAN memiliki wewenang dalam mengeluarkan berbagai kerangka kerja sama dan rencana strategis untuk memperkuat kerja sama regional antar negara anggotanya termasuk dalam sektor pariwisata. Oleh karena itu, secara khusus, pembahasan akan mencakup kerangka kerja sama ASEAN dalam sektor pariwisata dan penerapannya di Indonesia. Lebih lanjut, akan dijelaskan kontribusi pariwisata bahari atas penguatan ekonomi maritim nasional. Besarnya potensi yang dimiliki pariwisata bahari Indonesia membuat kebijakan dan program kerja sama ASEAN berupaya

memfasilitasi pertumbuhan sektor ini. Dukungan ASEAN berupa peningkatan aksesibilitas, promosi destinasi, serta pengembangan sumber daya manusia (SDM) yang kompeten. Pembahasan juga mencakup strategi negara dalam memaksimalkan potensi pariwisata bahari sehingga dapat berkontribusi bagi perekonomian maritim negara.

4.1. Kerja sama ASEAN dalam Sektor Pariwisata dan Penerapannya ke dalam Pariwisata Bahari Indonesia

Adanya pengaruh positif antara sektor pariwisata dan pendapatan nasional telah mendorong negara-negara anggota ASEAN, termasuk Indonesia untuk mengembangkan sektor tersebut. ASEAN merupakan organisasi geopolitik dan ekonomi yang dibentuk pada tahun 1967 oleh negara-negara kawasan Asia Tenggara dengan maksud untuk mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi, pengembangan kebudayaan, serta menjaga keamanan dan stabilitas kawasan (Kurniasih, 2020). Dalam hal pengembangan sektor pariwisata, kawasan ASEAN terus menunjukkan kontribusinya. SCOT dibentuk oleh ASEAN pada tahun 1976 dalam rangka pengembangan pariwisata melalui promosi, pemasaran, dan penelitian (Darman Moenir et al., 2021). Lebih lanjut, ASEAN juga mengadakan kerja sama ATF setiap tahunnya di salah satu negara ASEAN sejak 2011 dalam rangka memfasilitasi pertukaran informasi dan mempromosikan pariwisata di setiap negara ASEAN. ATF merupakan inisiatif kerja sama ekonomi regional ASEAN yang dibentuk dengan tujuan untuk meningkatkan pembangunan sosial-ekonomi negara-negara di ASEAN yang menyimpan potensi memajukan sumber daya alam dan buatan (Putri & Purnawarman, 2024). Tujuan dari ATF mencakup:

- a. Mengadakan promosi atas wilayah ASEAN sebagai tujuan wisata unik dengan banyak daya tarik.

- b. Menyusun dan mendorong kesadaran atas ASEAN sebagai destinasi kompetitif di kawasan Asia Pasifik.
- c. Menarik wisatawan agar berkunjung ke seluruh negara anggota ASEAN atau perpaduan dari negara tersebut.
- d. Mengadakan promosi terkait tujuan wisata domestik negara anggota ASEAN.
- e. Memperkuat hubungan kerja sama dalam pariwisata ASEAN (Lasally et al., 2023).

ATF dapat menjadi kunci dalam mengembangkan sektor pariwisata agar negara-negara ASEAN, termasuk Indonesia, dapat dikenal sebagai tujuan wisata dengan keragaman budayanya. Indonesia memanfaatkan peran ATF sebagai konferensi antar negara anggota ASEAN dalam program *ASEAN Tourism Marketing Strategic* (ATMS). ATMS menyusun strategi pemasaran berupa peluncuran slogan *Southeast Asia Feel the Warmth* selaku markah destinasi tunggal ASEAN, yang di dalamnya mencakup slogan sekunder negara anggota yang mencerminkan ciri khas pariwisata masing-masing (Rahmat & Undang, 2020). Untuk memenuhi tugasnya sebagai anggota ASEAN, Indonesia mengenalkan *brand Wonderful Indonesia* bertemakan “*Eco, Culture, dan MICE*” sebagai slogan negaranya (Rahmat & Undang, 2020). ATMS kemudian menciptakan situs web *Asean Tourism* dan membuat paket kreatif dengan strategi investasi dalam paket pariwisata antarnegara (Putri & Purnawarman, 2024).

Dalam hal pariwisata bahari, *Wonderful Indonesia* memberikan dampak signifikan terhadap promosi keindahan sumber daya laut Indonesia. Negara ini menawarkan ragam pariwisata bahari mengingat banyaknya pantai eksotis dan keindahan bawah laut yang memukau, seperti keanekaragaman hayati berupa terumbu karang. Menurut informasi yang tersedia di situs web *Wonderful Indonesia*, enam dari sepuluh destinasi utama yang dipromosikan

berkaitan langsung dengan pariwisata bahari, mencakup Mandalika, Labuan Bajo, Likupang, Raja Ampat, Morotai, dan Tanjung Kelayang (Wonderful Indonesia, n.d.). Di samping itu, *Wonderful Indonesia* juga menampilkan ‘*five wonders*’ yang berisi tema dalam mengeksplorasi budaya dan warisan daerah di Indonesia (N. A. Dewi, 2023). *Five Wonders* ini berisi *Nature and Wildlife, Culinary and Wellness, Arts, Culture, and Heritage, Recreation and Leisure*, dan *Adventure* (Wonderful Indonesia, n.d.). Melalui laman ini, wisatawan dapat mencari dan menemukan aktivitas seperti *snorkeling, diving*, dan *surfing*. Selain keindahan alamnya, kekayaan budaya dan tradisi bahari seperti kuliner lokal dan festival budaya juga dapat ditonjolkan.

Selain ATMS, strategi pengembangan pariwisata di tingkat ASEAN juga didorong melalui ATSP yang merupakan hasil dari ATF. ATSP 2011-2015 disepakati sebagai strategi berkelanjutan dalam pariwisata pada penyelenggaraan ATF ke-10 di Brunei Darussalam (Darman Moenir et al., 2021). Dari ATSP 2011-2015, disusun sebuah rencana strategis sebagai panduan bagi negara anggota ASEAN dalam membangun sektor pariwisatanya secara menyeluruh dan berkelanjutan. Rancangan ini terkait dengan regulasi, komoditas, dan program dalam hal diversifikasi produk, prosedur, peningkatan kapasitas SDM, investasi, dan hubungan antarnegara ASEAN (Moenir & Halim, 2020). Terdapat tiga arahan strategis yang dibuat melalui *ASEAN Regional Forum*, meliputi:

- a. Arahan strategis terkait diversifikasi produk kawasan berbasis pengalaman, promosi inovatif, serta kebijakan investasi

Arahan strategis pertama ini mencakup aksi berupa:

- Penyusunan dan pelaksanaan strategi pemasaran untuk sektor pariwisata di kawasan ASEAN

- Pengembangan paket tur untuk wilayah atau sub-wilayah tertentu
 - Peningkatan kebijakan dan prosedur terkait hubungan eksternal dalam pariwisata ASEAN;
- b. Arahan strategis terkait peningkatan kapasitas SDM.
- Arahan kedua mencakup tiga aksi, yakni:
- Pembentukan standar pariwisata ASEAN melalui proses sertifikasi
 - Implementasi *Mutual Recognition Arrangement* (MRA) untuk menciptakan pariwisata ASEAN berbasis profesional
 - Penyediaan kesempatan untuk meningkatkan pengetahuan dan keterampilan masyarakat;
- c. Arahan strategis terkait peningkatan fasilitas dan hubungan antarnegara ASEAN
- Terdapat dua aksi strategis dari arahan ketiga, yaitu:
- Diajukannya visa tunggal bagi kawasan ASEAN
 - Kerja sama dengan lembaga ASEAN terkait demi memperluas hubungan (Moenir & Halim, 2020).

Bagi Indonesia, implementasi ATSP ke dalam pariwisata bahari berkaitan erat dengan kebijakan kelautan nasionalnya. Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia (KKI) disusun dengan tujuan untuk menjadikan Indonesia sebagai sebuah negara maritim yang maju sehingga mampu berkontribusi pada stabilitas dan keamanan dunia (Zulkifli et al., 2023). KKI yang berfokus pada pemanfaatan potensi lautnya, memanfaatkan ATSP sebagai panduan dalam pengembangan sektor pariwisatanya. Selain KKI, implementasi ATSP juga didukung oleh adanya Kebijakan dan Strategi Pariwisata 2015-2019 yang dibuat oleh kementerian pariwisata. Kebijakan ini mencakup strategi pengembangan pariwisata Indonesia, seperti penguatan destinasi, pemasaran domestik dan internasional,

pengembangan kelembagaan, dan dukungan manajemen. (Moenir & Halim, 2020).

Implementasi ATSP dalam kebijakan pariwisata bahari terfokus pada diversifikasi produk wisata dan promosi inovatif dalam rangka memaksimalkan potensinya. Indonesia berusaha meningkatkan citra pariwisatanya untuk menunjang pemasaran internasional dan menarik lebih banyak wisatawan mancanegara. Sehubungan dengan pariwisata domestik, pemerintah memanfaatkan tiga produk utamanya dalam mengedepankan pengalaman lokal berbasis alam dan budaya. Salah satu produk utama yang digunakan merupakan wisata bahari (Moenir & Halim, 2020). Strategi ATSP turut mendukung pengembangan paket wisata melalui pembangunan infrastruktur dan penguatan akses serta fasilitas di destinasi wisata. Peningkatan akses ini terfokus pada pariwisata bahari, tercermin dari penetapan 10 destinasi prioritas oleh Kemenparekraf, di mana 8 di antaranya adalah destinasi bahari (Kementrian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif, 2020). Langkah ini menunjukkan komitmen pemerintah dalam memperkuat konektivitas maritim untuk mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi di daerah terpencil yang kaya akan potensi bahari.

Setelah berakhirnya ATSP periode 2011-2015, ATF kembali menyusun kebijakan baru dalam rangka mengembangkan pariwisata lebih jauh. Upaya pengembangan berkelanjutan ini dimasukkan ke dalam ATSP 2016-2025 yang dituangkan melalui MRA. Perbaikan sistem pariwisata ASEAN menuntut berbagai bidang termasuk ketenaga kerjaan. MRA dibentuk dengan tujuan memberikan kualifikasi yang seragam dalam bentuk sertifikasi untuk meningkatkan kualitas dari sektor tenaga kerja sekaligus memfasilitasi mobilisasi pekerja (Soeharto, 2021). MRA-TP disepakati pertama kali pada November 2012 dengan tujuan fasilitasi pemberdayaan profesional dan pertukaran informasi terkait pendidikan dan pelatihan di

bidang pariwisata (Putri & Purnawarman, 2024). Sertifikasi pekerja profesional bermanfaat sebagai penyaring kualitas bagi tenaga kerja asing yang mendaftar untuk pekerjaan di negara ASEAN lainnya (Soeharto, 2021). MRA-TP yang bersifat wajib untuk diadopsi memengaruhi standar kompetensi kerja Indonesia. Seluruh pekerja pariwisata Indonesia diharuskan untuk mendapat sertifikasi untuk membuktikan profesionalitas mereka di level kawasan.

Penerapan MRA-TP di Indonesia mengalami hambatan. Budaya jaringan personal mendominasi standar profesionalitas di level domestik. Hal ini dikarenakan proses perekrutan tenaga kerja di Indonesia lebih berpatok pada pengalaman dan kepribadian, sementara sertifikasi masih dianggap tidak penting terutama bagi kalangan pekerja kelas bawah. Untuk meminimalisir hal ini, pemerintah mengadopsi MRA-TP ke dalam regulasi nasional, yakni Undang-undang No.52 Tahun 2012 yang menetapkan kewajiban untuk mendapat sertifikasi bagi seluruh tenaga kerja profesional (Soeharto, 2021). Sejalan dengan hal ini, pemerintah juga membentuk tiga lembaga yang berfungsi sebagai penyuluh, penggerak, dan pemantau (Soeharto, 2021). Ketiga lembaga ini berperan penting dalam menjamin kompetensi tenaga kerja pariwisata di Indonesia, mulai dari penetapan standar keterampilan hingga pemberian sertifikasi berdasarkan hasil pelatihan dan pengalaman.

Secara keseluruhan, Indonesia telah mengaplikasikan program kerja sama ASEAN dalam sektor pariwisata ke dalam kebijakan nasionalnya. Sebagai contohnya, Indonesia telah mengadopsi Standar Pariwisata ASEAN untuk meningkatkan daya saing destinasi wisatanya di kancah internasional. Salah satu contohnya adalah penerapan ASEAN *Green Hotel Standard*, yang bertujuan mendorong pengelolaan hotel ramah lingkungan. Standar ini diterapkan untuk memastikan bahwa hotel-hotel di Indonesia memenuhi kriteria

lingkungan, seperti efisiensi energi, pengelolaan limbah, dan konservasi sumber daya alam, guna mendukung pariwisata berkelanjutan (ASEAN, 2016). Selain itu, Indonesia juga mengimplementasikan ASEAN *Homestay Standard* dalam program pengelolaan homestay di berbagai destinasi wisata unggulan, seperti Yogyakarta, Bali, dan Lombok. Program ini dirancang agar *homestay* yang dikelola masyarakat lokal mampu menawarkan pengalaman otentik kepada wisatawan sekaligus memenuhi standar kualitas ASEAN. Langkah ini juga bertujuan meningkatkan kesejahteraan masyarakat lokal melalui partisipasi aktif dalam industri pariwisata (ASEAN, 2016). Sehubungan dengan pariwisata bahari, Indonesia memanfaatkan kebijakannya dalam mendorong promosi dan penguatan akses serta fasilitas di destinasi wisata. Pariwisata bahari menjadi sektor prioritas dalam pembangunan ekonomi karena besarnya potensi dan kekayaan alam yang dimilikinya. Melalui berbagai inisiatif seperti peningkatan infrastruktur, pengembangan kapasitas SDM, dan pemasaran, Indonesia berusaha menarik wisatawan lokal dan mancanegara. Dengan demikian, pariwisata bahari diharapkan dapat berkontribusi besar terhadap pertumbuhan ekonomi maritim.

4.2. Kontribusi Pariwisata Bahari terhadap Pengembangan Ekonomi Maritim

Kontribusi pariwisata bahari terhadap perekonomian nasional terlihat dari nilai devisa pariwisata, kontribusi PDB yang diberikan, dan jumlah tenaga kerja yang terserap di sektor tersebut. Wisata bahari mencakup berbagai destinasi terkenal seperti Bali, Labuan Bajo, dan Raja Ampat yang dapat menarik wisatawan internasional dan akan berdampak pada pendapatan devisa. Nilai devisa dan PDB pariwisata, termasuk wisata bahari, mengalami peningkatan pada periode 2011-2019. PDB pariwisata

Indonesia meningkat dari 4% pada 2011 menjadi 5,5% pada 2019, sementara devisa pariwisata naik dari USD 8,55 miliar menjadi USD 16,91 miliar di periode yang sama (Badan Keahlian Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2023). Walaupun terjadi penurunan di tahun 2020 akibat pandemi COVID-19, PDB pariwisata mulai pulih pada 2021 dan terus meningkat sejak 2022. Sementara itu, nilai devisa baru meningkat pada tahun 2022. Selain kontribusi PDB dan nilai devisa, peningkatan tenaga kerja di sektor pariwisata juga dapat menekan tingkat pengangguran. Berdasarkan laporan Badan Keahlian DPR RI (2023), jumlah tenaga kerja di sektor pariwisata mengalami penambahan dari 19,46 juta orang pada tahun 2018 menjadi 21,26 juta orang pada tahun 2021 (Badan Keahlian Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2023). Dalam hal pariwisata bahari, lapangan kerja bagi masyarakat pesisir dapat tercipta dari bidang wisata. Lapangan kerja ini dapat berupa transportasi laut, ekowisata, dan usaha penginapan dan perhotelan di kawasan pantai.

Pariwisata bahari tidak hanya membantu pengembangan ekonomi maritim melalui devisa, PDB, dan tenaga kerja. Terdapat beberapa elemen yang mendukung hal ini. Pertama, melalui peningkatan investasi asing. Banyak investor asing yang tertarik untuk berinvestasi pada sektor pariwisata Asia Tenggara, termasuk Indonesia, karena potensi pasarnya yang besar dan pertumbuhan ekonomi yang cenderung stabil (Putri & Purnawarman, 2024). Pariwisata dan kemaritiman menjadi sektor strategis dalam menerima investasi (Mahadiansar et al., 2021). Investasi asing membawa modal dan teknologi yang dapat mendukung pembangunan fasilitas pariwisata bahari, seperti bandara, hotel, dan objek wisata lainnya. Kedua, pariwisata sebagai pemicu pengembangan infrastruktur seperti pembangunan jalan, bandara, dan fasilitas penting lainnya. Akses yang mudah menuju destinasi wisata akan memberikan kenyamanan bagi wisatawan. Selain itu,

peningkatan aksesibilitas dari pembangunan infrastruktur dapat mendorong mobilisasi wisatawan yang dapat meningkatkan jumlah kunjungan. Kehadiran aplikasi dan situs web pariwisata turut memudahkan perencanaan perjalanan bagi wisatawan yang tertarik untuk berkunjung (Putri & Purnawarman, 2024). Ketiga sekaligus yang terakhir adalah peningkatan perekonomian masyarakat melalui penjualan produk lokal. Kebutuhan wisatawan saat berlibur harus dipenuhi di lokasi destinasi itu sendiri (Dewi et al., 2024). Dari sinilah masyarakat lokal akan mendapat kesempatan untuk meningkatkan perekonomiannya dengan memaksimalkan penggunaan produk seperti makanan dan suvenir. Hal ini harus tetap diiringi dengan peningkatan kualitas dari produsen agar sesuai dengan standar konsumen mancanegara.

Pariwisata bahari sebagai sektor yang berkembang pesat telah menunjukkan kontribusinya terhadap perekonomian nasional dan pembangunan ekonomi maritim Indonesia. Peningkatan devisa, PDB, dan penyerapan tenaga kerja di sektor ini mengindikasikan besarnya peran pariwisata bahari dalam memperkuat perekonomian maritim. Dalam ruang lingkup yang lebih kecil, Ni Made Santi, Yulius Hero, dan Hadi Susilo Arifin (2017) menemukan bahwa kontribusi pendapatan masyarakat dari sektor wisata bahari di kawasan pesisir Pulau Nusa Penida rata-rata mencapai 36% dari total pendapatan mereka. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa kegiatan wisata bahari memberikan kontribusi positif terhadap kesejahteraan masyarakat setempat (Santi et al., 2017). Aliran investasi asing menjadi salah satu elemen utama dalam mendukung kontribusi ini. ATF dan ATSP menjadi sarana dalam menarik investor asing setelah membentuk landasan yang stabil bagi pariwisata bahari. Terlebih, dalam pertemuan ATF yang dihadiri oleh negara selain anggota ASEAN dan organisasi internasional, Indonesia dapat menarik investor luar negeri untuk berinvestasi ataupun bekerja sama dalam

mengembangkan pariwisata Indonesia. Modal yang dibawa dari investasi membantu dalam peningkatan fasilitas di wilayah wisata bahari, utamanya kawasan pesisir. Sejalan dengan hal ini, pembangunan infrastruktur menjadi prioritas dikarenakan sektor pariwisata dianggap sebagai sektor strategis dalam meningkatkan perekonomian. Dengan akses yang mudah dan fasilitas yang berkualitas, daya tarik destinasi wisata bahari akan meningkat. Dari sini diharapkan agar kunjungan wisatawan dapat terdorong sehingga pertumbuhan devisa ikut menguat. Di samping membantu mobilitas wisatawan, fasilitas dan infrastruktur ini dapat membantu distribusi barang dan jasa masyarakat lokal, sehingga mendukung pertumbuhan ekonomi masyarakat pesisir.

Pembangunan infrastruktur juga mampu menciptakan lingkungan yang kondusif di kawasan pesisir, sehingga masyarakat lokal akan terdorong untuk mendirikan bisnis lokal seperti perhotelan dan restoran. Bisnis lokal ini bisa juga dikategorikan sebagai Usaha Kecil dan Menengah (UKM). UKM memiliki andil yang besar dalam menyokong pertumbuhan ekonomi Indonesia (Deanova et al., 2023). Kontribusi UKM pariwisata bahari terhadap ekonomi maritim berada pada pemenuhan kebutuhan wisatawan, seperti layanan ekowisata dan produk souvenir. Sumber penghasilan dengan memanfaatkan potensi kelautan dapat dilakukan tanpa merusak lingkungan, sehingga kelestarian laut dapat terjaga. Di samping itu, souvenir kerajinan umumnya menonjolkan identitas budaya setempat sehingga warisan budaya lokal dapat dipertahankan sekaligus dipasarkan secara luas.

Dengan adanya MRA-TP, UKM dalam industri pariwisata bahari dapat mengirim tenaga kerjanya untuk mendapatkan pelatihan yang telah diakui oleh ASEAN. Tenaga kerja dapat memperoleh keahlian yang tersertifikasi dan meningkatkan kualitas layanan UKM. Peningkatan layanan dapat membuat pengalaman wisata memuaskan dan

mendorong wisatawan dalam merekomendasikan destinasi terkait. Selanjutnya, UKM dengan tenaga kerja berkualifikasi berkesempatan untuk bekerja sama dengan industri besar seperti operator tur. Kerja sama ini membawa peluang bagi UKM untuk terjun ke dalam pasar yang lebih luas dan memberi andil dalam perekonomian maritim nasional.

Dalam konteks globalisasi, Indonesia harus mampu memanfaatkan potensi pariwisata baharinya yang berbasis identitas dan warisan budaya. Dengan tercapainya hal tersebut, Indonesia dapat meningkatkan daya tarik wisatanya di pasar internasional. Wisatawan yang ingin mencari pengalaman baru dalam wisata bahari akan tertarik untuk mengunjungi destinasi Indonesia. Dengan memanfaatkan teknologi digital, promosi destinasi wisata bahari Indonesia dapat dilakukan secara besar-besaran. Potensi ini harus dimaksimalkan dengan usaha pemerintah dalam mengembangkan pariwisata baharinya. Dengan pengembangan dan pengelolaan berkelanjutan, pariwisata bahari dapat terus mendukung perekonomian negara sekaligus meningkatkan daya saingnya di kawasan internasional.

5. Kesimpulan

Pariwisata bahari menjadi sektor yang penting dalam mendukung perekonomian Indonesia. Hal ini terlihat dari kontribusi devisa dan PDB pariwisata yang selalu menunjukkan peningkatan di setiap tahunnya. Selain itu, peningkatan lapangan kerja yang tercipta dari sektor pariwisata bahari dapat menekan tingkat pengangguran. Bagi masyarakat pesisir, lapangan kerja di sektor pariwisata bahari muncul dari berbagai bidang, seperti layanan akomodasi. Di samping itu, dukungan ASEAN melalui program kerja sama seperti ATF dan ATSP dapat menjadi sarana dalam memperkuat promosi destinasi, meningkatkan kapasitas SDM, dan pengembangan infrastruktur. Hal ini menjadi dasar untuk menjadikan

pariwisata bahari sebagai sektor strategis secara optimal.

Pengaruh pariwisata bahari terhadap ekonomi maritim meluas hingga penarikan investasi asing dan pemberdayaan perekonomian masyarakat yang didorong oleh produk lokal. Peningkatan kualitas fasilitas di kawasan wisata bahari dapat didorong oleh investasi asing. Fasilitas yang baik akan membantu mobilisasi wisatawan sekaligus distribusi barang dan jasa masyarakat lokal. Melalui ini, pariwisata bahari dapat berkontribusi terhadap pengembangan ekonomi maritim. Dengan strategi dan pengembangan yang berkelanjutan, pariwisata bahari dapat terus mendorong perekonomian maritim Indonesia.

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INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRABOWO: A SHIFT TOWARD STRATEGIC ASSERTIVENESS

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia's foreign policy has traditionally followed the *Bebas dan Aktif* (Free and Active) doctrine, emphasizing neutrality while actively engaging in global affairs. However, the election of Prabowo Subianto in 2024 marks a significant shift toward a more assertive and strategic approach. While maintaining Joko Widodo's focus on economic diplomacy, Prabowo has expanded Indonesia's priorities to include national security, defense, and global partnerships. His administration has actively pursued key initiatives such as joining BRICS, strengthening maritime security in the Indo-Pacific, and expanding military cooperation with major global powers. This study employs a qualitative thematic analysis of existing literature to examine these policy shifts and their implications for Indonesia's position on the world stage. The findings indicate that while economic diplomacy remains a central pillar, Prabowo's approach reflects a broader vision that integrates economic interests with national security and strategic alliances. His leadership emphasizes Indonesia's sovereignty, defense modernization, and a stronger regional and global presence. By balancing economic partnerships with increased military engagement, Prabowo aims to position Indonesia as an influential middle power capable of shaping regional and international dynamics. Overall, this study highlights how Indonesia's foreign policy under Prabowo represents a transition from economic pragmatism to a more comprehensive strategy that reinforces national interests while fostering strategic global collaborations.

Keywords: foreign policy, democratic government, doctrine, strategic partnerships, diplomacy

ABSTRAK

Kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia secara tradisional mengikuti doktrin Bebas dan Aktif, yang menekankan netralitas sekaligus keterlibatan aktif dalam urusan global. Namun, terpilihnya Prabowo Subianto sebagai presiden pada tahun 2024 menandai pergeseran signifikan menuju pendekatan yang lebih tegas dan strategis. Sambil mempertahankan fokus Joko Widodo pada diplomasi ekonomi, Prabowo telah memperluas prioritas Indonesia untuk mencakup keamanan nasional, pertahanan, dan kemitraan global. Pemerintahannya secara aktif mendorong inisiatif utama seperti bergabung dengan BRICS, memperkuat keamanan maritim di kawasan Indo-Pasifik, dan memperluas kerja sama militer dengan kekuatan global utama. Studi ini menggunakan analisis tematik kualitatif terhadap literatur yang ada untuk mengkaji perubahan kebijakan tersebut serta dampaknya terhadap posisi Indonesia di panggung dunia. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa meskipun diplomasi ekonomi tetap menjadi pilar utama, pendekatan Prabowo mencerminkan visi yang lebih luas yang mengintegrasikan kepentingan ekonomi dengan keamanan nasional dan aliansi strategis. Kepemimpinannya

menekankan kedaulatan Indonesia, modernisasi pertahanan, serta kehadiran yang lebih kuat di tingkat regional dan global. Dengan menyeimbangkan kemitraan ekonomi dan keterlibatan militer yang lebih besar, Prabowo bertujuan untuk menempatkan Indonesia sebagai kekuatan menengah yang berpengaruh dalam membentuk dinamika regional dan internasional. Secara keseluruhan, studi ini menyoroti bagaimana kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia di bawah kepemimpinan Prabowo mengalami transisi dari pragmatisme ekonomi ke strategi yang lebih komprehensif dalam memperkuat kepentingan nasional dan membangun kolaborasi strategis di tingkat global.

Kata kunci: kebijakan luar negeri, pemerintahan demokratis, doktrin, kemitraan strategis, diplomasi

1. Introduction

Indonesia's evolving foreign policy must be understood within the broader context of growing geopolitical uncertainty, intensifying great power rivalries, and rising security challenges in the Indo-Pacific region. These developments have created a pressing need for strategic recalibration. In response to this, President Prabowo Subianto, elected in 2024, has initiated a shift from his predecessor's economy-centric diplomacy toward a more assertive and security-oriented foreign policy approach.

Indonesia claims its identity as a democratic nation based on the fundamental principles of *Pancasila*, which emphasize five main pillars in governance while also serving as a legacy in achieving national aspirations. "*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*" (Belief in Almighty God) is the first pillar, affirming that Indonesia upholds spiritual values and religious freedom while prioritizing tolerance and national harmony. The second pillar is "*Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab*" (Just and Civilized Humanity), which highlights the importance of respecting human rights and ensuring fair treatment for every individual without

discrimination. The third pillar is "*Persatuan Indonesia*" (The Unity of Indonesia), which serves as the nation's distinctive identity in maintaining nationalism and unity. This is then reflected in the motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" (Unity in Diversity), which reinforces the importance of pluralism and harmony amidst the country's rich anthropological diversity of ethnicities, religions, races, and cultures. The fourth pillar is "*Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan/Perwakilan*" (Democracy Led by Wisdom in Deliberation and Representation), which emphasizes that sovereignty resides in the hands of the people and is realized through systems and democratic patterns, such as elections, active participation in decision-making, government oversight, and a strong *trias politica* system.

At the same time, "*Keadilan Sosial bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia*" (Social Justice for All Indonesian People) forms the fifth pillar, which articulates the equal distribution of welfare and opportunities for all citizens, focusing on equitable economic development, strengthening the political

sector, and enhancing national resilience to maintain stability and sovereignty in facing global challenges and its realities.

With this foundation, Indonesia continues to strive to strengthen its role at both regional and international levels. As one of the most populous countries in the world and the largest economy in Southeast Asia, Indonesia's political and economic developments have significant impacts on the Indo-Pacific region and the broader global landscape. In foreign policy, Indonesia has long adhered to the *Bebas dan Aktif* (Free and Active) doctrine, which assures the importance of maintaining neutrality while actively engaging in various global issues.

However, the recent election of Prabowo Subianto as president in 2024 marks a significant shift in Indonesia's foreign policy direction. Many anticipate that he will adopt a more assertive and strategic approach, emphasizing national sovereignty and security alongside economic interests. His strong stance reflects a desire to enhance Indonesia's role in global politics while ensuring that national interests remain protected in an increasingly complex international landscape.

Before serving as president, Prabowo Subianto held the position of Minister of Defense under Joko Widodo's administration. His background in defense has influenced his foreign policy direction, which continues the economic approach of his predecessor but with a greater emphasis on security and strategic partnerships. During Joko Widodo's presidency, Indonesia's foreign policy was

driven by economic priorities, focusing on infrastructure development, trade agreements, and foreign investment.

Meanwhile, in his first 100 days in office, Prabowo demonstrated his commitment to continuing these economic initiatives while also expanding Indonesia's focus on defense, security, and geopolitical alliances. At the beginning of his administration, he conducted a series of diplomatic visits to strengthen Indonesia's position on the international political landscape and enhance strategic relationships with key global partners. This evolution in foreign policy reflects a shift from the previous administration's economy-centered approach toward a broader and more assertive strategy, aiming to position Indonesia as a major regional power. This study argues that these changes can be understood through a constructivist framework, which highlights how Indonesia's national identity and foreign policy priorities continue to evolve in response to global challenges and opportunities.

The objective of this paper is to explicate Prabowo's foreign policy inclination, positioning them as a strategic evolution from those of his predecessor. The main goal is to depict Prabowo as a visionary and decisive leader who seeks to strengthen Indonesia's sovereignty while pursuing global partnerships predicated on economic and security well-being.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Indonesia as a regional powerhouse

Over the years and since its independence, Indonesia has been growing as a regional powerhouse that has influenced Asia's political and economic dynamics. Indonesia has the largest and most populous economy in Southeast Asia, which implies that it has a significant role in the region's economic growth (Cahya et al, 2023). Within this context, Indonesia assumed the leadership of the ASEAN body in 2023, and this underscored its commitment to the region's economic growth. The country is poised to drive the region's growth and enhance economic resilience through its abundant natural resources, strategic location, and youthful workforce. The country's foreign policy approach is evident in its interaction with neighbors within ASEAN. In its chair period, Indonesia pursued priorities aligned with its national agenda, which relied on sustainable development and digital transformation to pursue post-pandemic economic recovery (Hourn, 2024).

From this context, the country is positioned as a significant influence within the region's economic affairs, which means that its political dynamics also influence international issues. Qudsiati and Sholeh (n.d.) also note that Indonesia is strategically placed within the geopolitical context since it is at the meeting points of two oceans. Based on its position, the country impacts maritime security issues, which means that the regional security architecture is incomplete without Indonesia's support. The larger implication is that its foreign policy

approach has national and international significance in economic, political, and security matters.

Although Indonesia is considered one of the economic powerhouses in the region, it is still regarded as a middle power within international affairs due to its limitations in certain areas. Wicaksana and Karim (2022) extend the perspective that Indonesia is a middle power, taking a position between the stronger and weaker nations. The article notes that Indonesia's situation as a middle power is due to its limited military and economic capabilities, which affect its ability to control the external environment. Much as this is the case, Wicaksana and Karim (2022) caution against viewing Indonesia merely as an object of the influence and interests of larger powers. Rather, the country remains an active member of the international community despite its challenges in exercising influence through multilateral diplomacy, mainly in managing its immediate region and global cooperation. It is expected that Indonesia's continuous engagement in these areas will help elevate its position within the hierarchy of the international actors.

The article by Wicaksana and Karim (2022) effectively situates Indonesia's position both regionally and globally in a way that captures its influence and capabilities. As a middle power, Indonesia adopts a diplomatic approach that contributes to a security environment predicated on a rules-based order as its vital infrastructure while having cooperative

diplomacy as a favored approach. In this context, Indonesia's foreign policy orientation shapes its relationships with other actors in the international system, reflecting its position as a middle power.

2.2. Free and Active Doctrine

Since gaining independence, Indonesia has adhered to the Free and Active doctrine. As noted by Simatupang and Panggabean (2022), this doctrine has guided Indonesia's foreign policy since 1948, although it has been influenced by the personalities and leadership styles of the country's presidents. The *Free and Active* doctrine is formally enshrined in Article 3 of Law No. 37/1999 on Foreign Relations, and was adopted during the Cold War era, a period characterized by the intense rivalry and conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this context, Indonesia sought to avoid alignment with either bloc and instead embraced a stance of neutrality.

The article by Simatupang and Panggabean (2022) explain that the concept of 'free' meant Indonesia's non-involvement in military alliances, as was the case during the Cold War. The notion of 'active' referred to the country's commitment to pursuing peace and avoiding conflicts that could have escalated tensions during the Cold War. Despite the restraint preferred by the Republic of Indonesia, President Sukarno adopted a confrontational approach in light of the need to promote communism within the region (Syarip, 2020). Even so, subsequent regimes have sought to remain

within the confines of the 'Free and Active' doctrine while actively engaging in international affairs. Essentially, this policy approach has been a defining element of Indonesia's foreign relations for decades but has also been subject to evolution in different areas.

Much as the 'Free and Active' doctrine was adopted during a period in which Indonesia sought to maintain neutrality, its policy approach has not been passive in any way. The notion of passivity in Indonesia's foreign policy may stem from its efforts to avoid conflict with other nations over ideological differences. Within this context, the free and active doctrine has emphasized independence while pursuing outcomes that promote social justice, well-being, and lasting peace. Simatupang and Panggabean (2022) articulate the idea that Indonesia's political stance leans towards the support of international efforts to maintain world peace based on the principle of independence.

The notion of independence refers to a country's freedom any forms of colonial domination, as well as its ability to make decisions in the international arena without pressures from other actors. Indonesia has been emphatic about the need for countries to maintain their sovereignty while making foreign policy decisions, which are pegged on advancing their well-being and that of the global political landscape.

In this regard, Indonesia has been pursuing diplomatic engagements to advance its economic and security position, particularly within the ASEAN region.

Highlighting the active role of the foreign policy that has defined the country for decades, Syarip (2020) notes that the country participated in seven free trade agreements within the region. Furthermore, Indonesia has also been exploring further engagements and agreements with other countries, including China and South Korea.

It is postulated that Indonesia has leveraged the use of free trade agreements to achieve its foreign policy objective of maintaining geopolitical and geoeconomic relevance. From this perspective, Indonesia has avoided a passive policy stance, maintaining neutrality while emphasizing the need for independent decision-making and participating in actions that strengthen its regional position.

2.3. Joko Widodo's Foreign Policy Approach

While Indonesia has consistently relied on a free and active foreign policy approach, each president has pursued it from a different perspective, with Joko Widodo adopting an economic-driven inclination. Ascending to the presidency in 2014 with limited experience in foreign affairs, Widodo was initially expected to focus more on domestic issues. Domestically, Widodo's first term was characterized by significant economic growth despite the weakening of global growth and declining world trade (Negara, 2019).

Negara (2019) further notes that Widodo managed to ensure a 5% economic growth annually between 2014 and 2018,

contributing to a rise in Indonesia's GDP to USD 1 trillion by 2017. This progress was largely attributed to reforms introduced by the president, such as reducing bureaucratic red tape and improving the ease of doing business in Indonesia.

While there were speculations that Widodo would focus solely on the domestic front, he defied such expectations by pursuing a robust foreign policy framework that also predicted the enhancement of the global economic standing of the country (Setiawan, 2024). This policy was defined by the establishment of multilateral and bilateral trade agreements, alongside efforts in attracting foreign direct investments in Indonesia. An example is the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement, whose implementation led to progress in exports of products such as rubber, plastics, and mineral products. Overall, Widodo has been persistent in achieving economic growth through a combination of internal reforms and the use of an active foreign policy framework that attracted investment in the country.

Beyond attracting foreign direct investment, Widodo's policy was also predicated on infrastructural development through global partnerships. Widodo earned the reputation of being an 'infrastructure president' due to his emphasis on the country's infrastructure as a means to facilitate sustained economic growth. According to Setiawan (2024), infrastructural development was a central component of Widodo's economic

diplomacy, as this approach would enhance Indonesia's global economic connectivity. Importantly, this economic approach remained aligned with the free and active doctrine, as there was a need to ensure the nation's economic well-being. Setiawan (2024) further notes that infrastructure development were intended to attract foreign direct investments from countries such as Japan and China.

This approach led to strategic collaborations, such as developing the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) with China. The BRI project is an approach to replacing ASEAN regionalism, promoting complex regional infrastructure and industrial cooperation beyond the region (Rosyidin & Pattipeilohy, 2020). Increased engagement with China also reflected a response to its increasing power and influence on global issues, prompting Indonesia to pursue partnerships beyond ASEAN. The association between Indonesia and China faced criticism, particularly regarding concerns over debt dependency and the potential erosion of national sovereignty (Setiawan, 2024).

The potential inability to repay Chinese loans raised concerns about increasing Indonesia's financial vulnerability. However, Widodo conceived this as the most potent way of enhancing the country's competitiveness while attracting foreign direct investment. Japan also emerged as a strategic partner in developing maritime infrastructure and the advancement of Indonesia's manufacturing capabilities.

Ultimately, this position made Widodo a leader committed to ensuring the economic well-being of Indonesia regardless of the countries he had to cooperate with.

Despite Indonesia's preference for a defensive strategy of foreign policy, it was under Widodo's leadership that the country adopted a more precise and assertive approach in pursuing its objectives. Rosyidin and Pattipeilohy (2020) refer to this assertiveness as a *realpolitik* approach that inspired Widodo's international affairs experts, given his limited experience in foreign policy. The author further note that Widodo did not assume the presidency with any strong views on the position that Indonesia should assume in the world, nor did he demonstrate a particular passion for the subject. As a result, experts who were part of his government pushed much of the foreign policy developments. Regardless, this led to the establishing of a more assertive Indonesia in the international political arena, with a clear emphasis on safeguarding national sovereignty and resisting any pursuits that threaten the country's domestic interests.

2.4. Prabowo's Foreign Policy Approach

The election of Prabowo Subianto as the President of Indonesia has been regarded as a signal in the potential policy shift in foreign affairs, given the leadership approach that contrasts with that of Joko Widodo. Subianto was inaugurated in October 2024, and according to Rizal Sukma, an advisor to President Widodo,

Subianto is expected to become a ‘foreign policy president,’ just as Widodo was known as an ‘infrastructure president’ (Peterson, 2024). It is anticipated that Subianto will adopt a more hands-on approach in the country’s foreign policy. The main focus areas are repairing the country’s reputation as a democracy and reinforcing its non-aligned foreign policy stance. The Widodo administration contributed to the damages experienced in Indonesia’s foreign policy areas.

While functioning as defense minister in Widodo’s administration, Subianto had already laid the foundation for an active foreign policy approach. The then-minister had visited Europe, Middle East and countries such as Malaysia, China, and Japan to promote the idea that his administration would focus on its ASEAN neighbors and those from other regions. Subianto’s background is considered to impact his foreign policy inclinations significantly. Unlike his predecessor, Subianto spent much of his childhood outside of Indonesia in countries such as England, Malaysia, Thailand, Swaziland, and Singapore since his father was forced into exile during Sukarno’s presidency (Anwar, 2024).

Other aspects including his military education and position in the previous cabinet, have further enhanced Subianto’s geostrategic and geopolitical understanding. As the elected president, Subianto traveled extensively, visiting sixteen countries between April to September 2024, indicating

his inclination towards high-level diplomacy.

Further, Prabowo indirectly criticized his predecessor’s approach by noting that its neighbors did not respect Indonesia and that it had limited hard power, and a lot needed to be improved to develop a strong Indonesia. In this regard, one can view Prabowo’s foreign policy as likely to be influenced by the realist perspective on an anarchical international system defined by pursuing self-interests by nations. To this effect, there will be an emphasis on Indonesia’s well-being while also promoting an assertive image in its international relations.

2.5. The Constructivist Theory in Foreign Policy

The constructivist perspective in international relations and foreign policy is predicated on the view that human awareness and consciousness are at the core of international politics. Wicaksana (n.d.) contends that constructivism is not a theory like realism or the balance of power but rather involves an expansion of the scope of international relations by embracing factors and actors that liberalism and realism fail to consider.

The author also notes that the ideals of constructivism are rooted in the philosophy of Kant, Weber, and Vico, where there is the conception that God creates the natural world while humans make a historical one and can, therefore, change it as they wish. Thus, human actions and views of the world

largely determine the outcomes of the international political system within a constructivist framework.

While constructivism emphasizes the essence of the state's primacy, there is also an acknowledgment of the role of other actors, including the social community, state agencies, think tanks, and international organizations. Within this perspective, constructivists appreciate the influence of human awareness and consciousness in international politics and relations between nations. In this regard, the implication is that a leader's view of the world will affect the type of policies they pursue in international relations.

Beyond this, identity plays a critical role in shaping how states interpret global events and adopt foreign policy responses (Erbas, 2022). In Indonesia's case, decades of interaction with both Western and Eastern powers—while maintaining its non-aligned stance—have contributed to the construction of an identity as an independent, sovereign, and peace-oriented middle power. This identity is rooted in the Free and Active doctrine and is reinforced by Indonesia's historical resistance to alignment during the Cold War, its leadership within ASEAN, and its consistent advocacy for equitable global governance. Under Prabowo, this identity is being reinterpreted to include a stronger emphasis on strategic autonomy, defense modernization, and global assertiveness. While still committed to independence and neutrality, Prabowo's administration leverages this constructed identity to justify

a more proactive global role—joining BRICS, deepening defense ties, and reinforcing maritime security in the Indo-Pacific—without abandoning Indonesia's foundational principles. This evolving identity informs the country's efforts to balance global partnerships with sovereignty, as it seeks to assert itself as a resilient and influential middle power in the face of growing geopolitical rivalry.

This foreign policy transition also reflects a shift in Indonesia's constructed identity—from a passive non-aligned actor to a confident, sovereign middle power asserting itself in global and regional arenas.

3. Research Method

The paper employs a qualitative approach to answering the research question. The qualitative method analyzes existing studies, articles, and publications on foreign policy in Indonesia during and before Prabowo's presidency. The qualitative approach is preferred in social sciences because it helps explicate phenomena by analyzing human experiences, values, and beliefs. Oranga and Matere (2023) contend that qualitative research helps gain a deeper, more comprehensive, and detailed description of phenomena from non-numeric data rather than hypothesis testing.

The preference for this approach in this study is because it allows the researcher to explore the issue from different perspectives and consider the insight and opinions of others on the subject. The essence of the research method is to explain the principles

of and how Prabowo's foreign policy approach compares to that of his predecessors.

In line with the qualitative approach, the sources for analysis were retrieved from articles with high-quality evidence. The researcher used the web to search for peer-reviewed articles on foreign policy in Indonesia. Some search terms used include 'free and active doctrine in Indonesia,' 'foreign policy in Indonesia over the years,' 'Prabowo's foreign policy approach,' and 'Indonesia's relations with other nations.' The search yielded thousands of articles and other publications, and an overview of the abstract helped identify the most relevant sources to be used for analysis. Following the identification of the articles, the next stage is the analysis, where the researcher relies on a thematic approach that explicates the contents of the articles. The data analysis is presented in the section below, leading to the conclusion.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Prabowo's Asta Cita Vision

In defining a framework to guide the implementation of his strategy, Prabowo has inclined towards Asta Cita, a model guided by eight vision areas. Prabowo has noted over time that attaining progress in Indonesia is a formidable journey requiring an unwavering vision. To this end, he outlined the eight quick impact programs defined as visions to ensure Indonesia attains its goals and expectations.

The first vision is to strengthen the

foundation of Pancasila ideology, human rights, and democracy (Subianto, 2024). Under this vision, the Pancasila ideology is one where there is a need to strike a balance between the interests of society and those of the people. Essentially, the vision is guided by the need to ensure that the interests of the rich and elite do not prevail over those of the weak in society.

The second vision relates to consolidating the national defense and security system while fostering self-reliance (Subianto, 2024). Within this vision, there is an appreciation of the need to have the capabilities of hard power while also focusing on the country's self-sufficiency in areas such as energy, food, water, digital economy, blue economy, and even the Syariah economy.

Beyond this, the third aspect is the continuation of infrastructure development while also improving employment opportunities. Achieving this vision is through the country's commitment to promoting entrepreneurship and expanding the creative industries. Subianto also recognizes the need to ensure developments in all areas that align with economic well-being and the empowerment of marginalized groups.

The fourth vision denotes the commitment to enhancing human resource development, gender equality, and the promotion of the sciences, technology, education, health, and sports achievement.

Meanwhile, the fifth vision emphasizes the development of natural resource-based

industries and downstream processing that lead to domestic value addition (Subianto, 2024). The vision is guided by the elements of nationalism and the essence of building domestic capabilities to enhance the country's competitiveness and self-sufficiency.

The sixth vision eradicates poverty by focusing on empowerment at the grassroots levels while pursuing economic growth and equity. The goal is to create a more balanced economy by improving infrastructure, supporting small businesses, and expanding access to essential services. Through strengthening local economies, this approach aims to reduce poverty and ensure that economic progress is felt by all, not just in major cities but across the entire nation.

Under the seventh vision, reform intensifies to help the country address corruption, gambling, drugs, and smuggling issues. This focuses on strengthening political, legal, and bureaucratic reforms to create a more transparent and effective government. By improving law enforcement and governance, this vision aims to build a safer, fairer, and more accountable Indonesia.

The last vision is to ensure that Indonesia is a prosperous and just society by enhancing harmony in the areas of environmental, natural, cultural, and religious tolerance. While these eight Asta Cita visions reflect domestic priorities, several are already being translated into Indonesia's foreign policy under Prabowo. For example, the second

vision—consolidating national defense and fostering self-reliance—is reflected in Prabowo's pursuit of military partnerships with Russia and India, as well as the increased defense budget and joint maritime exercises in the Indo-Pacific. The fifth vision—developing natural resource-based industries and downstream processing—is evident in Indonesia's decision to join BRICS, which aims to create more balanced global economic relations and reduce dependence on Western financial institutions. These policy moves show that Asta Cita is more than a rhetorical framework; it underpins Indonesia's strategic efforts to assert economic sovereignty, strengthen national defense, and realign its global partnerships to support long-term national interests. Through these actions, Prabowo's administration is actively operationalizing Asta Cita as a guiding principle in shaping Indonesia's evolving role on the global stage.

4.2. Indonesia's Entry into BRICS

As one of the policy initiatives under Prabowo, Indonesia has become a member of BRICS, which aligns with the essence of strategic partnerships geared towards the country's economic expansion. BRICS is an organization composed of major global southern countries, and they share the same objectives with Indonesia regarding establishing a just economic order and movement from the US dollar's reliance on international transactions (Anwar, 2024).

Indonesia's foreign policy under

Prabowo is seen as one that seeks to further the economic progress achieved under Joko Widodo through the exploration of strategic new partnerships. Beyond this, the inclination towards BRICS indicates that Indonesia is not approaching foreign policy within the context of parochial engagements but is rather adopting a globalized approach. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that Indonesia's membership in BRICS is a strategic approach towards improving collaborations and cooperation with other developing nations, pegged on sustainable development, mutual respect, and equality (AlJazeera, 2025).

The BRICS group comprises Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, Iran, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Ethiopia. Indonesia's accession into this bloc under Prabowo is not merely symbolic—it builds on a history of strategic engagements with several BRICS members. For example, Indonesia has maintained strong economic and infrastructure partnerships with China, particularly through projects initiated under the BRI (Setiawan, 2024; Rosyidin & Pattipeilohy, 2020). With India, Indonesia has increased maritime and defense cooperation, including joint naval exercises and strategic dialogues focused on Indo-Pacific security (Saha, 2024). Indonesia also conducted joint military drills with Russia in the Java Sea in late 2024, reflecting a growing defense alignment beyond its traditional partners (Saha, 2024). In the Gulf region, trade volumes with the United Arab Emirates have expanded, with

recent investment agreements in energy and logistics aligning with Prabowo's economic diplomacy goals (Anwar, 2024). These interactions provide a strong foundation for Indonesia's entry into BRICS and demonstrate that Prabowo's administration is actively pursuing diversified global partnerships.

The countries have some of the fastest-growing economies and seek to destabilize the Western-imposed structures, impeding effective business engagements. Indonesia's membership in BRICS allows it to access alternative financial institutions to those of the West while also enhancing the country's bargaining power in investment and international trade negotiations. Further, it indicates a foreign policy approach where the country intends to actively participate in global issues and promote a fair and inclusive structure. The active extra role played by Prabowo in international relations aligns with the constructivist view where the leader's identity impacts their approach to foreign policy.

4.3. Indo-Pacific Maritime Strategy

Much as Prabowo's administration is pursuing collaborations beyond the ASEAN region, maritime security is strongly emphasized within the Indo-Pacific region. Within the Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia has to deal with China's territorial claims and military activities in the South China Sea, which have raised tensions with other ASEAN nations. According to Pradnyana (2024), while Indonesia does not have a

direct claim to the South China Sea, the nine-dash line by China overlaps with Indonesia's economic zone around Natuna Island. The implication is that this will likely create a potential future conflict.

As part of Asta Cita's vision, Prabowo has emphasized strengthening the country's military capabilities. Within this context, the administration has taken steps toward bolstering its security through a higher budgetary allocation to the defense sector. The country has been engaging in joint military drills with the US to enhance its security capabilities (Raditio, 2024). Even so, the nature and extent of this cooperation are likely to be limited, considering Indonesia's position as a non-aligned country.

Prabowo has also expressed optimism that China and the US can resolve their rivalries in approaches that do not threaten the Indo-Pacific region's stability. Essentially, the foreign policy approach by Prabowo is largely focused on strengthening the Indo-Pacific region rather than a confrontational engagement.

Despite this, Prabowo's actions and sentiments indicate an inclination to enhance the country's military capabilities. Prabowo is wary of the likelihood that Indonesia, a nation that still needs many improvements, may be subject to the whims of powerful nations. The president is shaping his foreign policy approach to reflect a strengthening of the country's security and defense sectors.

Based on constructivist ideals, Prabowo's history as a defense minister

played a significant role in achieving the nation's security goals and pursuits. Effectively, Prabowo's foreign policy approach will continue to reflect an inclination towards ensuring maritime security.

4.4. Military and Defense Partnerships

Prabowo has pursued military and defense partnerships with Russia and India to build its capabilities. As noted, Prabowo served as defense minister and expressed displeasure at Indonesia's relative position due to its limited military capabilities. In November 2024, Indonesia conducted a joint bilateral military drill with Russia in the Java Sea to improve diplomatic relations (Saha, 2024). Prabowo has been seeking to improve relations with Russia, which is part of the disinclination toward the United States.

Vision two under Asta Cita is seen to be predicated on consolidating the national defense and security systems and pursuing military and defense partnerships with Russia and India. The partnerships are also seen as part of avoiding confrontations with China while countering regional security threats. The proactivity evidenced by Prabowo towards this end is part of his assertiveness in pursuing partnerships meant to strengthen rather than weaken Indonesia's position in regional and international affairs.

5. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of evidence on Indonesia's past and current foreign policy, it is evident that Prabowo's approach

indicates a strategic evolution from Joko Widodo's economic-driven policy. The actions pursued by Prabowo seek to depict his effectiveness and strategic foresight in international diplomacy, positioning him as a decisive and visionary leader who strengthens Indonesia's sovereignty while fostering balanced global partnerships.

Prabowo's first few months in office have been defined by the pursuit of partnerships at a global level, such as through entry into BRICS and engagement with Russia and India in strategic areas. The entry into BRICS seeks to build on Widodo's economic-driven approach as Indonesia's membership grants it access to better financial tools and new markets in the Global South.

Essentially, this will play a significant role in guaranteeing the country's economic ascendancy. Also evident in Prabowo's foreign policy has been his inclination towards military and defense partnerships that elevate Indonesia's position. The approach reflects the leader's influence in foreign policy, considering his past in the defense ministry, and seeks to assert the country's capabilities and dominance. By bolstering its security capabilities, Indonesia will have better defense mechanisms considering the increasing tensions in the South China Sea. To this end, Prabowo is insistent on guaranteeing the sovereignty of Indonesia and pursuing assertiveness in international relations as part of being influential in the global political system.

From a constructivist perspective,

Prabowo's foreign policy orientation is not merely a reaction to external pressures but a reflection of Indonesia's evolving identity in the international system. His strategic assertiveness is shaped by a reinterpretation of Indonesia's long-held values—such as sovereignty and non-alignment—into a more proactive and globally engaged posture. This identity-based approach helps explain why his administration seeks to redefine Indonesia's role from a traditionally neutral actor to a more influential middle power committed to shaping regional and global outcomes.

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TRADE BETWEEN INDONESIA AND LATIN AMERICA: INTEGRATION BY *DE JURE*

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia has formed *de jure* trade integration with Latin America, although exports to the region are relatively low and political will to integrate is still minimal. In addition, the low interest of Indonesian entrepreneurs in trade with Latin America further shows the lack of integration opportunities. In fact, ideally trade integration occurs after intense trade relations. This fact raises the research question: Why did Indonesia immediately form *de jure* trade integration with Latin America? In order to answer this question, this research used a qualitative method with descriptive analysis. Data were collected through interviews and literature studies, then it was analyzed by using an illustrative method. Moreover, this research used the concept introduced by Gamso and Postnikov (2021) regarding South-South Country Form Trade Integration which is encouraged by 2 matters. First, competition pressure to compete with fellow southern countries. Second, policy learning that the experience of trade integration with traditional partners is used as a reference in order to form something similar to fellow southern countries. This research shows that Indonesia formed *de jure* trade integration with Latin America because of policy learning. Experience in forming trade integration with traditional partners makes Indonesia accustomed to certain standards and negotiation patterns. A similar approach is applied to Latin America with an agreement format which has proven effective, accelerating and deepening trade integration. In the context of competition pressure, this step is not to compete with Latin America, but rather to maintain the consistency of trade integration as with traditional partners.

Keywords: Trade Integration, Non-Traditional Market, Traditional Market, Competition Pressure, Policy Learning

1. Introduction

International trade is currently implemented by various countries which causes an increase in global economic integration. Furthermore, conceptually, trade integration allows countries to strengthen and deepen cooperation in various sectors. In trade integration, there is integration through agreements or *de facto* and integration through markets or *de jure*. Both forms of integration contribute to the formation of increasingly close trade networks for the countries involved.

Regarding trade integration, Indonesia is a country which is currently forming it *de jure*; especially, with traditional partners. In

general, traditional partners in trade are countries which already have historically strong and sustainable relationships in these activities. Some of Indonesia's *de jure* trade integrations with its traditional partners are ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement, ASEAN-China FTA (ACFTA), Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJ-EPA), Indonesia-Australia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IA-CEPA), Indonesia-Korea CEPA (IK-CEPA), and others (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2025). Over time, Indonesia has formed *de jure* trade integration with non-traditional partner,

one of which is Latin America. The form of trade integration which has been formed by Indonesia with countries in Latin America that has currently been implemented is Indonesia-Chile Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IC-CEPA) and one currently in process is the Indonesia-Peru CEPA (IP-CEPA) (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). It is even possible that other trade integrations will be formed with countries in Latin America.

If we look back before being integrated *de jure*, relations between Indonesia and Latin America were still minimal; especially, trade. Until it was integrated, trade between Indonesia and Latin America was still low. Compared to other regions, the average amount of Indonesian exports to Latin America during the period 2000-2015, only reached 0.43%. This value never reached 1% during that period (Ramana & Retnosari, 2018). This fact shows that diversification in Latin America is not optimal.

Table 1. Total Indonesian Exports in General and to Latin America (Per Billion USD)

Year	Total Indonesian Exports	Exports to Latin America
2019	167,682	3,278
2020	163,306	3,166
2021	231,587	4,940
2022	291,979	5,766
2023	258,797	5,896

Source: ITC, Trade Map (2025)

Table 1. shows Indonesia's total exports in general and to Latin America per billion USD in 2019-2023. This period coincides with an important moment when Indonesia signed a cooperation agreement with Chile and the process of establishing trade cooperation with Peru. Referring to the data in table 1, the amount of Indonesia's exports to Latin America is still very small

when compared to the total exports as a whole. Although exports to Latin America have grown, their contribution to Indonesia's total exports is still relatively small, reflecting a market potential which has not been fully utilized.

In addition, the low political will is caused by Indonesia's orientation which is still focused on trade with traditional partners. As a result, Latin America as a non-traditional partner has not been a priority in Indonesia's trade policy (Tobing & Virgianita, 2020). This condition is in line with the perspective of Indonesian entrepreneurs who tend to be reluctant to actively participate, considering that the value of trade between Indonesia and Latin America is still relatively low (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). This situation indicates that formal and political relations between the two regions are not yet strong enough. In addition, the Indonesian and Latin American markets have not shown significant integration so that they cannot be a solid foundation for strengthening trade relations in the future.

Through the previous explanation, Indonesia formed *de jure* trade integration with Latin America, which is its non-traditional partner. If we look back, Indonesia's exports to Latin America were relatively low compared to the total. This condition, coupled with the lack of political will to integrate with Latin America since it is still oriented towards traditional partners and the low interest of Indonesian entrepreneurs in order to conduct trade activities with the region, shows that there is actually no opportunity to integrate relations. In fact, when forming *de jure* trade integration, at least the market between partners has conducted these activities intensively. This fact is not in accordance with what happened between Indonesia and Latin America. Therefore, through the explanation above, it can be stated that the

question of this research is: **Why did Indonesia immediately form *de jure* trade integration with Latin America?**

2. Literature Review

Before exploring the literature review section, the definition of the trade integration concept will be explained. The first *de jure* trade integration is using formal trade agreements in order to connect with each other. *De jure* integration emphasizes legal instruments as a foundation which encourages trade activities. It is based on the fact that formal trade agreements provide certainty, transparency, and definite regulations for the actors in them. However, *de jure* integration can lose its effectiveness when the underlying economic conditions are not supportive (Nicolas, 2024).

The second *de facto* trade integration emphasizes that the economy is connected through markets in which the private sector plays an important role. Moreover, *de facto* integration occurs without the need for formal trade agreements, where the countries involved implement policies; such as, domestic deregulation and trade liberalization, infrastructure improvements, and customs simplification. Generally, *de facto* trade integration implements policies in order to facilitate the flow of trade between countries, even though no formal trade agreements have been agreed (Nicolas, 2024).

Ideal trade integration should start *de facto* and then *de jure* in order to strengthen the influence of outward-oriented economic groups, so that their bargaining power in trade policies increases. This condition will lead to the implementation of trade which is in line with the dynamics in the market. Therefore, the next step to integrate *de jure* is in accordance with economic conditions (Aminian, Fung, & Ng, 2008). As a result, the trade integration which occurs can be sustainable.

In the literature review section of this research, it will be divided into three categories. First, regarding trade integration in *de jure* and *de facto*. Second, regarding Indonesia's trade integration. Third, trade relations between Indonesia and Latin America.

The first category of previous literature review regarding trade integration in *de jure* and *de facto* has given rise to debate. Research which had been conducted by Ezzat and Zaki (2022) and Nicholas (2024) shows that in traditional markets in the *de jure* context, the greater the difference in institutional quality between countries, the less likely they are to sign trade agreements. Meanwhile, in the *de facto* context, the greater the difference in institutional quality between trading partners, the higher the trade volume. Therefore, trade integration in *de facto* has a deeper impact on strengthening cooperation. On the other hand, research which had been conducted by Adjei and Grega (2023); Bataka (2019); and Gopalan, Duong and Rajan (2020) show the opposite. Trade integration conducted by countries with their traditional markets *de jure* actually increases economic growth and strengthens cooperation, while if conducted *de facto* it actually hinders it. Even *de facto* trade integration is only implemented in the short term.

The second category of previous literature studies regarding Indonesia's trade integration, which also found debate in it. Furthermore, based on research which had reviewed by Pangestu, Ing, and Rahardja (2015); Patunru (2023); and Syarip (2020) it showed that Indonesia's international trade experienced complex dynamics since it had been influenced by many things ranging from liberalism, protectionism, international commitments, fluctuations in commodity prices, competition, and others. It causes Indonesia to have an international trade policy which is pragmatic and

future-oriented, resulting in outward looking output. This form of Indonesia's international trade policy can be seen from increasing trade integration through agreements conducted *de jure* which have accelerated economic growth. In addition, the trade integration formed by Indonesia *de jure*; especially, with traditional partners such as ASEAN and China is relatively stronger in the negotiation and ratification stages even though it has not been effective when implemented.

On the other hand, Luqman and Falianty (2024); Nasurdin, Sinaga, and Walujadi (2015); also Suyatna (2019) see that the trade integration formed by Indonesia *de jure*, especially with traditional markets, shows a negative impact. It is because the trade integration formed *de jure* only provides benefits for Indonesia's traditional markets, where they continue to export their commodities while Indonesia only becomes a recipient. Indonesia even finds it difficult to export its commodities to partner countries due to quality constraints. Using quantitative methods, these studies evaluate the effects of Indonesia's trade performance that after trade integration was implemented, the conditions became worse. This phenomenon is caused by highly competitive pressure and rigidity of domestic producers.

The last category of literature review to complete this section is the trade relationship between Indonesia and Latin America. Research which had been conducted by Sterzer and Pakkanna (2020); Al-Husin and Virgianita (2024); and Tobing and Virgianita (2020) found that trade relations between Indonesia and Latin America have never shown significant activity, each focusing on traditional markets. Empirically, factors which hinder trade between Indonesia and Latin America include geographical distance, differences in business culture, lack of information and

market access, and minimal political will between countries. In addition, trade between Indonesia and Latin America is pragmatic so that the relationship will increase if there is something that benefits all, otherwise it will stagnate or tend to decline. Different from previous studies, several other literature reviews which had been conducted by Ramana and Retnosari (2018) and Sidabutar (2017) showed that there are opportunities to improve trade relations between Indonesia and Latin America. Using quantitative methods, these studies show that complementary commodities between Indonesia and America can increase trade, including animal oil, fats, wax, manufactured commodities, chemicals, copper, wine, and footwear.

Furthermore, previous literature reviews have highlighted that trade integration in the context of *de jure* and *de facto* has its own advantages and disadvantages. In the context of Indonesian trade, the current trade integration focuses more on *de jure*; especially, with traditional markets. Regarding trade relations between Indonesia and Latin America, there are obstacles in it even though there are opportunities which can be utilized. Through previous literature reviews, it can be seen that the research focuses more on studying trade integration in *de jure* and *de facto* towards traditional markets. Literature reviews that discuss Indonesia's trade integration *de jure* also focus more on relations with traditional markets. No one has discussed the trade integration formed by Indonesia *de jure* with non-traditional partner. Therefore, this research will fill the gap in previous literature reviews by focusing on trade integration formed by Indonesia with non-traditional partners; specifically, Latin America.

2.1. The Rationale of South-South Trade Agreements (Gamson & Postnikoy, 2021)

In order to answer the research questions, a concept is needed which functions as a guide in data collection and analysis so that the process is more focused. This research adopted the concept written by Gamso and Postnikov (2021) in their article entitled "Leveling-up: explaining the depth of South-South trade agreements." Gamso and Postnikov (2021) explain two main reasons why southern countries form trade integration even though there is no pressure from northern countries. This concept was used since Indonesia and Latin America are part of southern countries which do not show pressure from anywhere so that they are in accordance with the concept.

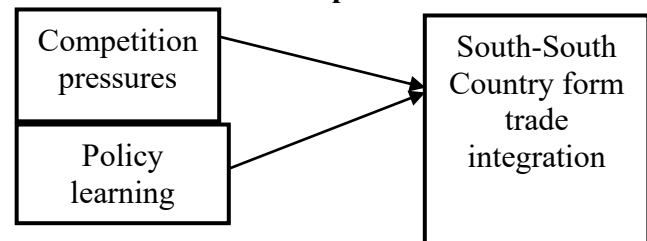
The first reason is **competition pressures**, southern countries that already have trade integration with northern countries usually have to follow stricter rules; such as, environmental standards or protection of workers' rights, which can make their production costs more expensive. In order to stay competitive with other southern countries which may have looser rules and cheaper production costs, they try to apply the same rules in trade integration with other southern countries. Therefore, they can ensure that other countries do not benefit from having lower standards (Gamso & Postnikov, 2021). This condition was created as a kind of strategy in order to keep the competition fair.

The second reason is **policy learning**, where southern countries that have formed trade integration with northern countries learn a lot from the process. They are accustomed to the format and content of more in-depth agreements, which include various rules other than simply eliminating import tariffs. When forming trade integration with other southern countries,

they tend to use the same format since they are comfortable with this model (Gamso & Postnikov, 2021).

Through this explanation, if competition pressures are the main reason, then southern countries which have formed trade integration with northern countries will impose strict rules on other southern countries, even though these countries have not had similar experiences. However, if policy learning is more dominant, then a deeper trade agreement will only occur if both countries have experience with north-south trade integration (Gamso & Postnikov, 2021). The concept which has been explained will be interpreted in this research as follows:

Figure 1. Operationalization of the Concept



Source: Author's processing based on Gamso and Postnikov (2021)

3. Research Method

This research used a qualitative method which produces descriptive answers (Lamont, 2015). Data collection techniques in this research consisted of interviews as primary data, which were conducted with the Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia. On the other hand, this research use documents by Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia such as Fact Sheet, Joint Study Group, Partnership Agreement, Presidential Regulation, and others documents that related to Indonesia's trade integration. The data is also obtained through literature studies which include journal articles, books, official websites, and

credible news. The data obtained were then analyzed by using an illustrative method, namely by placing variables from theories or concepts in an empty framework, then filled with relevant empirical data and analyzed (Neuman, 2014). In order to ensure the validity of the data, triangulation was conducted to check its validity.

4. Results and Discussion

Referring to the concept used, in order to find out the reasons why Indonesia immediately formed *de jure* trade integration with Latin America, it is necessary to look at the patterns of experience which affected it. The results and discussion section would be divided into two sub-sections according to the variables contained in the concept proposed by Gamso and Postnikov (2021).

4.1. Competition Pressures

The competition pressure mechanism explains that countries which have formed trade integration with northern countries tend to apply the same standards in agreements with other countries. It is conducted in order to maintain their competitiveness in global trade and avoid losses due to differences in regulations which can benefit countries with looser standards (Gamso & Postnikov, 2021). This mechanism is becoming increasingly relevant in the era of globalization, where economic linkages between countries are increasingly close, and differences in regulations can have a direct impact on a country's competitiveness in the international market.

This research sees that in the context of Indonesia and Latin America, the competition pressure mechanism is not competition but rather Indonesia's strategy in order to maintain its competitiveness in the global market. When forming trade integration with northern countries or traditional partners; such as, Australia, the

European Union, Japan, and South Korea, in both bilateral and multilateral contexts, Indonesia is required to apply various strict standards related to labor protection, the environment, and investor rights (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). These standards are not only administrative requirements, but they are also part of Indonesia's strategy in order to ensure that its access to the global market remains open and competitive. Therefore, when Indonesia expands its trade relations with Latin American countries, its main focus is not on outselling products from the region, but rather on maintaining regulatory consistency so as not to disrupt its position in the broader international trade system. This fact can also be seen from Central Statistics Agency through table 2 below.

Table 2. Total Indonesian Exports to Traditional Partners and Latin America (Per Billion USD)

Country's Destination	Indonesia's Export Value	Percentage of Total Exports
European Union	20,3	10,2%
Japan	24,8	12,5%
South Korea	13,5	6,8%
Latin America	5,2	2,6%

Source: Reprocessed based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (2023)

Table 2. presents data on Indonesia's total exports to traditional partners and Latin America per billion USD in 2023. Table 2 displays the overall value of Indonesia's exports, including the distribution of exports to each region and the percentage contribution to total exports. The data in Table 2 shows that the value of Indonesia's exports to traditional partners is much greater than to Latin America. Thus, if Indonesia lowers its regulatory standards in

agreements with Latin America, it could risk its relations with traditional partners which have been integrated for a longer time, even having long-standing trade relations.

One of the things which affects the relationship between Indonesia and traditional partners is creating a negative perception. Traditional partners may consider that Indonesia is not fully committed to the high standards which have been previously agreed upon, which could ultimately affect existing trade relations (Alaoui & Omari, 2022). In addition, regulatory imbalances can create uncertainty for investors and business actors, which can ultimately impact long-term economic stability (Patunru, 2023). This condition causes long-term complex problems since it affects various aspects. Therefore, maintaining uniform standards in various trade integrations is a strategic step for Indonesia in order to remain trusted as a credible and competitive trading partner at the global level.

Furthermore, this approach does not mean that Indonesia intends to restrict the entry of Latin American products or create trade barriers. On the contrary, by ensuring regulatory alignment, Indonesia can build closer and more sustainable cooperation with countries in the region. A deeper agreement will not only cover aspects of trade in goods, but also investment, labor protection, and sustainability standards that can benefit both parties (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2019). In addition, with the harmonization of regulations and increased standards in trade integration, business actors from both regions can more easily navigate export-import requirements, reduce policy uncertainty, and increase product competitiveness in their respective markets.

Another fact which needs to be emphasized is that in the context of IC-CEPA, the party that first invited to form

trade integration is not Indonesia, but Chile (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). Therefore, it shows that the initiative for cooperation in trade integration comes more from Chile, while Indonesia tends to be in a position which responds to the invitation. This condition indicates that the competition pressure that is usually a driving factor in the dynamics of international trade is almost invisible from Indonesia's side, or at least is not a major consideration in making decisions in order to establish this cooperation. In other words, Indonesia does not face significant competition pressure in encouraging trade integration with Chile or even Latin America, which may indicate that this cooperation is more strategic than reactive to market pressures or global competition.

Therefore, trade with Latin America is not only seen as a competitive challenge, but it also as a strategic opportunity in order to expand Indonesia's economic network and create mutually beneficial collaborations in various sectors. Thus, the competition pressure mechanism in Indonesia's trade policy focuses more on efforts to maintain global competitiveness and strengthen Indonesia's position in the evolving international trade architecture. It reflects Indonesia's strategic approach in building a trade ecosystem which not only prioritizes short-term profits, but it also ensures economic sustainability which is more inclusive and adaptive to global dynamics. Through this approach, Indonesia is not only a passive player in international trade, but it also proactive in forming a more equal and mutually beneficial economic relationship pattern.

4.2. Policy Learning

The policy learning mechanism explains that countries which have participated in trade agreements with northern countries will learn and become accustomed to certain

negotiation patterns. This process allows these countries in order to adopt the strategies they have learned when negotiating with other countries (Gamso & Postnikov, 2021). This negotiation experience provides an advantage for Indonesia in navigating the complexity of trade agreements, including in understanding the various causes related to tariffs, regulations, and standards imposed by partner countries (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2025). In this context, Indonesia, which has experience in forming more complex trade negotiations with northern countries or traditional partners, tends to use the same patterns and templates when conducting trade negotiations with Latin American countries.

Indonesia is one of the countries which has been heavily involved in trade integration with traditional partners; such as, through the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) with the European Union (IEU-CEPA) and Australia (IA-CEPA). In this integration, Indonesia does not only focus on tariffs, but it also covers various other aspects; such as, investment protection, environmental regulations, and workers' rights (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). As Indonesia began to establish closer trade relations with countries in Latin America, the negotiation patterns learned from previous negotiations became references which are reused in forming agreements with this region.

One example of this phenomenon is the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement IC-CEPA, which was signed in 2017 and valid in 2019. In this agreement, Indonesia not only negotiated on tariffs on trade in goods, but it also included provisions related to trade in services and investment (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2019). Previously, these elements were more often found in trade

integration with traditional partners. Thus, IC-CEPA is an example of how Indonesia's experience in negotiating with traditional partners has influenced the negotiation strategies applied when discussing with other southern countries, in this case countries in the Latin American region.

Furthermore, this phenomenon shows that Indonesia's trade policy develops not only from external pressures, but also from internal factors related to previous negotiation experiences. Indonesian negotiators who are accustomed to more complex negotiation patterns than traditional partners tend to bring the same standards to other trade integrations (Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). It means that Indonesia does not only focus on eliminating or reducing tariffs, but it also pays attention to other aspects which are increasingly becoming standard in global trade integration. As a consequence, Indonesia has begun to adopt a more strategic approach in structuring trade integration with various countries, including partners in the Latin American region.

More broadly, this tendency reflects a shift in the way Indonesia structures trade integration. If in the past, trade negotiations were more oriented towards tariff aspects, now Indonesia has begun to include other elements; such as, protection of workers' rights, investment standards, and environmental regulations (Pangestu, Ing, & Rahardja, 2015). This change occurred not only because of pressure from trading partners, but also because of the increasingly mature experience and understanding of Indonesian trade negotiators. This policy also reflects the increasing capacity of Indonesian negotiators in understanding the complexity of international trade negotiations. Experience in negotiating with traditional partners who have high standards in various aspects of trade makes Indonesia better prepared to navigate the challenges of

negotiating with other partners. Thus, this change in approach not only provides economic benefits for Indonesia, but it also improves the country's bargaining position in various global trade forums, while strengthening Indonesia's competitiveness in building a broader and more sustainable trade network.

In order to clarify how the experience of negotiations with traditional partners affects Indonesia's trade integration patterns with Latin American countries, this research seeks information from fact sheet of Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia documents. Table 3 below compares the main elements in Indonesia's trade agreements with traditional partners in developed countries as well as agreements that have been implemented or are still under negotiation with Latin American countries, in order to obtain a more comprehensive comparison.

Table 3. Comparison of Indonesia's Trade Integration with Traditional Partners and Latin America

Negotiation Aspects	Trade Integration with Traditional Partners (IEU-CEPA, IA-CEPA) Trade	Integration with Latin America (IC-CEPA, IP-CEPA)
Trade Tariffs	Main focus but combined with other aspects	As a part of a broader trade strategy
Trade in Services	Explicitly included	Starting to be included, as in IC-CEPA
Investment	Regulated in a special chapter with protection provisions	Still in the early stages, but gaining adoption
Workers'	Often	Starting to be

Rights	become a key issue in negotiations	taken into account to new negotiations
Environmental Regulation	Included in a separate chapter	Still in the early stages, but gaining attention
Dispute Resolution	Using international law-based mechanisms	Starting to adopt similar approaches

Source: Reprocessed based on data from the Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia (2024)

Table 3. shows integration pattern used by Indonesia in agreements with traditional partners has an effect on the way Indonesia negotiates with Latin American countries. Although initially trade negotiations with Latin America focused more on tariff aspects, currently there is a tendency to adopt more complex elements in agreements; such as, investment protection and environmental regulations.

The implications of this policy learning are quite significant in Indonesia's trade policy. First, it shows that Indonesia is increasingly ready to negotiate at the global level with higher standards. Second, this strategy can increase Indonesia's competitiveness in international trade since elements such as investment and environmental regulations are now increasingly becoming an important part of modern trade agreements. Third, experience in negotiating with traditional partners can be capital for Indonesia in order to play a more active role in shaping the trade architecture in the Latin American region.

In the future, Indonesia can continue to strengthen this approach by ensuring that every trade agreement made is not only economically beneficial but also it takes into account aspects of sustainability and protection of broader economic rights

(Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). Thus, the policy learning mechanism not only helps Indonesia in negotiations with traditional partners, but also in expanding trade networks with southern countries, including in the Latin American region.

partners; such as, Africa and the South Pacific.

5. Conclusion

Indonesia chose to form *de jure* trade integration with Latin America not solely because of competition pressure, but more driven by policy learning. Indonesia's experience in trade agreements with developed countries has made it more accustomed to certain standards and negotiation patterns. When interacting with Latin America, Indonesia uses the same approach as traditional partners using agreement formats which have proven effective. It allows the trade integration process in order to run faster and deeper legally *de jure*, compared to a more informal, gradual approach. In the context of competition pressure, it is not the need to compete with Latin America but the tendency to consistently implement trade integration which is also the same as traditional partners.

The concept used based on Gamso and Postnikov (2021), is able to make this research find answers regarding the reasons why Indonesia immediately formed *de jure* trade integration with Latin America. Even one of the concepts in the variable can be explored in more depth. Through this research, it is expected for further research to compare Indonesia's trade integration with its traditional and non-traditional partners which have almost the same form. In addition, for practical recommendations, for the Indonesian government, the experience of *de jure* trade integration with Latin America as a non-traditional partner is expected to be used as a guide when intending to form with other non-traditional

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PERAN BADAN PENGAWAS PEMILIHAN UMUM REPUBLIK INDONESIA SEBAGAI PRESIDEN *GLOBAL NETWORK ON ELECTORAL JUSTICE* (GNEJ) DALAM UPAYA DIPLOMASI PERADILAN PEMILU PERIODE TAHUN 2022-2023

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ABSTRAK

Kondisi demokrasi yang dinamis dan tantangan dalam penyelenggaraan pemilu menempatkan Badan Pengawas Pemilu (Bawaslu) sebagai lembaga yang strategis dalam menjaga integritas demokrasi di Indonesia. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif-deskriptif dengan metode studi kepustakaan dan dokumentasi untuk menganalisis peran Bawaslu dalam konteks hubungan internasional, khususnya dalam jaringan *Global Network on Electoral Justice* (GNEJ). Temuan utama menunjukkan bahwa keikutsertaan aktif Bawaslu dalam GNEJ, terutama saat dipercaya menjadi Presiden GNEJ periode 2022–2023 setelah sebelumnya menjabat sebagai Wakil Presiden Regional Asia, memperkuat posisi diplomasi kelembagaan Indonesia di ranah global. Momentum tersebut dimanfaatkan Bawaslu untuk mempromosikan sistem peradilan pemilu Indonesia dan mendorong kolaborasi lintas negara dalam memperjuangkan keadilan pemilu yang inklusif dan adil. Penyelenggaraan *5th Plenary Assembly* GNEJ menjadi salah satu capaian strategis yang menunjukkan komitmen Bawaslu terhadap penguatan demokrasi regional dan global. Simpulan dari studi ini menegaskan bahwa posisi Bawaslu sebagai Presiden GNEJ tidak hanya meningkatkan citra kelembagaan di tingkat internasional, tetapi juga membuka ruang diplomasi antarnegara dalam membangun sistem pengawasan dan peradilan pemilu yang lebih efektif. Kolaborasi dan semangat gotong royong menjadi fondasi utama dalam menghadapi kompleksitas kepemiluan dan tantangan peningkatan kapasitas SDM. Bawaslu RI menunjukkan bahwa lembaga negara dapat berperan aktif sebagai instrumen diplomasi demokrasi yang konstruktif di tingkat global.

Kata Kunci: Peradilan Pemilu, Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum, Organisasi Internasional, Diplomasi, Global Network on Electoral Justice (GNEJ).

ABSTRACT

The dynamic state of democracy and the challenges of election administration place the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) as a key institution in safeguarding democratic integrity in Indonesia. This study employs a qualitative-descriptive approach using literature review and document analysis to examine Bawaslu's role in the context of international engagement, particularly through its involvement in the Global Network on Electoral Justice (GNEJ). The findings reveal that Bawaslu's active participation in GNEJ especially its election as President of GNEJ for the

2022–2023 period, following its previous role as Regional Vice President for Asia has significantly strengthened Indonesia's institutional diplomacy on a global scale. This leadership position has enabled Bawaslu to promote Indonesia's electoral justice system and foster cross-national collaboration toward fair and inclusive electoral justice. The successful organization of the 5th Plenary Assembly of GNEJ stands as a strategic milestone reflecting Bawaslu's commitment to regional and global democratic advancement. The study concludes that Bawaslu's presidency in GNEJ not only enhances the institution's international image but also creates avenues for inter-state cooperation in building more effective and just electoral oversight systems. Collaboration and the spirit of mutual support serve as essential foundations in addressing the complexities of electoral issues and in strengthening human resource capacities. Bawaslu RI demonstrates that a state institution can play a constructive diplomatic role in advancing shared democratic objectives at the global level.

Keywords: *Cooperation, Election Supervisory Board of the Republic of Indonesia, International Organizations, diplomacy, Global Network on Electoral Justice*

1. Latar Belakang

Diplomasi peradilan Pemilu menjadi isu strategis dalam mendorong terciptanya keadilan elektoral di berbagai negara. Banyak negara telah membentuk lembaga atau institusi khusus yang menangani peradilan pemilihan. Untuk beberapa negara yang belum memiliki kekuatan yudikatif, maka Badan Peradilan Pemilu dialihkan kepada Lembaga Legislatif. Negara - negara yang menyerahkan peradilan Pemilu kepada mekanisme yang ada di bawah Peradilan Umum, salah satunya adalah negara Kanada, Jepang, Australia, dan India. Sementara negara lain ada yang telah membangun Lembaga Peradilan yang secara khusus menangani Pemilu dimana posisinya setara dengan Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) dan Mahkamah Agung (MA), seperti Meksiko, Brazil, dan Uruguay. Selain negara di atas, terdapat negara seperti Eropa Timur yang mengalihkan peradilan Pemilu kepada Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK). Sedangkan negara - negara yang baru saja lepas dari

konflik atau penjajahan, umumnya menyerahkan peradilan Pemilu itu kepada mekanisme penyelesaian alternatif yang diprakarsai oleh Perserikatan Bangsa - Bangsa (PBB).

Tahun 1965 di Bangkok, pernah diadakan *International Commission of Jurist* yang dalam konferensinya menghasilkan suatu kesepakatan mengenai pentingnya Pemilu yang bebas (*Free Election*) (Asshiddiqie, 2013). Tahun 1994, *Inter Parliamentary Union* di Eropa mempublikasikan prinsip *Free and Fair Election* dan mendeklarasikan kriteria untuk *Free and Fair Election* yang diharapkan dapat diterima dan menjadi standar internasional mengenai penyelenggaraan Pemilu yang demokratis (Gill, 2006).

Sejalan dengan adanya prinsip *Free and Fair Election* yang telah dipublikasikan, konsep integritas Pemilu tersebut juga telah dikampanyekan secara global, diantaranya dalam Kongres Asosiasi Politik Internasional

di Madrid pada tahun 2012 dengan tema “*Prospek dan Tantangan Integritas Pemilu*”. Kemudian pada September 2012, *Global Commission on Election and Security* mempublikasikan sebuah laporan kajian yang berjudul *Deepening Democracy: A Strategy for Improving the Integrity of Elections Worldwide*. Dan setahun berikutnya, *Harvard University* mengadakan workshop pada bulan Juni 2013 dengan tema, “*Concept and Indices of Electoral Integrity*”.

Mohammad Mahfud Mahmodin menjelaskan ada dua alasan mengenai demokrasi sebagai sistem bermasyarakat dan bernegara. *Pertama*, beberapa negara di dunia ini telah menjadikan demokrasi sebagai hal yang bersifat fundamental. *Kedua*, demokrasi bersifat kenegaraan secara esensial dan sekaligus memberikan *rule* bagi peranan masyarakat untuk menyelenggarakan Negara sebagai organisasi tertinggi (Mahmodin, 1989). Pemilihan Umum merupakan gambaran sekaligus parameter dari sistem demokrasi. Keberhasilan Pemilu yang diselenggarakan dalam konteks dengan kondisi keterbukaan, kebebasan berpendapat, dan kebebasan berserikat, menggambarkan partisipasi dan aspirasi masyarakat (Budiardjo, 2015).

Dengan negara yang menganut sistem demokrasi, Pemilu adalah tempat berkompetisi untuk menduduki tempat berpolitik di pemerintahan yang didasarkan pada pilihan formal dari warga negara yang memenuhi syarat didasarkan oleh pilihan rakyat. Pada masa demokrasi modern, Pemilu menempati posisi penting karena terkait beberapa hal: *Pertama*, Pemilu menjadi

mekanisme terpenting bagi keberlangsungan demokrasi perwakilan. *Kedua*, Pemilu menjadi parameter negara demokrasi, dan; *Ketiga*, Pemilu menjadi penting dikarenakan terkait dengan implikasi - implikasi yang luas dari Pemilu itu sendiri (Pamungkas, 2009). Beberapa pengamat menyatakan bahwa globalisasi pasar bebas akan mendorong demokratisasi politik, sedangkan kelompok lainnya mengatakan globalisasi telah menciptakan krisis demokrasi, atau bahkan kematian demokrasi itu sendiri (Winarno, 2007).

Korelasi mengenai dunia demokrasi dengan hubungan internasional masih menjadi pembahasan dalam diskursus hubungan internasional, yang mana dalam teori *Democratic Peace* mengatakan bahwa perdamaian demokratik menyatakan negara dengan sistem demokrasi tidak akan berperang melawan negara demokrasi lainnya. Perdamaian yang terjadi di antara negara - negara di Uni Eropa, khususnya Eropa Barat, menurut Cohen bukan semata-mata dikarenakan demokrasi, namun karena adanya kesamaan pengalaman sejarah serta kultur (Pugh, 2005). Salah satu contohnya adalah hubungan yang sangat dekat antara Amerika Serikat dengan negara non-demokratis, seperti Arab Saudi yang menganut sistem monarki, merupakan suatu anomali (ketidaknormalan).

Adanya hubungan antar negara maupun non-negara, dapat disebabkan oleh adanya perbedaan sumber daya antara negara yang berbeda. Hubungan atau kerjasama juga dapat terjadi akibat saling ketergantungan (*interdependensi*) untuk dapat saling memenuhi kebutuhan antara suatu negara dengan negara

lain ataupun dengan non-negara. Dalam melakukan interaksi tersebut, suatu negara tentu memiliki pelaku atau aktor -aktor yang bertugas dan berperan untuk menjalankan interaksi tersebut. Dalam ilmu hubungan internasional, aktor-aktor tersebut dibedakan menjadi dua bagian yaitu negara dan non-negara (Goldstein, 2005). Dalam hubungan internasional, aktor non-negara atau *non-state actors* (NSAs) adalah orang atau kelompok yang mempengaruhi dan terpisah sepenuhnya atau sebagian dari sebuah negara yang berdaulat (Chickering, 2006). Aktor bukan negara (NSAs) dapat terdiri dari perusahaan multi nasional-MNC, organisasi pemerintah internasional-IGO, organisasi non pemerintah internasional-INGO, kejahatan transnasional terorganisasi-TOC, dan jaringan teroris internasional (Perwita dan Yani, 2006).

Organisasi seperti dikatakan oleh Gary N. McLean sebagai situasi dimana dua atau lebih orang yang terlibat dalam mencapai tujuan bersama (Mclean, 2006). Gibson, Ivancevich, Donnelly, dan Konopaske juga mengatakan organisasi adalah: "*An organization is a coordinated unit consisting of at least two people who function to achieve a common goal or set of goals*" (Gibson, 2012). Organisasi internasional sebagai asosiasi negara - negara, yang terbentuk karena adanya kesepakatan antar-anggota dengan sistem atau organ tetap dan bertujuan untuk mencapai *common interest* yang diwujudkan dengan kerjasama antar negara anggota (Archer, 1992). Dengan hal tersebut, negara - negara yang berdaulat menyadari bahwa kehadiran organisasi sangat penting

bagi kelangsungan hubungan antar negara ataupun dalam memenuhi kebutuhannya. Hal tersebutlah yang selanjutnya mendasari Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia (Bawaslu RI) untuk bergabung sebagai anggota *Global Network on Electoral Justice* (GNEJ) - Jaringan Global Untuk Keadilan Pemilu.

Oleh karena itu, Pemilu yang bebas dan adil memerlukan penerapan mekanisme penyelesaian sengketa Pemilu yang efisien dan transparan, yang secara eksplisit didefinisikan dalam Undang - Undang (*International IDEA*: 2022). Selain hal tersebut, dari data di *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance* (*International IDEA*), bahwa kesamaan permasalahan kepemiluan dan kasus Pemilu yang masuk dalam peradilan Pemilu, menjadi salah satu alasan untuk memiliki wadah dalam penegakan keadilan Pemilu. Salah satu contohnya adalah perbandingan gambaran sengketa Pemilu dan jumlah sengketa serta data mengenai lembaga tingkat pertama yang menangani sengketa Pemilu di benua Asia dan benua Afrika berikut ini:

Tabel 1. Data Perbandingan Gambaran Sengketa Pemilu, Jumlah Sengketa dan Lembaga Tingkat Pertama Yang Menangani Sengketa Pemilu di Benua Asia dan Afrika

Lembaga Tingkat Pertama Yang Menangani Sengketa Pemilu	Benua Asia (Dari total 37 kota)	Benua Afrika (Dari total 49 kota)
<i>Electoral Management Body (EMB) in the lower level/Instansi Tingkat Pertama (tingkat bawah)</i>	6 Kota (16,2%)	7 Kota (14,3%)
EMB (tingkat tertinggi)	8 Kota (21,6%)	4 Kota (8,2%)
Pengadilan Yurisdiksi Umum (termasuk Mahkamah Agung)	17 Kota (45,9%)	13 Kota (26,5%)
Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara	0	2 Kota (4,1%)
Mahkamah Konstitusi/Dewan	5 Kota (13,5%)	22 Kota (44,9%)
Pengadilan/Pengadilan Pemilu	3 Kota (8,1%)	1 Kota (2,0%)
Legislatif	1 Kota (2,7%)	-

Lainnya	3 Kota (8,1%)	-
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Sumber: International IDEA. *Electoral Justice Database: Comparative Overview of Electoral Dispute Resolution in Asia and Africa*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 2022

Dari data di atas, dapat disimpulkan bahwa antara Asia dan Afrika memiliki konsentrasi yang cukup serius dalam penegakan hukum Pemilu. Oleh karenanya, maka dipandang penting untuk Indonesia utamanya bergabung dalam organisasi GNEJ sebagaimana diungkapkan Abhan sebagai Ketua Bawaslu RI pada periode 2017–2022 dalam forum *Fourth Plenary Assembly Global Network on Electoral Justice (4th Plenary Assembly GNEJ)*. Tidak dapat dipungkiri, bahwa rendahnya integritas dalam penyelenggaraan Pemilu berdampak pada tingginya angka korupsi. Tingginya angka korupsi pada sebuah negara yang menganut kerangka sistem demokrasi, tentu kontras dengan nilai-nilai demokrasi yang menjunjung tinggi akuntabilitas, transparansi, dan keadilan. Karena, sistem demokrasi menjadikan Pemilu sebagai legitimasi untuk melahirkan pemimpin atau pejabat publik, baik secara independen maupun melalui institusi partai politik.

Dengan kondisi tersebut perlu adanya pelibatan partisipasi masyarakat sipil guna menunjang kinerja dari penyelenggaraan Pemilu. Selanjutnya, terdapat fakta bahwa tingkat kepercayaan masyarakat terhadap demokrasi tergolong tinggi, namun tidak diiringi dengan tingkat kepercayaan yang

setara terhadap partai politik dan lembaga legislatif. Survei Indikator Politik Indonesia pada tahun 2023 menunjukkan bahwa sekitar 73% responden menyatakan demokrasi merupakan sistem pemerintahan terbaik. Namun, kepercayaan publik terhadap partai politik hanya mencapai 39,6%, dan terhadap DPR sebesar 53,3% (Indikator, 2023). Ketimpangan ini mencerminkan adanya krisis representasi, di mana institusi-institusi politik yang semestinya menjadi saluran aspirasi rakyat justru belum mampu menjalankan fungsi perwakilan secara efektif. Kondisi demikian mengindikasikan bahwa lembaga representasi yang ada belum mampu menjalankan fungsi perwakilan sebagaimana mestinya. Akibatnya, demokrasi masih diterapkan secara prosedural. Hal tersebut seperti diungkapkan dalam forum 4th Plenary Assembly GNEJ, akan menjadi permasalahan krusial apabila tidak terakomodir dalam peradilan pemilihan. Adapun contoh kasus yang terjadi di Afrika tepatnya di Kenya yang merupakan salah satu negara di Afrika bagian timur. Salah satu konflik yang terjadi adalah konflik pasca Pemilu 2007. Konflik tersebut berawal dari pengumuman hasil Pemilu yang dilaksanakan pada 27 Desember 2007 yang menetapkan Mwai Kibaki, yang merupakan Presiden Kenya 2002 - 2007, sebagai pemenang. Sedangkan pihak oposisi, Raila Odinga, menyatakan bahwa hasil Pemilu telah dicurangi. Ketegangan atas sengketa hasil Pemilu tersebut terus memuncak dan berujung pada kekerasan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa konflik pasca Pemilu 2007 di Kenya disebabkan oleh tiga faktor, yaitu: 1) Faktor politik, yang ditandai dengan adanya

persaingan antar kelompok dan pertarungan kepemimpinan yang semakin tajam; 2) Faktor ekonomi, yang ditandai dengan adanya masalah ekonomi; 3) Faktor sosial budaya, yang ditandai dengan sejarah kelompok yang bermasalah (Yohantin, 2013). Dengan hal tersebutlah, kemudian menjadi alasan Kenya bergabung dalam organisasi internasional guna mencari dukungan agar kasus serupa tidak terjadi kembali dan sebagai bagian untuk mendorong keadilan Pemilu ke depannya.

Selain bergabung menjadi anggota GNEJ, Bawaslu RI juga bergabung dengan organisasi internasional lainnya yaitu *Association of World Election Bodies* (A-WEB), Asosiasi Lembaga Penyelenggara Pemilu Internasional, yang didirikan pada tahun 2013. Keanggotaannya secara resmi ditetapkan pada 2 September 2019 di India. Hingga saat ini sudah ada 114 lembaga dari 106 negara yang telah menjadi anggota A-WEB. Secara khusus anggota A-WEB di benua Asia berjumlah 25 dari beberapa negara dan lembaga yang berbeda beda. Sedangkan benua Eropa 17 lembaga, Afrika terdapat 39 lembaga, Oseania terdapat 7 lembaga, dan Amerika 30 lembaga. A-WEB bermarkas di Korea Selatan dan mempunyai visi mendorong efisiensi dan efektifitas kebebasan, keadilan, transparansi, dan partisipasi pemilu di dunia. Keikutsertaan Bawaslu dalam A-WEB merupakan upaya untuk mempromosikan demokrasi yang berkesinambungan di seluruh dunia dan karena itu juga sebagai upaya penekanan untuk mendukung proses-proses Pemilu yang efisien dan berkesinambungan dalam dunia internasional.

Pada 4th Plenary Assembly GNEJ, Indonesia melalui Bawaslu RI dipilih untuk menjadi Presiden GNEJ periode 2022 - 2023 setelah sebelumnya menjabat sebagai *Vice President Regional Asia*. Hal tersebut tentunya menjadi tantangan sekaligus peluang bagi Bawaslu RI untuk memanfaatkan kesempatan tersebut sebagai bagian untuk mempromosikan demokrasi dan keadilan Pemilu Asia ke seluruh dunia.

Di sisi lain, dapat dimaknai bahwa organisasi internasional adalah asosiasi lintas batas yang memiliki struktur formal dan continue serta dibentuk berdasarkan kesepakatan antara anggota (pemerintah dan atau non-pemerintah) dari dua negara berdaulat atau lebih, berdaulat dengan tujuan untuk mengejar kepentingan bersama dengan cara - cara yang diplomatis (Greenberg, J, Baron, R.A,1995). Berdasarkan peran yang dipegang Indonesia, relevan jika GNEJ menjadi topik yang menarik untuk diteliti guna memberikan perspektif peran diplomasi dalam peradilan pemilu.

Berdasarkan dari uraian di atas maka dapat difokuskan pertanyaan yang akan menjadi acuan penelitian ini adalah:

1. Bagaimana peran Bawaslu RI sebagai Presiden GNEJ dalam upaya diplomasi peradilan Pemilu pada periode 2022-2023?; dan

2. Bagaimana tantangan dan peluang Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia sebagai Presiden dalam GNEJ pada periode 2022-2023?

2. Metode Penelitian

Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode kualitatif dengan deskriptif analitis. Metode deskriptif analisis dalam penelitian ini akan memaparkan karakteristik partisipatif Bawaslu RI di organisasi internasional GNEJ dalam perspektif hubungan internasional. Selanjutnya, mengenai diplomasi terkait keadilan pemilu, dimana Bawaslu RI sebagai anggota dan selanjutnya menjabat sebagai Presiden pada organisasi GNEJ dan kontribusi penguatan Bawaslu RI secara justifikasi legal formal internal dalam negeri dengan eksistensinya di GNEJ.

3. Hasil dan Pembahasan

3.1. Peran Bawaslu RI Sebagai Presiden GNEJ Dalam Upaya Diplomasi Peradilan Pemilu Pada Periode 2022-2023

Menyelenggarakan Forum Diplomasi Peradilan Pemilu

GNEJ -Jaringan Global untuk Keadilan Pemilu, merupakan jaringan internasional yang dibentuk pada tahun 2017. Forum yang dilakukan menggambarkan prinsip-prinsip dalam teori organisasi, khususnya teori sistem terbuka yang menekankan pentingnya interaksi dan komunikasi antar anggota dalam suatu organisasi (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972). Forum ini berfungsi sebagai wadah atau arena pertemuan bagi anggota untuk berkumpul bersama, berdiskusi, berdebat, bekerja sama, serta berbagi pengetahuan (*sharing knowledge*), sehingga memungkinkan terjadinya proses koordinasi dan pengambilan keputusan secara kolektif yang efektif. Hal

tersebut sangat menunjang masing - masing anggotanya untuk saling mengedepankan kepentingannya dalam satu organisasi dan bermanfaat bagi masing - masing kelompok yang bersaing, dimana ingin mendapatkan tidak hanya forum untuk pandangan mereka, tetapi juga penguatan diplomatik untuk kebijakan mereka masing-masing.

Secara umum, dalam penyelenggaraan GNEJ terdiri dari beberapa agenda kegiatan yaitu: *Plenary Assembly* -Sidang Pleno sebagai agenda utama dimana dalam pertemuan tahunan ini para anggota bertemu untuk memperbarui agenda kerja dan melanjutkan pengembangan strategi, tindakan, dan berbagi pengetahuan baru. Di antara waktu *Plenary Assembly*, anggota dapat bertukar pendapat melalui forum diskusi yang tersedia dalam laman resmi GNEJ yang disebut dengan *Global Exchange Platform*. Dalam kegiatan tersebut, para anggota dapat berbagi dokumen yudisial dan akademik yang bertujuan untuk menjaga komunikasi serta pertukaran informasi terkini. Sampai dengan saat ini, platform tersebut telah menampung lebih dari 400 dokumen dalam 3 (tiga) bahasa kerja: Inggris, Spanyol dan Perancis.

Berikut adalah serangkaian rapat kerja yang dilakukan *Technical Secretariat* GNEJ dan juga Bawaslu RI dalam hal mempersiapkan 5th *Plenary Assembly* GNEJ:

Tabel 2. Laporan rapat kerja Technical Secretariat GNEJ bersama Bawaslu RI

Waktu	Agenda
22 Desember 2021	Rapat antara Bawaslu RI dengan <i>Technical Secretariat</i> GNEJ (TEPJF -Mexico) secara daring membahas tentang agenda dan mekanisme penyelenggaraan <i>Scientific Committee Meeting</i> dan <i>Award Ceremony</i> .
	 Gambar 1. Dokumentasi rapat teknis antara Technical Secretariat GNEJ dengan Tim Sekretariat GNEJ Bawaslu RI Direncanakan kedua acara tersebut akan diselenggarakan di Bali secara <i>hybrid</i> pada 31 Maret -1 April 2022 dengan agenda utama adalah penyerahan GNEJ Award dilanjutkan dengan pertemuan tertutup <i>Scientific Committee Meeting</i> untuk membahas

	topik GNEJ tahun berjalan termasuk yang akan dibahas pada 5 th <i>Plenary Assembly</i> .
28 Juni 2022	Rapat teknis antara Bawaslu RI dengan <i>Technical Secretariat</i> GNEJ membahas evaluasi pelaksanaan <i>Scientific Committee Meeting</i> yang pada akhirnya dilaksanakan pada 31 Maret -2 April 2022 serta persiapan pelaksanaan 5th <i>Plenary Assembly</i> GNEJ pada tanggal 9 -11 Oktober 2022 di kawasan Nusa Dua, Bali.  Gambar 2. Dokumentasi rapat virtual antara <i>Technical Secretariat</i> GNEJ dengan Tim Sekretariat GNEJ Bawaslu RI dalam pembahasan teknis 5th <i>Plenary Assembly</i> GNEJ

Sumber: Tim Penulis, 2022

Mengintensifkan Promosi dan Nilai -Nilai Demokrasi Sistem Kepemiluan Terbuka

GNEJ merupakan forum jejaring kolaboratif internasional yang beranggotakan otoritas/lembaga/badan pemilihan nasional, organisasi pemerintah dan non pemerintah, lembaga akademis, swasta dan juga pakar guna membahas upaya perlindungan hak

politik pemilihan bagi warga negara dan penyelesaian sengketa pemilu secara efektif. Dengan dipilihnya Bawaslu RI sebagai Presidensi 5th *Plenary Assembly* GNEJ merupakan suatu peluang untuk upaya diplomasi Indonesia dalam hal memperkenalkan wujud demokrasi¹

Apresiasi baik² terhadap diadakannya GNEJ *Awards* pertama setelah 4 (empat) kali *Plenary Assembly* GNEJ, menjadi sebuah ajang penghormatan terhadap peran para pihak yang telah berkontribusi dalam konsolidasi dan penguatan keadilan elektoral di tingkat nasional, regional dan internasional. Terdapat 5 (lima) kategori penghargaan yaitu: (1) Akses terhadap keadilan pemilu; (2) Independensi yudisial -elektoral; (3) Kesetaraan gender; (4) Proses pemilu dalam situasi darurat; dan (5) Terobosan khusus pada topik penting GNEJ. Hal tersebut menjadi sebuah dorongan untuk terus meningkatkan kepedulian terhadap nilai -nilai demokrasi dan keadilan pemilu.

Hal yang lain adalah pada hasil akhir 5th *Plenary Assembly* GNEJ, Bawaslu RI berhasil

¹ Kutipan pernyataan Ketua Bawaslu RI, Rahmat Bagja periode 2022–2027 dalam artikel “Bawaslu RI Jadi Tuan Rumah, 5th Plenary Assembly of The Global Network on Electoral Justice”, <https://bali.tribunnews.com/2022/10/10/bawaslu-ri-jadi-tuan-rumah-5th-plenary-assembly-of-the-global-network-on-electoral-justice>.

Penulis: Ida Bagus Putu Mahendra | Editor: Harun Ar Rasyid

² <https://www.bawaslu.go.id/id/berita/hakim-dari-meksiko-apresiasi-bawaslu-adakan-gnej-award>

memasukkan konsep gotong royong sebagai bagian dari Deklarasi Bali. Gotong royong yang merupakan elemen asli bangsa Indonesia yang nilai -nilainya terkandung dalam dasar negara yakni Pancasila, diyakini menjadi satu prinsip bentuk koordinasi nyata yang dibutuhkan dalam rangka menuju keadilan Pemilu. Artinya, bahwa mencapai tujuan demokrasi, bukan saja menjadi tugas satu entitas baik itu kelembagaan ataupun negara, tetapi juga bagaimana membangun kolaborasi atau gotong royong bersama. Melihat kegiatan yang telah terlaksana dengan baik dan peran strategis Indonesia melalui Bawaslu RI sebagai Presiden GNEJ, dapat disimpulkan bahwa GNEJ merupakan forum diplomasi yang tepat untuk mempromosikan nilai -nilai demokrasi dan sistem pemilihan terbuka.

Mengefektifkan Koordinasi Lembaga/Anggota Organisasi GNEJ

The 5th Plenary Assembly GNEJ telah berlangsung pada tanggal 9 -11 Oktober 2022 bertempat di Nusa Dua, Bali yang diselenggarakan secara *hybrid*. Meskipun Bawaslu RI siap menyelenggarakan secara *offline*, namun atas pertimbangan dalam hal keterbatasan jumlah peserta yang diperbolehkan otoritas kesehatan, maka kegiatan juga dapat diikuti secara *online* melalui perangkat media sosial (*live streaming youtube*). Dari total keanggotaan GNEJ yang berjumlah 286 orang dari 47 negara, adapun yang turut hadir dalam 5th Plenary Assembly GNEJ adalah sejumlah 86 orang dari 31 negara.

Indonesia melalui Bawaslu RI sebagai Presiden GNEJ sejak 1 Januari 2022 -31

Desember 2023, menjalankan perannya sebagai penyelenggara kegiatan tersebut. Selama proses persiapan hingga pelaksanaannya telah banyak dilakukan fungsi koordinasi antar lembaga atau anggota organisasi internasional yang tergabung dalam keanggotaan GNEJ. Koordinasi dilaksanakan sebagai bentuk penyelarasan pada tujuan pelaksanaan kegiatan, pengarahan, menjalankan fungsi koordinasi dalam GNEJ dan juga integrasi kegiatan dengan menggunakan beberapa platform media seperti *website*, *email*, *zoom* dan *whatsapp* yang menjadi alat bantu yang dapat terus dikembangkan ke depannya guna tetap merawat jejaring yang telah ada, memudahkan koordinasi dan untuk memastikan pembaharuan pengetahuan kekinian tetap terjaga.

Selain itu, selama kegiatan berlangsung ataupun pasca kegiatan, para anggota dapat menggunakan *Global Exchange Platform* yang dapat diakses melalui laman resmi GNEJ sebagai ruang untuk berdiskusi dan juga berbagi produk pengetahuan. Penggunaan media ini memungkinkan ruang koordinasi tidak terbatas waktu. Hadirnya GNEJ yang terjalin dengan baik, akan semakin mempererat hubungan antar negara ke depannya. Dengan dasar bahwa negara/anggota saling melengkapi kebutuhan dan membantu anggota lain yang membutuhkan pendapat yang mereka butuhkan, dapat disimpulkan bahwa keberadaan GNEJ mampu meningkatkan hubungan persahabatan antar negara. Selain itu, GNEJ juga dapat menjadi ruang untuk meningkatkan kemajuan dalam bidang

peradilan Pemilu dalam dunia internasional.

3.2. Tantangan Bawaslu RI Sebagai Presiden GNEJ Dalam Upaya Diplomasi Peradilan Pemilu Pada Periode 2022-2023

Tidak Adanya Penetapan Isu Prioritas GNEJ

Dalam setiap *Plenary Assembly* terdapat topik-topik yang secara spesifik muncul sebagai bentuk kontribusi GNEJ. Isu - isu yang berkaitan dengan kesetaraan gender, independensi peradilan dan media/jaringan sosial adalah salah satu topik yang paling diperdebatkan dan dianalisis berulang kali. Dalam penyelenggaraan forum 5th *Plenary Assembly* GNEJ, pembahasan mengenai topik-topik permasalahan Pemilu dibagi dalam 6 (enam) pleno yaitu sebagai berikut:

Sesi Pleno dengan Topik

1. Penyelenggaraan pemilu pada tahun 2022 dan strategi keluar dari kondisi pandemi covid-19
2. Media digital dan disinformasi dalam proses pemilu
3. Strategi dalam mendekatkan keadilan pemilu bagi warga negara berupa: transparansi, keterbukaan data dan kolaborasi sosial
4. Keadilan pemilu yang inklusif gender: pengamatan mengenai kesetaraan gender
5. Keadilan pemilu yang mandiri: pengamatan mengenai kelembagaan yudisial/peradilan yang mandiri
6. Keadilan pemilu digital : pengamatan mengenai media sosial

Enam sesi pleno tersebut menjadi

etalase permasalahan-permasalahan kepemiluan secara global. Di Pleno Ke-1 salah satunya, bahwa rendahnya partisipasi pemilih pada Pilkada 2021 bisa disebabkan oleh sejumlah factor namun tidak terbatas pada: pandemi global, pemadaman listrik yang disebabkan oleh penurunan muatan, cuaca buruk, dan sikap apatis pemilih.

Di Pleno kedua, mengenai permasalahan Pemilu adalah berkaitan dengan jejaring sosial. Kebebasan di internet 2017 manipulasi jejaring sosial untuk merusak demokrasi (*Freedom House*), ketika menyatakan bahwa berhasil melawan manipulasi konten dan memulihkan kepercayaan pada jejaring sosial, tanpa merongrong kebebasan internet dan media akan memakan waktu, sumber daya, dan kreativitas. Langkah pertama dalam upaya ini harus mencakup pendidikan publik yang bertujuan untuk mengedukasi masyarakat bagaimana menemukan berita dan komentar yang salah atau menyesatkan. Kita harus fokus pada hal ini untuk mencapai peraturan yang mempromosikan suara pemilih yang terinformasi, melindungi dan menyelaraskan kebebasan berekspresi dengan platform digital.

Di sisi lain, pada akhirnya melihat permasalahan-permasalahan Pemilu tersebut tidak dapat disebut hanya sebagai faktor penghambat saja, namun juga ternyata mampu menjadi peluang untuk inovasi penyelenggaraan Pemilu itu sendiri. Seperti halnya yang disampaikan oleh Totok Haryono pada sesi Pleno Ke-3 tentang strategi dalam mendekatkan keadilan pemilu bagi warga negara. Bawaslu dalam pengalamannya

menjalankan tugas dan fungsi pencegahan, pengawasan, dan penindakan pelanggaran serta penanganan sengketa proses Pemilu menggunakan skema 'gotong royong' sebagai elemen utama. Diyakini bahwa dalam masyarakat Indonesia khususnya, gotong royong dianggap sebagai elemen asli bangsa Indonesia yang nilai-nilainya terkandung dalam dasar negara yakni Pancasila. Hubungan antara Pancasila, Gotong Royong, Konstitusi dan Demokrasi serta Pemilu menjadi relasi logis untuk mengkonkritkan gotong royong sebagai jalan mendekatkan keadilan Pemilu kepada warga negara. Konsekuensi dari hal tersebut, dalam penegakan hukum Pemilu, Bawaslu mengutamakan pencegahan sebagai upaya paling awal, kemudian menempatkan penindakan sebagai upaya paling akhir.

Hal lain yang juga merupakan permasalahan penting dalam diskusi Pemilu adalah terkait dengan kesetaraan gender, independensi lembaga peradilan dan media/jaringan sosial. Tantangan juga muncul dalam kesetaraan gender kaitannya dengan keadilan Pemilu, khususnya tentang stereotipe dan beban ganda perempuan. Dari beberapa permasalahan di atas memang tidak adanya prioritas isu yang ditetapkan dalam forum GNEJ untuk diselesaikan, namun hanya sebagai media dalam bertukar informasi dalam suatu forum dengan permasalahan-permasalahan pemilu masing-masing tanpa menemukan solusi bersama dalam forum tersebut.

Terbatasnya Sumber Daya Manusia Dalam Kesiapan Menjadi Presiden GNEJ Pada Periode 2022 - 2023

Indonesia melalui Bawaslu RI terpilih menjadi Presiden GNEJ untuk periode 2022 -2023 dimana salah satu kewajibannya adalah menyelenggarakan 5th *Plenary Assembly* GNEJ. Selain memperoleh peluang, dalam menjalankan perannya tersebut juga terdapat tantangan. Hal tersebut tidak terlepas dari kesiapan sumber daya manusia (SDM) dari Bawaslu sendiri.

SDM merupakan sumber daya penting di dalam suatu organisasi. Apabila tidak adanya SDM yang bagus atau personil SDM tidak memadai, maka suatu kegiatan di dalam sebuah organisasi tidak akan berjalan dengan baik, meskipun berbagai faktor lain yang telah tersedia. Seperti halnya diungkapkan pada beberapa literatur, bahwa SDM mempunyai arti penting dikarenakan adanya peran aktif dan dominan dari manusia dalam setiap kegiatan organisasi, yang mana manusia mempunyai peran sebagai penentu, pelaku, bahkan perencana dalam mencapai tujuan perusahaan maupun instansi maupun organisasi dan sekaligus menentukan maju mundurnya perusahaan (Jufrizen,2016).

Berkaitan dengan kesiapan SDM ini di lingkup Bawaslu sebagai Presiden GNEJ, Fritz Edward Siregar Anggota Bawaslu RI Periode 2017 - 2022 dalam wawancaranya di kantor Bawaslu RI menyampaikan bahwa Bawaslu RI tidak memiliki SDM yang cukup dalam *skill* berbahasa Inggris untuk menerima tamu dari Internasional dan belum adanya kesiapan mengenai mengenai Biro secara khusus atau bagian secara khusus untuk

melaksanakan kerjasama dengan lembaga luar negeri untuk memperisapkan segala administrasi untuk melakukan kerjasama antar lembaga. Permasalahan keanggotaan yang selalu berganti dalam beberapa periode menjadi salah satu unsur ketidak stabilan SDM yang dimiliki dan menambah kompleksitas permasalahan Bawaslus tersendiri.

Lemahnya Dinamika Komitmen, Kerjasama dan Kontribusi Negara Anggota Dalam Forum GNEJ

Komitmen dalam sebuah organisasi adalah kondisi dimana anggota sangat tertarik terhadap tujuan, nilai-nilai, dan sasaran organisasinya. Dalam hal tersebut, komitmen organisasi yang diciptakan bukan hanya sekedar keanggotaan formal, akan tetapi meliputi sikap menyukai organisasi dan kesediaan untuk mengusahakan tingkat upaya yang tinggi bagi kepentingan organisasi demi pencapaian tujuan.

Mowday berpendapat bahwa komitmen organisasional merupakan identifikasi dari keterlibatan seseorang yang relatif kuat terhadap organisasi dan bersedia berusaha keras bagi pencapaian tujuan organisasi (Porter, 1983). Luthans (2006) mendefinisikan komitmen organisasi sebagai suatu keinginan yang kuat untuk menjadi anggota dari organisasi tertentu (Fred Luthans, 2006).

Pada dasarnya yang tertuang dalam *Global Network on Electoral Justice Constitutive Act* antara lain mengenai berpartisipasi dalam Sidang Paripurna setidaknya sekali setiap dua tahun, berpartisipasi dalam Platform Pertukaran

Global dengan kontribusi minimal dua dokumen yudisial atau akademik per tahun, ikut serta dalam forum diskusi di Platform, antara lain. Selain itu, diharapkan bahwa penghubung otoritas memelihara kontak berkala dengan Sekretariat Teknis dan memfasilitasi diseminasi upaya GNEJ di dalam lembaga mereka.

GNEJ sebagai wadah untuk menggali kerjasama sesama anggota dalam dunia peradilan pemilihan. Selain itu, organisasi internasional juga merupakan sarana untuk *sharing knowledge* dan menghasilkan keputusan yang disepakati bersama dan saling menguntungkan pihak yang sesama anggota dalam organisasi tersebut.

Paradigma Pluralisme menyatakan bahwa aktor-aktor dalam hubungan internasional tidak saja terdiri dari aktor negara melainkan pula aktor non negara termasuk pula di dalamnya *societal* (masyarakat) (Martin Hollis dan Steve Smith, 1990), dan hal tersebut sejalan dengan organisasi GNEJ yang mana aktor-aktor dalam hubungan internasional bukan hanya negara melainkan para ahli bidang pemilihan yang melintasi antar negara. Aktivitas hubungan tersebut disebut aktivitas transnasional.

Aktivitas transnasional dari berbagai aktor non-negara ini kemudian memunculkan konsep *international society* (masyarakat internasional) yang pada intinya merupakan interaksi antar individu atau kelompok yang melewati batas-batas tradisional negara (Special issue, 1993).

Tetapi beberapa teoritis hubungan internasional yang mengakui bahwa aktor

negara masih menjadi aktor yang sangat dominan dalam hubungan internasional sebagaimana dinyatakan Charles Beitz bahwa *“nation-states are the most important actors for understanding international relations”* (Groom, 1991). Sebagai Organisasi internasional mempunyai peran sentral untuk menjalin kerjasama sesama anggota memiliki tantangan dalam eksistensi organisasi dalam jangka panjang, pendek maupun menengah.

Tantangan awal yang dihadapi oleh GNEJ adalah pembangunan rasa kekompakan dan persatuan, yang merupakan dasar bagi keberlanjutan organisasi. Dengan kerja keras selama lima tahun, hal ini telah tercapai dan ada penegasan kembali kepentingan otoritas dan pakar berulang kali dalam Jaringan. Tantangan, dan peluang, adalah menemukan mekanisme -baik organik maupun teknologi -yang mempertahankan diskusi dinamis antara peristiwa dan Sidang Paripurna. Untuk tujuan ini, ada upaya terus-menerus dari Sekretariat Teknis untuk memperbarui Platform Pertukaran Global (situs webnya) dan untuk menawarkan acara hibrida atau virtual sementara, di antara Sidang Pleno.

3.3. Peluang Kerjasama Peradilan Pemilu

Keanggotaan Bawaslu RI dalam GNEJ pada dasarnya sebagai dukungan dalam pelaksanaan diplomasi Indonesia. Keanggotaan Bawaslu RI pada organisasi internasional GNEJ merupakan salah satu perwujudan diplomasi multilateral serta melaksanakan politik luar negeri yang bebas dan aktif sebagaimana amanat Undang-Undang Nomor 37 Tahun 1999 tentang Hubungan Luar Negeri. Dari

perwujudan-perwujudan diplomasi multilateral serta melaksanakan politik luar negeri yang bebas dan aktif tersebut dapat meningkatkan eksistensi dalam kepemimpinan Bawaslu RI di pentas global dalam melaksanakan peradilan Pemilu untuk mendukung kepentingan nasional Indonesia. Keanggotaan Bawaslu RI dalam GNEJ dapat dimanfaatkan sebagai peluang kerja sama internasional di berbagai bidang dan akan memunculkan kerjasama-kerjasama yang lainnya. Di samping peluang yang akan timbul, muncul juga tantangan yang harus dihadapi dalam keanggotaan pada organisasi internasional.

Seperti halnya dalam teori Neoliberalisme, yang mana satu pemahaman dan satu pemikiran dengan Bawaslu RI, mengenai keikutsertanya atau bergabung dalam GNEJ, yang mana dalam perspektifnya, berpengaruh secara signifikan terhadap perkembangan studi Hubungan Internasional dan tata cara bergaul dalam organisasi tersebut. Pada dasarnya perspektif neoliberalisme mengungkapkan bahwa bekerjasama antarnegara atau aktor lainnya dalam sistem internasional. Neoliberalisme meyakini bahwa kerjasama yang telah dibangun dapat dilakukan dan adanya kemungkinan untuk mendapat keuntungan bersama melalui penerapan norma, rezim, ataupun institusi (Sean Ka, 2013). Dan hal tersebut menjadi satu cita-cita dan harapan Bawaslu RI untuk saling bekerjasama dan menguntungkan dalam bidang peradilan pemilihan.

Keanggotaan Bawaslu RI dalam GNEJ menimbulkan berbagai peluang, baik hadir

dari faktor internal maupun eksternal. Mengenai peluang yang hadir dari faktor internal dapat dimanfaatkan melalui implementasi *agreement*, kerja sama penguatan kapasitas teknis maupun manajerial. Keanggotaan Indonesia dalam GNEJ dapat memberikan pengaruh dan peluang yang sangat besar, khususnya untuk menyuarakan mengenai peradilan Pemilu sekaligus untuk menjembatani perbedaan antaranggota yang berbeda kepentingan dan *sharing knowledge* sekaligus sebagai *Peacemaker* untuk mengupayakan perdamaian antarnegara anggota maupun antarnegara dalam sistem pemilihan secara internasional.

Secara umum, Bawaslu RI menganggap bahwa adanya GNEJ untuk mendorong terwujudnya peningkatan peran Indonesia dalam pergaulan dunia internasional. Bawaslu RI sebagai lembaga pemerintahan percaya bahwa hal yang dilakukan dapat menguatkan dan media promosi identitas nasional. Kerjasama sangat diperlukan dalam setiap manajemen organisasi pada tingkatannya.

4. Kesimpulan

Sebagai lembaga pengawas Pemilu, Bawaslu RI memiliki tanggung jawab untuk menjaga integritas dan keadilan dalam proses demokrasi. Peran ini tidak hanya penting di tingkat nasional, tetapi juga dalam konteks global. Terpilihnya Bawaslu RI sebagai Presiden Global Network on Electoral Justice (GNEJ) periode 2022–2023 menandai pengakuan atas kapasitas Indonesia dalam memimpin diplomasi peradilan Pemilu secara internasional.

Keterlibatan dalam GNEJ merupakan strategi diplomasi multilateral Indonesia dalam bidang pemilihan. Forum ini menjadi wadah untuk berbagi praktik baik, menyusun kebijakan, dan memperkuat kerja sama lintas negara dalam mewujudkan keadilan elektoral. Dalam kepemimpinannya, Bawaslu RI menyelenggarakan agenda strategis seperti Plenary Assembly, Scientific Committee Meeting, hingga pemberian GNEJ Awards sebagai bentuk pengakuan terhadap kontribusi institusi dan individu dalam memperkuat keadilan Pemilu.

Namun demikian, peran ini tidak lepas dari tantangan. Secara internal, koordinasi antar anggota GNEJ dan kesiapan sumber daya manusia menjadi perhatian utama. Di tengah keterbatasan anggaran dan beban kerja nasional, Bawaslu RI tetap dituntut aktif menjalankan tugas internasional. Secara eksternal, dominasi negara-negara Eropa dan Amerika Latin dalam keanggotaan GNEJ menantang peran Bawaslu untuk memperluas jejaring, khususnya di kawasan Asia yang memiliki keragaman politik tinggi.

Meskipun dihadapkan pada kondisi pandemi COVID-19 yang memengaruhi pelaksanaan 5th Plenary Assembly, Bawaslu RI mampu beradaptasi dengan menyelenggarakan forum secara hybrid dan terbuka secara digital. Dalam forum ini, sejumlah isu prioritas dibahas, seperti disinformasi Pemilu, keterbukaan data, strategi pasca-pandemi, hingga kesetaraan gender dan kemandirian lembaga peradilan Pemilu.

Peran Bawaslu RI sebagai Presiden GNEJ menjadi bukti konkret bahwa diplomasi

peradilan Pemilu dapat menjadi instrumen strategis dalam membangun kredibilitas demokrasi Indonesia di mata dunia. Forum ini juga membuka ruang kolaborasi internasional yang mendukung reformasi sistem Pemilu nasional serta memperkuat hubungan bilateral dan multilateral Indonesia di bidang demokrasi elektoral.

4.1. Saran

Sesuai dengan teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini yakni perspektif kaum neoliberalis memberikan respon positif terhadap konstruksi kerjasama yang telah dibangun antar anggota organisasi, yang mana bagi kaum neoliberalis dengan melalui kerjasama, *absolute gains*. Dengan kata lain, neoliberalis meyakini pencapaian bersama dalam keikutsertaan dalam organisasi internasional. Selain tersebut ada aktor non negara yang juga merupakan kunci utama untuk melakukan kerjasama dengan negara lain.

Dengan cita-cita Bawaslu RI sebagai Lembaga Pelopor Demokrasi/Peradilan Pemilu dengan bergabungnya Bawaslu dalam organisasi GNEJ dapat menjalin persahabatan antarbangsa, hal tersebut dapat melaksanakan pembangunan nasional, dalam bidang kepemiluan dan peradilan Pemilu. Dengan keikutsertaan dalam organisasi - organisasi internasional, bangsa Indonesia dapat

mencukupi kebutuhan dengan bantuan bangsa lain serta membuka peluang bidang lain selain mengenai kepemiluan.

Keikutsertaan Indonesia dalam GNEJ membuka peluang bagi bangsa Indonesia untuk berperan untuk memperkenalkan Indonesia di mata dunia dalam bidang lainnya (Pariwisata). Seperti halnya Indonesia sering dijadikan tempat penyelenggaraan konferensi antarbangsa seperti halnya yang dilakukan pada program *Asia Regional Event in Indonesia* GNEJ 31-1 April 2022 di Bali. Selain hal tersebut memperoleh pengalaman dari Negara-negara lain, pengalaman yang dapat diperoleh dari pergaulan dengan bangsa-bangsa lain, misalnya pengembangan sistem peradilan kepemiluan.

Posisi bergaulnya Bawaslu dengan negara lain berguna sebagai indikator posisi Indonesia dalam dunia Kepemiluan dan memperkuat posisi Indonesia di gelanggang internasional sebagai peradilan Pemilu internasional di tengah - tengah bangsa lain. Dengan demikian Indonesia mengetahui keunggulan *absolute* yang dimilikinya dan dapat diarahkan menuju spesialisasi dan rujukan sebagai peradilan Kepemiluan secara khusus. Selain hal tersebut, dengan ikut aktif dalam organisasi internasional Indonesia tidak terisolasi dalam pergaulan bangsa - bangsa lainnya. Karena hal tersebut penting untuk menghadapi era globalisasi.

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INDONESIA'S ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY: THE CHALLENGES BY THE U.S. INCENTIVE REDUCTION ACT AND CHINA'S NICKEL DOMINATION

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia, as the world's largest producer of nickel, faces significant challenges in leveraging its resources for economic development. These challenges are compounded by external pressures, including the U.S. Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), and internal issues related to China's dominance in Indonesia's nickel sector. Despite its vast nickel reserves, Indonesia is excluded from the green incentives provided under the IRA, which threatens to undermine its strategic position in the global nickel supply chain. The study seeks to understand the underlying factors driving this exclusion and the impacts of China's dominance on Indonesia's nickel industry. This research employs an explanatory qualitative approach, drawing from literature reviews and interviews with an industry expert. The methodology focuses on interpreting the interrelations between international trade policies, environmental sustainability, and Indonesia's domestic challenges. The study identifies three key factors behind Indonesia's exclusion from the IRA: the lack of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States, environmental concerns over Indonesia's mining practices, and the significant presence of Chinese companies in Indonesia's nickel sector. China's dominance has also led to environmental degradation, reduced domestic industrial competitiveness, and economic dependency. To address these challenges, the research proposes that Indonesia negotiate an FTA with the United States. Such an agreement would create a framework for accessing IRA incentives, strengthen Indonesia's economic sovereignty, and mitigate China's dominance. While the negotiation process will require strong political will and careful diplomacy, it presents a viable path for Indonesia to secure its economic and geopolitical interests.

Keywords: United States, Indonesia, Incentive Reduction Act, Nickel, FTA.

1. Introduction

Indonesia is often regarded as a country rich in natural resources—and not without reason. From the surface, where diverse flora thrives, to the depths of its land and seas teeming with abundant resources, Indonesia's natural wealth is evident. This abundance serves as clear proof of the country's vast natural endowment. According to quantitative data on its natural assets, Indonesia is home to approximately 8,000 plant species and 2,215 types of flora (Putri, 2020). These significant figures have undoubtedly placed Indonesia at the center of global attention. Historically, Indonesia's natural wealth has

consistently attracted interest from other nations—an allure that is, arguably, difficult to resist. This comparative advantage has often become a source of both domestic and international challenges. One of the most notable historical consequences was colonization, driven largely by the desire to exploit these rich resources. Although Indonesia has since achieved independence, the legacy of its resource wealth continues to be accompanied by various forms of conflict, many of which persist to this day.

The figures mentioned above merely illustrate the vast diversity of Indonesia's flora and fauna. Delving deeper, Indonesia

possesses even greater wealth beneath its surface. The country is endowed with a variety of mineral commodities, including oil and natural gas, coal, iron sand, tin ore, nickel ore, bauxite, copper ore, gold, silver, and manganese ore. In addition, Indonesia also has a wide range of non-metallic mineral resources, such as mountain stone, river stone, limestone, coral stone, gravel, marble, sand, silica sand, quartz sand, kaolin, clay, and many others (Tim, 2023).

With such abundant resources, Indonesia has become one of the world's leading producers of mineral commodities. In fact, Indonesia is recognized as the largest nickel producer globally. Not only does the country lead in production, but it also holds the largest known nickel reserves in the world. According to data from the U.S. Geological Survey, Indonesia's nickel reserves reached 21 million metric tons in 2022, equaling those of Australia for the same period. This figure accounts for approximately 21% of total global nickel reserves that year. Furthermore, Indonesia was the world's largest nickel producer in 2022, with total production reaching 1.6 million metric tons, contributing 48.48% of the global output (Ranggasari, 2023).

Nickel is considered a highly valuable commodity due to its widespread and essential applications in various industries. For instance, it is a key raw material in the production of stainless steel, which is used in kitchenware, household appliances, and vehicles. It also serves as an anti-corrosive coating for a wide range of products, including home appliances, automobiles, and ships. Moreover, nickel has gained significant popularity in recent years, largely due to the global shift from fossil fuel-powered vehicles to electric vehicles (EVs), a transition that relies heavily on a stable and sufficient supply of nickel (Karyza, 2023). In this context, nickel plays a critical role in supporting the advancement of the EV industry.

The rising global demand for nickel presents a strategic opportunity that

Indonesia should embrace. The growing popularity of nickel is expected to drive international demand significantly, positioning Indonesia to benefit substantially as the world's leading supplier. However, the path to fully leveraging this advantage on the global stage has proven to be complex and fraught with challenges. Indonesia is still grappling with an ongoing trade dispute with the European Union, which has escalated to the World Trade Organization (WTO), where Indonesia currently faces an unfavorable position (Desk, 2023). Now, a new potential tension has emerged, involving another global power—the United States—once again centering around Indonesia's nickel industry.

The initial point of tension emerged when the United States introduced a new industrial policy known as the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), signed into law by President Joe Biden in August 2022. Broadly speaking, the IRA aims to promote industrial protectionism and reduce competition from other countries, particularly developing nations. The United States is currently prioritizing the development of a new clean economy. As part of the IRA's implementation, the U.S. government is set to provide hundreds of billions of dollars in green subsidies to companies engaged in environmentally friendly business practices (House, 2023).

While the IRA is a policy with a commendable objective and can be viewed as a step toward achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), its implications for Indonesia have raised serious concerns. The core issue lies in Indonesia's exclusion from the list of countries eligible for green incentives—a move perceived by many as a discriminatory act by the United States. Under the IRA, companies that establish factories or produce electric vehicles (EVs) using nickel sourced from Indonesia do not qualify for the green subsidies provided by the U.S. government. This exclusion has significant ramifications for Indonesia's industries, particularly the nickel sector.

However, this policy may also be counterproductive for the United States. Given that Indonesia holds the world's largest nickel reserves, it represents an optimal supply source for companies engaged in the production of electric vehicles and batteries. Therefore, Indonesia's exclusion from the IRA's benefits raises urgent questions that merit scholarly investigation.

There are numerous assumptions surrounding the United States' concerns over China's growing dominance in Indonesia's nickel market. This study argues that a comprehensive analysis is required to understand the underlying motivations behind Indonesia's exclusion from the IRA incentives. Moreover, it is important to consider whether Indonesia can garner support from both the United States and China—two global powers often at odds with each other. This journal seeks to propose diplomatic strategies that can offer mutual benefits to both nations, ensuring that no party feels disadvantaged by the implementation of the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA). Based on those facts, this research aims to answer these questions: First, what are the underlying reasons for Indonesia's exclusion from the green incentives provided under the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) implemented by the United States? Second, what diplomatic opportunities can Indonesia pursue to influence U.S. policy regarding the IRA and eliminate the exclusion currently applied to Indonesia?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Inflation Reduction Act (IRA)

In the journal article titled "What's in the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) of 2022", it is explained that the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) was signed into law by the President of the United States on August 16, 2022. This legislation provides incentives, grants, and loans worth billions of dollars to support new infrastructure investments in the areas of clean energy, transportation, and

environmental sustainability. The IRA also allocates substantial funding for programs aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions and increasing energy efficiency. As the most comprehensive climate legislation in U.S. history, the IRA is expected to accelerate the transition toward a clean economy and help achieve net-zero emissions by 2050 (Kumar et al., 2022).

Further insights are provided in the publication by the U.S. Department of Policy titled "The Inflation Reduction Act Drives Significant Emission Reduction and Positions America to Reach Our Climate Goals." This journal highlights the impacts of the IRA within its first year of implementation, including cost savings for American households and support for communities disproportionately burdened by pollution and climate change. The publication also emphasizes how the IRA fosters both economic growth and environmental sustainability. As widely acknowledged, both state and non-state actors in the international arena are increasingly advocating for sustainable development.

Sustainable development is a developmental approach that seeks to meet present human needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own. It emphasizes a balance among three key pillars: economic growth, social inclusion, and environmental protection. The IRA is closely aligned with several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 7 (Affordable and Clean Energy), Goal 9 (Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure), Goal 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), and Goal 13 (Climate Action). In addition, it supports other SDGs related to environmental protection and sustainable development (DOE, 2022).

In the journal article "Inflation Reduction Act: Infrastructure Implementation Resources" authored by Tom Curtin and published by the National Governors Association, the allocation and distribution of IRA funding is described in

greater detail. The total funding under the IRA amounts to hundreds of billions of dollars and includes incentives, grants, and loans. There are several primary areas of fund allocation. First, the IRA provides substantial federal funding for climate initiatives. To significantly reduce national carbon emissions by the end of this decade, the IRA allocates approximately \$400 billion in public investment for clean energy. These funds are distributed through a combination of grants, tax incentives, and loan guarantees. The largest portion of the funds is allocated to clean equipment and electricity, followed by clean transportation, including subsidies for electric vehicles.

Second, the IRA supports the enhancement, repurposing, or replacement of existing energy infrastructure. The U.S. Department of Energy is set to receive approximately \$12 billion to double its current lending capacity and create a new loan program with a ceiling of \$250 billion to support these initiatives (Nga, 2023). Third, the IRA offers incentives to stimulate private investment. Most of the allocated funding comes in the form of tax credits, with an estimated total of \$216 billion in tax deductions. Businesses are the primary beneficiaries of these credits, which are designed to encourage private-sector investment in sustainable industry, transportation, and energy. Many of these tax incentives are structured as direct payments, allowing entities to claim full benefit even if their tax liability is lower than the credit amount.

Fourth, the IRA includes incentives for consumers. Approximately \$43 billion in tax credits are intended to lower emissions by reducing the costs of electric vehicles, energy-efficient appliances, rooftop solar panels, geothermal heating systems, and residential batteries. Moreover, these funds are broadly accessible. Individuals, corporations, state and local governments, and other organizations are all eligible to receive funding under the energy provisions of the Inflation Reduction Act.

2.2. Indonesia Nickel Sector

Dicky Dwi Radhica and Raden Ambara, in their article titled “Indonesia’s Nickel Protectionism in Global Trade,” assert that Indonesia plays a highly significant role in the global nickel industry, possessing approximately 25% of the world’s nickel reserves—making it the largest reserve holder globally. Numerous countries, such as Japan, China, the United States, and various European nations, are among the main consumers of Indonesian nickel products. This demand gives Indonesian nickel a relatively high market value. However, the authors argue that Indonesia’s nickel export earnings remain well below their potential. Their paper explores the journey of Indonesia’s nickel exports in international trade and examines the government’s efforts to implement protectionist policies at the national level to secure the benefits Indonesia should rightly obtain from nickel export activities (Radhica & Wibisana, 2023).

Agreeing with Dicky Dwi Radhica and Raden Ambara, I Kadek Dina Setiawan, in his research titled “*Competitiveness Analysis and Factors Influencing Nickel Ore Exports in Indonesia*,” argues that Indonesia, as a country rich in natural resources, holds immense potential to reap substantial economic benefits. Indonesia’s competitive advantage in nickel production presents a remarkable opportunity for its natural resources to serve as a pathway toward improving domestic economic welfare. However, Setiawan contends that the Indonesian government—particularly the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources—should further develop nickel exports to elevate this resource as a leading national product (Setiawan & Setiawina, 2019).

In her study titled “Nickel Resource Management in Indonesia: Implications for National Defense and Energy Security,” Nurbaiti highlights how Indonesia’s vast nickel reserves make it a key player in contemporary global trade, especially in the

technological era, where nickel has become an essential component in the transition to electric-powered transportation. Nevertheless, she notes that the management of nickel resources in Indonesia remains suboptimal. Currently, Indonesia's nickel production is largely limited to lower-value categories—namely Class 2 and some Class 1 nickel—indicating the need for more advanced processing and production capacity (Nurbaiti et al., 2022).

The journal article titled “Export Restrictions as a Solution to the Nickel Raw Material Export Ban: A Case Study on Indonesia’s Nickel Export Policy,” written by Ario Seno Nugroho, discusses the ongoing debates between Indonesia and the European Union regarding Indonesia’s nickel export ban. The findings of his study reveal that Indonesia’s inability to manage its nickel resources efficiently has resulted in economic drawbacks following the implementation of the export ban. Nugroho argues that Indonesia’s current export restriction policy could be improved through the imposition of appropriate export taxes. This approach could enhance national industrial productivity while generating revenue, without causing major disruptions to the international market (Nugroho, 2022).

2.3. China Domination on Nickel

In the journal article titled *Peningkatan Investasi dan Hilirisasi Nikel di Indonesia* (Enhancing Investment and Nickel Downstreaming in Indonesia), Muhammad Agung and Emmanuel Ariananto Waluyo Adi provide an in-depth analysis of Indonesia’s efforts to downstream nickel resources as a means to boost investment. The article explains that the nickel downstreaming process is part of a broader national industrialization strategy aimed at transforming Indonesia into a more self-reliant and independent country. This transformation is built upon several core values, including raw materials, labor, infrastructure, energy, technology, policy, and financing. According to the authors,

Indonesia’s nickel downstreaming efforts have successfully attracted foreign investment, particularly in smelter development projects.

One prominent example includes Chinese investors expressing interest in funding Indonesian lithium projects worth approximately 5 trillion Rupiah. In response to such growing interest, the Indonesian government has introduced regulations aimed at improving quality standards. The article particularly emphasizes the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Regulation No. 11 of 2019, which requires companies to process raw materials domestically to elevate local market prices before exporting them. Thus, the article concludes that Indonesia’s nickel downstreaming policy has led to an export ban on raw materials, intended to enhance domestic processing and meet the raw material demands of local smelters, utilizing the country’s abundant natural resources. Overall, the study highlights that the downstreaming of Indonesia’s raw natural resources—particularly nickel—must be pursued in parallel with the construction of new smelters to support long-term exports (Agung & Waluyo Adi, n.d., 2022).

Next, in the journal *Upaya China Dalam Memenuhi Kebutuhan Nikel Dalam Negeri Pasca Kebijakan UU Minerba No.04 Tahun 2009 di Indonesia* (China’s Efforts to Meet Domestic Nickel Demand After the Implementation of Indonesia’s Mineral and Coal Law No. 4 of 2009), Ananda Mustika Muas discusses China’s position as one of the largest nickel producers globally. However, due to a supply gap, China has relied on nickel imports from countries such as Indonesia and the Philippines. Over the course of a decade, China increased its nickel import quota from Indonesia by 99.7%. The article traces how Indonesia’s nickel industry experienced rapid growth, though its export value declined. This decline is attributed to the oversupply of low-cost nickel from China, which processed Indonesia’s raw nickel ore at

reduced prices. Consequently, Indonesia introduced the Minerba Law, which had a significant impact on China, including the shutdown of its stainless steel operations. While China then turned to the Philippines as an alternative supplier, the lower quality of nickel there hindered progress.

On the domestic front, however, Indonesia's policy also led to setbacks—many Indonesian mining companies were forced to conduct mass layoffs. The article further explains China's strategic response, namely its increased investments in Indonesian smelter development to improve nickel quality. This move opened a window for China to secure nickel supply directly from Indonesia. As a result, China has emerged as a leading country in signing Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) regarding energy cooperation, particularly in the electricity and mineral downstream sectors. The MoUs involved 96 Chinese companies and 40 Indonesian firms in joint nickel processing initiatives. Thus, the article offers a comprehensive perspective on China's strategic role in utilizing Indonesian nickel resources (Muas, 2019).

Finally, in the article *Pilihan Rasional Indonesia dalam Kebijakan Larangan Ekspor Bijih Nikel* (Indonesia's Rational Choice in the Nickel Ore Export Ban Policy), Santoso, Moenardy, Muttaqin, and Saputera examine Indonesia's protectionist policy in developing its nickel downstream industry through the lens of rational choice theory and international political economy. The authors categorize state interests into three dimensions: ideological preference, economic interest, and political interest. Ideological preference emphasizes the beliefs and ideologies of international actors in shaping decisions. Economic interest underscores the importance of understanding the motivations of actors within the international system, such as pricing, production, demand, and market competition. Lastly, political interest highlights the significance of state actors, interest groups,

and individuals in global decision-making processes that influence political power and legitimacy.

Applying this framework, the authors argue that Indonesia's nickel export ban should be understood as a strategic move to increase competitiveness in the global nickel market through domestic smelter development and economic independence, supporting the full nickel production cycle from upstream to downstream. Their analysis also links this policy to Indonesia's sovereignty over its natural resources, which aims to reduce foreign influence in trade negotiations. Given Indonesia's rich and high-quality nickel reserves, the article suggests that the country could leverage its resources to gain a stronger position in international trade, potentially mirroring the role of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in regulating oil and raw material prices. Ultimately, the authors conclude that safeguarding national interests and ensuring sovereignty over nickel resources are critical components of Indonesia's broader economic revitalization strategy (Santoso et al., 2023).

3. Research Method

This study uses an explanatory qualitative approach to understand why Indonesia is excluded from the U.S. Inflation Reduction Act's green incentives and to examine China's dominance in Indonesia's nickel sector. A qualitative method was chosen to capture diverse stakeholder perspectives and reveal complex underlying factors. Data were gathered through a literature review of academic journals, policy documents, trade agreements, government reports, and media, alongside semi-structured interviews with an industry expert.

Interviews focused on the IRA's impact, China's role in the nickel industry, and strategies for Indonesia's economic diplomacy. Thematic analysis was applied to transcribed interview data and literature findings, with triangulation used to ensure validity. Preliminary results were reviewed

with participants and peers to reduce bias. This combined approach offers a comprehensive and reliable understanding of Indonesia's challenges in accessing green incentives and suggests ways to strengthen its position in international trade.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Indonesia Exclusion from IRA

One of the main barriers preventing Indonesia from fully accessing the benefits of the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) is the qualification of batteries containing components sourced from Indonesia. Although Indonesia is one of the world's largest producers of nickel—a key component in batteries—these batteries still do not meet the requirements to receive full tax credits. This is due to several considerations, including the complexities of global supply chains and environmental concerns related to nickel mining (Prasetyo, 2016).

Beyond the battery issue, another significant challenge Indonesia faces in accessing green incentives is the dominance of Chinese companies in the nickel industry (Nurbaiti et al., 2022). This dominance serves as a second critical factor influencing Indonesia's position within the framework of the IRA. The United States, like many other countries, aims to ensure that the green incentives it offers promote sustainable trade and cooperation. The significant presence of Chinese companies in Indonesia's nickel sector has raised concerns about how these incentives would be utilized and whether such investments would truly support green efforts. This situation inevitably reduces the potential tax benefits Indonesia could obtain through the IRA.

Additionally, the absence of a free trade agreement (FTA) between Indonesia and the United States poses a substantial obstacle. FTAs typically allow countries to more easily access green incentives. However, as of now, Indonesia does not have a free trade agreement with the U.S. This lack of agreement limits Indonesia's access to the

U.S. market, thereby constraining the country's potential for economic growth and the benefits that could be derived from the IRA. In conclusion, Indonesia faces several factors that hinder its ability to receive green incentives such as the IRA's tax credits from countries like the United States. These factors have a direct impact on Indonesia's economy by causing the country to miss opportunities to optimize tax benefits that are intended to help mitigate inflation and stimulate stronger economic growth.

4.2 China Domination on Indonesia's Nickel Industry

China's dominance in Indonesia's nickel industry has had several negative impacts on the country across various aspects. One of the primary concerns is Indonesia's lack of control over its own natural resources. China's strong presence in the nickel industry has allowed them to dictate trade terms and reap disproportionate benefits from Indonesia's resources without providing adequate returns. This has led to a loss of national revenue and increased economic dependence on China. Data from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources indicates that Indonesia's nickel production is largely dominated by downstream products from China.

Furthermore, China's dominance has contributed to environmental degradation in Indonesia. Nickel extraction and processing require large amounts of energy, water, and chemicals, which can have detrimental effects on the environment if not properly regulated. Due to China's overwhelming control, there is a lack of oversight and regulation within the industry, leading to irresponsible mining practices and pollution (Baraputri, 2023). This has resulted in deforestation, water contamination, and air pollution, all of which negatively impact local communities and ecosystems. According to a report by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, nickel processing in Indonesia produces waste that

is harmful to both the environment and human health (Laksono et al., 2020).

Another negative impact of China's dominance in Indonesia's nickel industry is the displacement of local businesses and workers. With China serving as the primary buyer of Indonesian nickel, a highly China-dependent market has emerged. This has caused many local nickel businesses to shut down as they are unable to compete with China's low-cost production. Additionally, Chinese companies often bring their own labor force to Indonesia, further limiting employment opportunities for local workers (CNN, 2022). This situation has led to social tensions and economic inequality within the country. Data from Indonesia's Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that the mining and quarrying sector—including the nickel industry—contributed only around 7.5% to the total workforce in 2020. Moreover, China's dominance has significantly hindered Indonesia's ability to develop its downstream nickel industry. Downstream industry refers to the processing of raw nickel into higher-value products such as stainless steel or battery materials. However, with China dominating the processing and export of these products, Indonesia has remained largely restricted to selling raw nickel ore at relatively low prices.

Evidence of the impact of China's dominance in the nickel industry can be seen through an interview conducted by the author's team with Mr. Gerald Hermawan, an entrepreneur operating in the mining sector, including nickel mining. Mr. Hermawan's business involves the extraction and sale of nickel in chunk form. In the interview, he revealed a comparison of prices before and after the implementation of the raw nickel export ban. Prior to the ban, the selling price of nickel chunks was approximately \$80 per ton. However, after the ban came into effect, he could only sell the nickel to local smelting companies in Indonesia, with the price dropping significantly to just \$40 per ton.

Despite rising global nickel prices, smelters—dominated by Chinese companies—have the power to set the purchasing price for raw nickel. These companies set the price at \$40 per ton, a figure much lower than what was offered before the export ban. This situation has created an imbalance between nickel producers like Mr. Hermawan and the Chinese smelting companies that control the pricing. Mr. Hermawan emphasized that China's dominance in the smelting industry is the main factor that enables them to suppress prices as low as possible. As a player in the nickel mining sector, he expressed that current regulations limit his ability to sell raw nickel, particularly to Chinese companies. He feels disadvantaged by this situation—and he is not alone, as many nickel industry players in Indonesia face similar losses.

From an economic perspective, Mr. Hermawan also highlighted the importance of recognizing that Indonesia is losing high-potential economic opportunities and higher-value exports due to this situation. China's dominance in the smelting industry also makes Indonesia more vulnerable to fluctuations in global nickel prices due to over-reliance on a single major market. Therefore, when shaping economic and trade policy, it is crucial to consider the deep implications of China's dominance in the nickel industry and its consequences for Indonesia's potential to develop its downstream industry and maintain economic stability.

In conclusion, China's dominance in Indonesia's nickel industry has brought about several negative consequences. These include the loss of control over natural resources, environmental degradation, the displacement of local businesses and workers, and limited opportunities for downstream industry development. To mitigate these negative impacts, Indonesia must assert greater control over its natural resources and implement stricter regulations in the nickel industry. The country should

also focus on developing its own downstream industry to add value to its nickel exports and diversify its economy. Additionally, Indonesia should enhance cooperation with other countries in processing nickel and its value-added products.

4.3 The Urgency of FTA Formulation

Currently, Indonesia does not have an FTA that covers the full spectrum of trade with the United States. However, Indonesia and the United States do have a trade framework centered on the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which provides tariff preferences for certain products. In addition, there are several sectoral trade agreements between the two countries, such as cooperation agreements in the creative and energy industries. While these collaborations expand market access and boost investment, they have not yet reached the comprehensive level typically associated with an FTA.

Developments in trade relations between Indonesia and the United States continue to be closely monitored, and further negotiations regarding a potential FTA may become an important part of future bilateral trade relations. A comprehensive FTA has the potential to bring significant benefits in terms of economic growth and expanded market access for both countries, as well as support broader global economic cooperation.

Firstly, a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Indonesia and the United States has the potential to significantly enhance trade and economic cooperation, which in turn would create job opportunities, increase investment, and drive overall economic growth. As the largest economy in Southeast Asia, Indonesia offers a vast market of over 270 million people, characterized by a growing middle class and increasing consumer demand. By establishing an FTA with Indonesia, the United States would gain access to this lucrative market, spanning various industries such as technology,

agriculture, and manufacturing. According to the United States Trade Representative, the U.S. exported goods worth \$8.4 billion to Indonesia in 2020, and an FTA has the potential to further increase that figure.

Secondly, an FTA with the United States would strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries, creating closer economic ties between Indonesia and the U.S. This would help reduce potential conflicts and promote cooperation across various aspects of economic and political life. Through an FTA, both countries can address differences and strengthen their collaboration in tackling global challenges such as climate change, security issues, and global health concerns.

Thirdly, through an FTA with the United States, Indonesia could benefit from American business expertise and technology. The transfer of knowledge and technology from the U.S. could support Indonesia in various sectors, including information technology, innovation, and improving efficiency and productivity. This would enhance Indonesia's competitiveness in the global market, enabling local businesses to grow, create jobs, and support sustainable economic development.

In addition to the economic and technological benefits, an FTA with the United States would also allow Indonesia to play a more active role in the global trade community. By participating in such an agreement, Indonesia could strengthen its position in Southeast Asia and contribute more significantly to shaping international trade rules. This would ultimately increase Indonesia's influence on the global stage and help the country more effectively promote its economic and political interests internationally. Overall, an FTA with the United States represents a strategic step that could help Indonesia expand trade opportunities, strengthen bilateral ties, and boost economic competitiveness. Thus, such an agreement holds the potential to support sustainable economic growth and elevate Indonesia's standing in the global arena.

Furthermore, the establishment of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Indonesia aligns with the principles and goals of the United States in advancing global trade liberalization. In the context of global trade, data shows that the United States is one of the world's largest economies and has a strong history of promoting free trade. By advocating for free and fair trade practices through an FTA, the United States can strengthen the global trading system, potentially curbing protectionist tendencies and supporting global economic growth. In the Southeast Asian context, a bilateral FTA with Indonesia could serve as an important precedent. It could encourage other ASEAN countries to consider similar agreements, which in turn would strengthen U.S. economic and political influence in the region. This also aligns with the U.S. efforts to deepen relations with Southeast Asian nations through initiatives like the "Rebalance to Asia."

Additionally, a U.S.–Indonesia FTA would help create order in trade between the two countries. It would provide a reliable "Market Access" mechanism, which is crucial in building commitment as trade partners (Listiyadi, 2018). Through an FTA, Indonesia could expect to benefit from greater access to the U.S. market through the elimination or reduction of tariffs, making U.S. imports more affordable. Bilateral trade data between Indonesia and the U.S. shows significant potential for growth in trade cooperation. Overall, an FTA with Indonesia would provide substantial benefits for both parties, create new opportunities in the global economy, strengthen bilateral relations, and advance the U.S. role in the Asia-Pacific region. Moreover, it would contribute to overall global economic growth and stability and demonstrate the United States' commitment to free and fair trade amidst the ever-evolving dynamics of global trade.

4.4 The Possible Process of Establishing a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) Indo-US

The establishment of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Indonesia and the United States is a complex and multi-stage process that requires close coordination between both nations. As a bilateral agreement aimed at promoting free trade, eliminating trade barriers, and strengthening economic ties, the FTA negotiation involves a sequence of structured steps to ensure a mutually beneficial outcome. The process begins with a feasibility study, jointly conducted by the governments of Indonesia and the United States. This study aims to evaluate the potential economic benefits and sectoral impacts of the proposed agreement. It includes in-depth analysis to assess how the FTA might affect employment, economic growth, and industrial development. Such assessments are essential to ensure that the agreement aligns with the broader economic objectives of both countries.

Following the feasibility study, both parties proceed to define their respective goals and priorities. This phase includes identifying the sectors to be covered under the FTA, negotiating the reduction or elimination of tariffs, addressing non-tariff barriers, and outlining provisions for the protection of intellectual property rights. The objectives must reflect the national interests and strategic economic aspirations of each country.

The next critical step is the formal negotiation phase, where designated negotiating teams from both governments discuss the specific terms of the agreement. This phase often involves extensive dialogue and compromise to resolve differences. Stakeholder consultations form a vital part of this process, as governments are expected to engage with business actors, civil society organizations, and other relevant sectors to ensure that the agreement responds to the broader national interest and does not provoke significant domestic opposition.

Issues such as market access for agricultural products, environmental regulations, labor standards, and sustainable development are likely to be debated and require careful resolution.

Upon reaching consensus, the agreement proceeds to the formal signing ceremony, typically attended by high-level government representatives from both nations. However, this is not the final step. The FTA must then undergo ratification by the legislative bodies in each country—in the case of the United States, approval by Congress is mandatory. Ratification ensures the agreement has the necessary legal backing to be implemented.

Once ratified, the agreement enters the implementation phase, which includes the removal of tariffs, enforcement of agreed-upon trade regulations, and preparation for practical execution. Finally, a system of ongoing monitoring and periodic evaluation is essential to assess the impact of the FTA and ensure that it functions as intended. This oversight mechanism allows for adjustments and ensures long-term compliance and mutual benefit. In conclusion, the formulation of an FTA between Indonesia and the United States is a strategic but intricate process that demands time, strong political commitment, and inclusive stakeholder engagement. The ultimate goal is to achieve a balanced and sustainable agreement that promotes trade, economic cooperation, and shared prosperity.

5. Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, several key conclusions can be drawn. First, Indonesia is currently unable to benefit from the green incentives provided under the United States' Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) due to multiple factors. One major obstacle is the fact that nickel mining practices in Indonesia have yet to meet the sustainable development standards consistently

emphasized by the United States. In addition, Indonesia does not have a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States, which is a crucial prerequisite for qualifying for green subsidies under the IRA. Another significant factor relates to the dominant role of China in Indonesia's nickel industry, which complicates the strategic calculus for U.S. policymakers. Given the ongoing geopolitical tensions between the U.S. and China, extending incentives to Indonesia's nickel sector could be perceived as indirectly supporting Chinese interests.

Second, the overall spectrum of challenges identified in this research points toward a single strategic solution: strengthening bilateral relations with the United States through economic diplomacy, particularly via the negotiation of a Free Trade Agreement. Such an agreement would offer Indonesia several important advantages. First, it would provide a policy framework that enables Indonesia to qualify for the IRA's green incentives, thereby addressing the issue of exclusion. Second, it would create opportunities to dilute Chinese dominance in Indonesia's nickel industry by encouraging broader U.S.-Indonesia industrial collaboration.

However, the process of establishing an FTA is not without its difficulties. Numerous challenges must be overcome, including divergent national interests, regulatory differences, and cultural dissimilarities. Therefore, strong political will and sustained diplomatic engagement are required on both sides to reach a mutually beneficial agreement. In conclusion, economic diplomacy through a Free Trade Agreement emerges as an effective and comprehensive strategy to resolve two major issues concurrently: facilitating access to U.S. green incentives and addressing domestic challenges related to Chinese influence in the nickel sector. This approach enables Indonesia to advance both its economic and geopolitical interests.

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