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Content
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Editorial

Reading the social phenomenon in the world, we will realize that the islamic world and international world and politics are so dynamic. We watch and read every day from the social media about conflict and war happening in all over the world, mainly in Middle East. In another side, the states in the worlds are doing many thing to build cooperation in eradicating poverty, violation of the human right in upholding peace for the people in the universe. We realize that poverty, violation of human right, human trafficking, ethnic conflict in the society are the world problem currently. These must be responded by the researchers and scholars.

Journal Of Islamic World and Politics (JIWP) is one of the ways from the researchers and scholars coming from all over the world in sharing their new ideas or finding as the solution of problem faced in the contemporary issues.

In this fifth edition, we invite eight scholars and researchers to share their new ideas and the result of their research in reading the global phenomenon currently. We do hope that by publishing this fourth edition we will participate in giving the solution of the problem that we are facing in international islamic world and politics.

We do hope that the articles in this edition are welcomed well by the readers and researchers as the way in transforming the current ideas and scientific research. Happy reading and we are waiting for your paper.

Ahmad Sahide
Editor-in-chief

Geo-Political Checkmate in the Indian Ocean Region: 21ˢᵗ Century Maritime Silk Road, Energy Security and Indo-US Nexus

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Abstract

The study intends to explore the connection between China's energy security, 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR), and its anticipated impacts on Indo-US strategic perception in the Indian Ocean region. China's economic prosperity and industrial boom is fomenting different variables to upset the U.S. led world order. In the back drop of energy security as core national interest, Chinese leadership has exceptionally focused the maritime domain. In addition to this, for uninterrupted industrial growth, China largely relies on energy imports that have turned its attention to the strategic value of the Sea lines of communication (SLOCs). However, China's newly emerged interests and subsequent investment in different sea ports along the oceanic supply chain of Indian Ocean is fuelling Indo-US strategic distrust in the region. The study concludes that China's carefully crafted Maritime Silk Road (MSR) is to challenge the status quo to protect its (China) core national interests in Indian Ocean The divergence of strategic interests in Indian Ocean is heralding a new multipart strategic competition that will transform the Indian Ocean into breeding ground for naval arm race. To understand the shifting geo political realities, the researchers used the Power Transition theory.

Keywords: *Indian Ocean region, 21ˢᵗ Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR), Energy Security, Power Transition,*

Introduction

Dr.Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, described that world power configuration has been taking change for the 5th time since 20th century. In the on-going power transition from Unipolar to the polycentric structure, the unfolding uncertainties, strategic value of SLOCs, sophisticated technologies, the desperate need of Blue Water navies for the projection of offshore power have profoundly complicated the sense of insecurity and security more than ever existed in the past. Pointing to the geo-political epicentre for competition, Robert D. Kaplan in his article entitled, the 21st century geo-strategist in "Centre Stage for the 21st Century" viewed that due to residence for preeminent energy and trade interstate seaway, Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is where global struggles will play out in the twenty-first century (Kaplan, 2009).

IOR is the third largest oceanic body enclosed by Asia, Australia and Africa continents. The region hosts nuclear powers both declared and undeclared, witnesses the competition of extra-territorial powers i.e. Sino-America, is the inhabitant of some of the largest oil, coal and natural gas producers while at the same time energy starving states. In the emerging geopolitical theatre of India Ocean, India's geographic position at the center along other ingredients of national power catapulted it on advantageous locus. Apart from its favorable geo-strategic position, India has some hiccups as well. India's territorial conflicts with nuclear arch rivals Pakistan and China are one of the strategic impediments in the way of its "great power" ambition. In the extra-regional actors, America is the most powerful contender having French and British in reserve. According to the US Department of Defense Base Structure Report US has ensured its presence in 12 different locations in IOR- Diego Garcia, five in Persian Gulf, three in Africa and three on the eastern rim.

Next to the US, China's growing dependency for energy imports and trade exports on India Ocean prompted it to take urgent and fast track measures to secure its interests in Indian Ocean. China is the world's second-largest consumer of oil and surpassed the United States as the world's largest net importer of oil in 2014 (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2015). China is struggling hard to establish its naval presence across the IOR. China established its first external naval outpost in Djibouti and installed

"a few thousand" troops and staff at its first ever overseas military base. Apart from Djibouti, China has been enormously investing in other maritime ports, which in large numbers are spotted around Indian Ocean (Beckhusen, 2018). The presence of the vital powers and their higher and uncompromising stakes has made India Ocean a significant 21st century water body with diverging strategic interests.

Indian Ocean holds multiple strategic, commercial and transportation significance. The region is a pivotal conduit for global energy and trade shipments those shoulders 40% of the world oil supply and 90,000 commercial fleets annually. Infested/swarm over by important choke points (U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), 2017), IO is the matter of dead and life in context of energy security for developing states of the new power structure. The presence of the global hegemon US, exclusive strategic claims of ambitious India and China's inroad in the region have made Indian Ocean converging region of bedrock concerns. In the wake of China's interests in the oceans, MSR is taken the vital instrument of China's quest for maritime superiority accompanied by naval modernization to balance

the possible threat of the Indo-US nexus in IOR in case of blockade. The conflicts of interests, in IOR, are sharpening the strategic rift further and overwhelming the initiated joint mechanisms to evolve a liberal maritime paradigm between the diverging stakeholders India, America and China in IOR.

Theoretical Framework

Power Transition Theory (PTT)

The power transition theory is an attempt to highlight the possibility of conflict in international system by distinguishing between dominant power(s) and potential challengers. Power transition theory was first posited by A.F.K. Organski in 'World Politics' (Organski, 1958) in late 1950s and has further been focused in 'Power Transitions: Strategies for the 21st Century' (Ammen, 2000). Power Transition Theory is anti-thesis of 'Balance of Power' that was called as basic principal of international relations.

Power Transition Theory (PTT) like realism does not see world system as anarchical rather hierarchically organized similar to domestic system. In system smaller states recognize the power potential of dominant nation(s) based on different power capabilities. It also recognises that international and

domestic systems are governed by similar rules. Like domestic system, political parties struggle for power, in international system states are in constant competition for scarce resources. Power transition conceives international competition as driven by the potential net gains, the overall improvement observed in some measure after all positive and negative influences have been fully accounted for, that could be accrued from conflict or cooperation (Jacek&Organski, 1989).

The most importance aspect of power transition theory is hierarchy in international system. Organski visualizes the international system as pyramid. As one moves down from the top, the number of states will be increasing down ward. At apex rung, the most powerful state(s) are designed and designated as "Dominant Nation". Dominant state(s), 'the one has total ingredients of national power in true sense' and in the end is placed the least powerful. Dominant state(s) sets the rules for international order. Such state(s) has military prowess that can be projected far from its shorelines, economic prosperity, seductive culture that entice the other states of lower rungs, and an attractive political model. Dominant state(s) confirms the requirement of both 'Hard Power' and 'Soft Power'. It is the main runner of the show in international order.

On the second rung of the pyramid great powers reside, those states which have also massive resources but at a time one on one cannot match the dominant state(s). As their names convey these states are also powerful but weaker than the dominant power(s). Great powers also share the benefits of the international system but less than that of dominant power. Dominant power(s) needs their diplomatic, economic and military support for sustaining their status of global hegemon in international system. The most important thing about these states is their potential to be the future dominant state(s).

Down the great powers, middle powers stand in hierarchy. These-powers are second rank powers Australia, Germany, Japan and India. Allthese state have economic and security assurances and certain benefits for their survival and prestige in prevailing international order. Further down to great powers, middle and small powers come. Although small powers align themselves with current international order however largely feel dissatisfied from it.

Furthermore, Organski's Pyramid bifurcates great and middle powers into satisfied and dissatisfied powers. Firstly, stands those great powersand middle powers which are satisfied from prevailing international order and allied with the dominant power(s). Some of the great and middle powers e.g. India, Great Britain , Japan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia are satisfied and allied themselves with US (hegemon) to share the global leadership and extract maximum benefits from the system. Organski calls these states the most powerful and satisfied states.

On the other side of spectrum, some of the greatand middle powers do not feel satisfaction from current international system. They do not think that the running system is fulfilling the desired level of their satisfaction. They see themselves on receiving position and think are being exploited by current international order. In current scenario this group consistsof China, Russia, and Iran etc.great powers of this groups are called 'powerful and dissatisfied' while middle powers of the group is called 'weak and dissatisfied'.

The dissatisfied category gangs up and springs up as real challenger of hegemon. When nations are di-ssatisfied and at the same time powerful enough to possess the means of doing something about their dissatisfaction, trouble can be expected (Organski, 1968, p. 328). In current international order China's economic growth, military modernization, creeping assertiveness, and being far away from the true political modernization on western lines have been patching it as true challenger to the US.

PTT contends the notion that the power of a nation cannot increase unless it wins a war or makes new alliance. One of major assumptions of its arguments is the impetus for the power originates within the states. It is industrialization that makes a nation more powerful and the most powerful nations of the world are industrialized nations. An industrial growth of the different states largely contributes in altering the global power structure. So the more rapid will be industrialization, the fast change will be observed in the global power structure.

In 21st century, alongside the changing sands of geo politics, shifting epicentres of powers, replacing of old alliances by new one , the century is also witnessing industrial revolution at its pinnacle. Industrialization brings great po-

wer to the nations undergoing it (Organski, 1968, p. 301). Chinese industrial growth has made it able to knock the door that opens to the status of the dominant state.

At global level, rising China has been threatening the US dominancy. Dissatisfied great and middle powers under China's auspicious started to gang up against dominant power (America). Some of the symptoms of resentment have already been taken at a snail pace movement. Sometimes diplomatic statements and other times overt and blatant denials of US moves have sowed the seeds of multi-polar world.

In Indian Ocean Region (IOR) China and American started to counter each other through regional states. US have declared India as linchpin for her rebalancing policy and multiple times America has expressed her firm commitments for making India a great power. While on the other side, China has been bolstering Pakistan's navy in IOR. The frequency of defence treaties, naval exercises and arm sales are scaling up with every passing day in the region. Massive population over stretched land, rich history and above all Indian's aspirations to be a greatpower; are few among many variables that makeit a suitable strategic western paw to counter China. Both, India and China have also flashpoints that intermittently ignited border skirmishes and both fought a war in 1962. Suffice to say US policy to contain China would be up to some extent incomplete or at least in greater troubles in the absence of India.

Wars occur when a great power in a secondary position challenges the top nation and its allies for control (Organski, 1968, p. 325). China's quest for separate economic institutions, military alliances and strategic agreements with different small, middle and other dissatisfied great powers are manifestations of her dissatisfaction from status quo and projection of a revisionist power along Russia .Besides, intermittently it has flexed her diplomatic muscles sundry times. Keeping in mind uncalculated price of the war, China adopted at-odd-but-not-at-war approach with America. In US-Iran nuclear deadlock China supported Iran and on sundry occasions in soft manners conveyed her message to Washington. In Syrian case, China has vetoed several US moved resolutions in UNSC. Similarly in the South China Sea, China denied ICJ verdict in Sino-Philippine maritime dispute. China's colossal strategicstrides in IOR have long been serving as glue for US-India

relations region.On one side Indo-US joint anti-Chinese submarine surveillance mechanism in Indian Ocean reminds China its maritime vulnerabilities. To overcome its vulnerabilities in waters; Maritime Silk Road (MSR) is an important strategic-cum-economic instrument.

Power Transition's Assumptions

PTT claims that the possibility of war increases manifolds when rising power dissatisfied from prevailing international order and determine to upset it. The situation becomes worse when dissatisfied rising power achieves approximate balance of power with the dominant power. In past, in WWI and WWII dissatisfied rising powers challenged the dominant before achieving credible balance of power, and that adventure ended in disaster. However, if challenger gets larger muscles that ensure her dominance, the dominant power remains hesitant to fight the challenger which mitigates the risk of conflict (Organski, 1968, p. 334). In such situations the signs appear before challenger claims or fight for dominance.

The power gap between rising China and America is still to cover a lot. Although, China emerged as economic challenger of US, however, the other ingredients of national power still tilts into American favour.

Second assumption, PTT claims that rapid and sudden growth of a challenger in single generation does not let dominant power to take peaceful precautionary steps for sustaining peace in prevailing international order. The potential, location and size of China have been in discussion in US since long. Back in 1949, US embarked to get China isolated in its first 30 years. In early 50s,both had face off over Korean peninsula. However, in 60s Sino-Russo split paved the ground for the Sino-US joint venture against common adversary Soviet Union. In short, Sino-US relations have stretched over decades and both are well aware of each other's strategic cultures. The principle of rapid rise in single generation that enhances the possibility of war between rising and dominant nations is quite dimly applicable in Sino-American case. The Chinese growth has track record of almost six decades and US has been shaping and reshaping its China centric policies accordingly.

Sometimes Self exaggerated sense of rising power makes it blind and during inebriation of growth it may miscalculates the actual capabilities of dominant power.

Chinese mature and cautious approach has nullified this strategic mistake. China never flexed its muscles aggressively against great powers but in extreme exceptions. China is very cautiously projecting its image and never exaggerated to lead or outwit its geopolitical rivals. Its century's long struggles had already made it able to define itself being responsible nation in international community of nations.

The degree of friendship between the dominant and challenging nations also contributes in peaceful transformation of international order. The power transformation from British to US was peacefulbecause of their congruent political systems and civilizations. However, in Sino-US power transition, both have different political, administrative systems, and military objectives. Both are representative of different political systems and values

The stark difference between Sino-US culture, norms and over again US pressing for Chinese political modernization are major symptoms of their anticipated future conflict. Above of all, adjusting with alien political system need greater changes and for a larger nation like China or US it would be impossible to submit voluntarily to their counter values.

Energy Security as a Strategic Concern

Energy security, broadly defined, means adequate, affordable and reliable supplies of energy (International Energy Agency, 2007). It matters because, today, to keep continue the smooth and ensured growth of economies, industries and transport sector from maritime to aerial and battlefield vehicles, energy security has become top priority concomitant to others in foreign policy making circles. Being mover of every kind of state's wheel, for various states energy became as influential strategic tool to secure their national interests either through blackmailing others (in Russia case and European Union case) or as core national interest in Chinese case. Energy security has acquired the status of an essential variable in on-going geopolitical contest and that pitched various states against other either to protect energy sources, markets or transit routes.

In this regard, the former US President Richard Nixon rightly pointed out that *Security and economic considerations are inevitably linked and energy cannot*

be separated from eitherr (Bromley, 1991, p. vii). Historical evidence confirms his remarks in relation to the importance of energy. In the 18th century, European continent with mesmerized momentum had embarked on astronomical industrialization process. The catalyst for the stimulated industrialization was coal-powered technologies. Coal was at the centre of the Industrial Revolution and perhaps in recorded history first time human translated energy into desired outcome. The coal-generated industrialization process was culminated in to advanced weapons, capitalism, luxurious goods and cumulative result was industrial growth, seductive life style and the dominancy of west in every aspect. Coal was primary mean to run steam engines, heat buildings, to power transportation sector and became the vital engine of entire industrial revolution.

Meanwhile, energy being important element to keep moving war machinery the consideration for the diversification of energy sources had started to take roots. The first recorded example of diversification or shifting the source of energy from coal to oil can be traced to Winston Churchil's instruction to First Sea Lord Admiral Jackie Fisher: "You

have got to find the oil; to show how it can be stored cheaply: how it can be purchased regularly & cheaply in peace and with absolute certainty during war (Munson, 2015)"

For the first time, Churchill had shifted Royal Navy ships from coal to Persian oil as its source of propulsion (Yergin, 2005, p. 52). The sole purpose for this shift was to make more efforts to outwit and out-fight German naval fleets. So energy security became the source of strategic concerns since onset of the modern strategic competition even prior to WWI.

In context of energy security, maritime and continental routes of Indian Ocean have acquired remarkable strategic ascendancy for involved Troika (producers, consumers and transit states). In this equation some states- Saudi Arabia, Russia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Djibouti, Japan and China - have acquired more geo-strategic-cum-economic importance for providing one of the important tools e.g. reliable arrangements for pipelines, lands routs, sea ports (to circumvent possible terrorist and strategic threats or to reduce transit cost) or ensured supply or potential markets.

Geographical Diversity as Threat to SLOCs

The variable of the geographical dispersion of energy sources further compound the energy security dilemma for many developed and developing stakeholders. In many cases the unequal and tortuous dispersion of energy not only gives more leverage to transit states as compare to producers and consumers but also increases the possibilities of the military threats in context of blockade. The largest Shale oil and gas reserves are discovered on North American Continent(U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), 2013), the oil elephants are concentrated in the Middle East, however, Brazil, Venezuela, America, Russia, and Central Asia also hold sizeable fraction (WorldAtlas, 2019) and the largest natural gas reserves reside in Central Asia and Russia. All these far flung energy reserves demand secure routes and ensured supply for both consumers and producers. In the past on various occasions, the stable flow of energy has been disrupted or threatened to be disrupted by rival factions. South East Asian, Somali pirates(BBC, 2011) and Iranian government in case of US-Iran war multiple times

threatened to disrupt the sea borne supply lanes.

The process of massive industrialization and growing dependence on energy in the incumbent evolving polycentric structure is shifting focus from the land based security measures to the waters. Maritime routes as the cheapest source for transportation and potential target to cripple adversaries' economies has been fuelling the greater than ever sense of maritime insecurity in various states. The massive naval presences of American fleets in the target rich water channels, China and Indian unceasing struggles for greater naval muscles have been posing grave threats to the already disturbed waters of Indian Ocean. However, arm race to protect the energy lanes further complicate the Indian Ocean's power politics. That's further disturbance will further the already perceived threats to the SLOCs which back and forth energy from geographically distance locations.

China and the Seas: A Growing Dependence

According to Energy Information Administration (eia), nearly 59 million barrels per day (b/d) of global petroleum and other liquids production moved on maritime

routes in 2015, or almost 61% of the world total. Much of this volume transited Suez Canal and SUMED Pipeline, the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, and the Strait of Hormuz. A large volume of China's energy imports from remote regions are coming home through different maritime routs, maximum of which pass across greater Indian Ocean. China is the world's most populous country with a fast-growing economy that has led it to be the largest energy consumer and producer in the world.

China's economic boom made it as unusual economic challenger to the centuries-old economic giant, the US. Being manufacturing-based economy whose rapid growth is moderating energy consumption (Deng, 2018) and energy deficit state, China surpassed US as largest global energy consumer in 2010. The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) reports that China surpassed the United States at the end of 2013 as the world's largest net importer of petroleum and other liquids, in part because of China's rising oil consumption. China surpassed South Korea to become the world's second-largest importer of liquefied natural gas (LNG) in 2017, according to data from IHS Markit and official Chinese government statistics (U.S. Energy

Information Administration (EIA), 2018). China surpassed the U.S. in annual gross crude oil imports in 2017 by importing 8.4 million barrels per day (b/d) compared with 7.9 million b/d of U.S. crude oil imports (The Maritime Executive, 2018).

According to Energy Information Administration (EIA), in 2015 China imported 23% of its oil requirement from Africa, second bigger source for Chinese oil import after Middle East with 52%. All these imports were transited to maritime routes. Pentagon' 2016 annual report to Congress noted: "Given China's growing energy demand, new pipelines will alleviate only slightly China's maritime dependency … the sheer volume of oil and liquefied natural gas that is imported … will make strategic SLOCs increasingly important to China(Office of Military Commissions Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2016)." Chinese energy imports from Africa and Middle East are to pass all the way through important navigational choke points. During any crisis, energy disruption to China can cause mammoth jolt in its economic might and if not possible in reality But sword will still be lingering on China.

A threat perception has developed in Chinese elites in relation to its heavy dependence of energy imports on various maritime routes, 80% (Davis, 2014) (in addition to much of its trade) of which comes in China through Malacca straits. President Hu Jintao, during a speech at a military academy in 2004, termed this heavy dependence for China on one single strait as "Malacca Dilemma" and has been considered a potential threat to the free flow of energy resources into China.

Sustainable economic growth is as an important component of China's rise and social cohesion. China's economic rise is the outcome of its unprecedented industrialization pace and continuous supply of the energy mix to keep move the industries. The Uninterrupted supply of the energy is vital element for this sustainable economic growth.

Many high profile office holders in China specifically pointed out China's core interest in their formal writings, whitepapers and CPC's plenary sessions. On December 6, 2010, Dai Bingguo (戴秉国) published an article entitled "We Must Stick to the Path of Peaceful Development" on the official website of China's Foreign Ministry. He wrote:

In my view, no development path should be chosen at the expense of major national interests, core interests in particular. What are China's core interests? My personal understanding is: First, China's form of government and political system and stability, namely the CPC leadership, the socialist system and socialism with Chinese characteristics; second, China's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity; third, the basic guarantee for sustainable economic and social development of China. No violation of these interests will be allowed (Bingguo, 2010).

On September 6, 2011, the State Council released a white paper entitled China's Peaceful Development, which once again defined and highlighted ensured ensuring sustainable economic as Chin's core national interests along others(White Paper, 2011). Chinese policy making circle views energy security in both strategic and economic terms to keep industries moving for sustainable economic development.

In the backdrop of its strategic-vulnerability in terms of energy security, China has long since been investing in different sea ports

along the important SLOCs for commercial purposes. How many of these ports situated either India's perceived zone of influence like Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, or zone of competitions for many other powers like African ports and Mediterranean. Obviously, China's investment in these specific ports has been fueling a range of concerns in regional and global players and is being portrayed as China's "grand strategy" to secure sizeable influence in Indian Ocean in the sugar coated slogan of "community of shared future" in the first place.

However, for China, the last year's Xi's revitalized determination to broaden market access and expand imports in the face of greater opening-up(Baijie, 2018) has increasingly elevated the strategic standing of the (SLOCs). Being an export-oriented economy with ever growing demands of energy imports, China's survival and prosperity is closely tied to the free seaborne trade.

Haiyang Qiangguo: China as a Maritime Power

We should pay close attention to both development and security. The former is the foundation of the latter while the latter is a precondition for the former. A wealthy country may build a strong army, and a strong army is able to safeguard a country (Jinping, 2014)

Piracy, natural disaster and due to power politics, China prompted to place extra-ordinary focus on development for strong naval muscles to cope with the threats. For this purpose, President Xi has continued the call to develop China into a maritime power (People.cn, 2013). During policy discussion session with members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in July 2013, Xi noted that in the 21st century, the ocean has an increased vital role to play in economic development and opening to the outside world. For playing a key role in the global governance through maritime power as an instrument of national power, China unveiled important blue prints of connectivity across the already disturbed waters under the banner of 21st century Maritime Silk Road (MSR). The plan was announcedin October 2013 in Indonesian parliament by Chinese President Xi Jinping during his official visit. MSR has multi-pronged aspects that covers various areas from commercial facilitator to strategic launching- pad.

Why and What India Does Concern?

Two important sea ports, Gwadar in CPEC and Kyaukopyu in BCIMEC ensure the China's direct access to the Arabian Sea in the west of India and in the Bay of Bengal in its east. While Indian "strategically important" Andaman and Nicobar Islands are also exist in this sub region of the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal. For India, these islands have massive strategic importance. But in power politics, the strength of one measures the weakness of the adversary. For China, Andaman and Nicobar card up to some extent is lingering sword over its energy import and trade export (short to Malacca dilemma) in case of any conflict. In strategic terms it can be safe to say that China's investment in Myanmar Port, the northernmost part of the Andaman and Nicobar is only 22 nautical miles away from Myanmar, might serve two fold purposes in future: a reliable base for naval presence (as staying or fuelling station) to counter Indian's Andaman card and second to evade partially the Malacca dilemma to get direct access to China via Myanmar.

In Southwest of India China's investments in the "strategically important" Gwadar port have also been perceived as an important package for the so-called the String of Pearls. India largely downplays its economic aspects and projects it as Sino-Pak joint strategic move against India. The vital reason for India's triggered worrisome is Gwadar's geographical position.

In South West of India's Lakshadweep Islands, China is bolstering Pakistan's strategic strength that in return is supplementing China's strategic presence at and around Gwadar port. In this regard, China has provided maritime patrolling boats and inked agreement for selling of 8 AIP submarine to Pakistan(China to provide eight submarines to Pakistan, 2016) which raised Indian concerns.

This India perceived two-pronged investment in Gawadar and Myanmar's Ports on one side at the tip of Strait of Hormuz is breeding 'Hormuz syndrome' for India while on the other hand it is defying the India's "Ring of Steel". In the context of the energy security, for India Straits of Hormuz is standing on equal footing as Malacca Strait stands for China. While Andaman and Nicobar are a "very important aspect" of India's security, acting as extended arms of the country(Daily News and Analysis (DNA), 2015).

Indian booming industries are also heavily dependent on energy imports from various parts of the world. The Middle Eastern region contributes a large fraction of its oil imports. The share of Middle-East nations stood at 64 per cent in 2017-2018 as compare to 61 per cent in financial year 2013-2014(ET EnergyWorld, 2018). Much of Indian oil shipments from the Middle East have to sail through the Strait of Hormuz. In this regard, to counter balance the India's possible hostile ambitions in Nicobar and Andaman nothing but Gwadar is a pragmatic choice.

Chinese presence in Bay of Bengal through its investment in Myanmar and Bangladeshi ports has struck the alarming bells in New Delhi. The triggered worrisome of the encirclement put Indian naval modernization and proactive intelligence sharing with the US, Japan and France on more fast track. The misdiagnosed sensing from China has forced India towards more proactive diplomacy for assuming the lead under 'Act East Policy' in the South East Asian. However, India's geographical position in the Indian Ocean and its national power elements make it easy to galvanize the support of many resented littoral states of the Indian Ocean. To give

an alternative infrastructural avenue and to break the MSR's seduction, Modi's government came up with its own version of MSR, Project Mausam (Pillalamarri, 2014). The sundry developments in the waters of Indian Ocean region can interlock India and China in perpetual naval up gradation.

An Indian Ocean Trifecta

Two regional states, India and China, and one extra regional state America have emerged as key strategic and economic players in the third largest water body of the planet. In Indian Ocean Region (IOR) America and China have been struggling to reaffirm and foment alliance network. In this regard, for America, India is the most suitable counter-weight to China. US had already bestowed India the status of linchpin(Datt, 2012) in its rebalancing policy and firmly expressed its commitments for making India a great power. India's massive population, over stretched land, the oldest history and aspirations to be a great power are multiple variables that make it an appropriate strategic western paw for countering China. However, in this equation the sense of "strategic autonomy" in Indian policy circle is an important intervening variable.

On the other side, China is bolstering the capacities of India's possible balancer Pakistan. The frequency of defence treaties, naval exercises and arm sales between Sino-Pak are scaling up with every passing day in the region. The troika, Pakistan, India and China have also border flashpoints that have intermittently ignited either in full-fledged wars or border skirmishes. In nutshell, US policy to contain China would be up to some extent incomplete or at least in greater troubles in case India asserts the element of its strategic autonomy.

However, in realistic view, US and India see Chinese investments through traditional geo-political lens and totally overruled infrastructural aspects. In seas, Chinese investment is being perceived as practical implementation of Alfred T. Mahan's advice for controlling Nicholas J. Spykman's coined idea of the Rimland. Many of MSR's ports are located on Spykman's defined Rimland that encircle the Mackinder's Heart Land what all fluctuate US-Indo strategic perception in this part of the world. Further, in sundry places Chinese investment in different ports by default counter the already US or Indian established naval bases or other relevant installation.

The other striking fact of this competition is China's larger economic base unlike cold war contest. Unlike USSR, CPC's legitimacy has been confirmed by its economic progress, which is standing on western liberal system. However, back in 20th century USSR was totally (economic and political system) running under communist principles. However, China is partially following communist paradigm while underscore the liberal system for its economic boom. The 'half beast, half man' principle can be applied on China administrative and economic paradigms. China's liberal economic system as 'half man' is enhancing its economic clout where its authoritative regime is 'half beast' which is both internal and external stumbling block. China is being delivered by Deng Xiaoping's given liberal economic system but under Mao's communist political order. The former put China on position where it emerged as America's economic challenger while the later has been hampering its true national integrity and global outreach. The liberal element of China makes it more steadfast and competent competitor than USSR.

Strategic Aspects of Maritime Silk Road (MSR)

Alfred Thayer Mahan, a United States Navy flag officer, geo-strategist, and historian, said; that naval blockade can defeat strongest enemy. In both World Wars naval blockade played important roles in the victories of the "allied forces". Due to advancement of communications in the new geopolitical realities maritime routes, ports and trade hold greater importance. To control these maritime routes, China has employed its massive investments in different ports. More than 90 per cent of China's trade" is carried out through sea lanes. The trade shipment is fast but much expansive as compare to cheapest sea borne trade. Keeping in mind the importance of sea routs, there is higher possibilities that China will supply most of its goods in the future by sea. In order to replace a single modern container ship, up to 300 trains can be needed. Beijing knows and recognizes the massive importance and its larger concentration on developing, investing on different sea ports and modernizing its navy in order to keep check and provide security to its trade and energy shipments.

The rise of India, China and other stakeholders of the global politics has speeded up the process of multi-polarity. China had already furthered its claim for vital position and role under catching phrase of 'China's role in global governance' (Zhongying, 2016). In the developing and developed states owning to the heavy dependence on trade, both for raw materials to fuel economies and to ship their exports abroad, the command of seas is an important instrument to ensure the stable flow of maritime shipments aside geo strategic bargaining. The need for maritime security has been pushing various states towards naval up gradations, naval exercises and naval alliance system. This reshaping hierarchy of choices in foreign policies has been shifting the focus from land-based alliances towards maritime security communities.

In realistic paradigm, power always comes at the cost of other. China's maritime security quest to overcome its security dilemma in IOR obviously is putting adverse effects on other players especially India and America. In 2012 according to The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) published annual Military Balance established that Asian spending on defence surpassed that of Europe. The size of defence budgets have been equally soaring with Sino-

India economic boom and in future the trend will be on increase. It is documented that Asian economic growth proportionally increased its defence spending as well. Dr LucieBéraud-Sudreau, responsible for the collection and assessment of data on defence budgets and defence industry for The Military Balance and Military Balance, asserts the direct relations between economic rise and defence expenditures(Béraud-Sudreau, 2017). After years of strong growth of more than 5% in real terms, Asia's total defence expanding plummeted to 1.4% between 2016 and 2017. The vital cause for this decline has been economic slowdown in both China and India.

Conclusion

MSR is initiated on economic lines and being projected as vital engine for economic growth and integration. No doubt, the standard model for economic integration has been European Union (EU). However, European economic integration became only possible when the existing territorial disputes had been overcome and extinguished all the ashes which could have engulfed Western Europe in war or just short of war. The success of MSR could only be possible when stakeholders in South China Sea and East China Sea conflicts would been able to sort out their differences amicably .

Next to the territorial disputes are China's internal problems. China has been facing two fold territorial challenges both external to mainland and internal on mainland, China-Taiwan issue and territorial issues on mainland China. Xinjing and Tibet's true integration is necessary if China truly be seen real and responsible power. Otherwise, the existing bicker in Xinjing would been pressing vein of China for western propaganda machine human rights watch dogs once again(Watson & Westcott, 2019).

The most important aspect of Chinese investment is the generated perception of the "Debt-trap diplomacy". China must take appropriate steps to dispel the notion. The first thing for China is to read deeply and take care of the national interests of the various states. It should avoid being the part of the domestic politics of the different states. In many states going governments used China's investments as their election campaign manifestos. And in many states, from Sri Lanka to Malaysia, Maldives and Pakistan new governments felt irritation from

previously concluded agreements. The domestic fault-lines in these countries are mainly playing the role of time bombs for Chinese investments. China should take consider the small states, their domestic politics dynamics and national consensus trajectory. One China completes homework it ought to tailor- made its investment mode accordingly.

The need and hope for economic gain is one of the distinguished elements that are bringing together a number of states with diverse histories, political systems and territorial disputes towards Beijing. The designed distribution of economic dividends has initially mustered sizeable support and participation in China's initiated MSR. However, fragile strategic perception of US and India and divergent themes for global administration has put various question marks on unfolding initiative.

MSR has positive economic and infrastructural effects for smaller states connecting them with each other and with Beijing through maritime routs. However, both opposing blocs have historical nightmares that are totally changing the outlook of the economic based initiatives. For China,

MSR is important milestone for safeguarding SLOCs and to avoid the incidents like Yinhe (ChinaDaily, 1993) - where America stopped Chinese freighter that had been suspected by American intelligence of carrying poison gas ingredients to Iran.

Both India and China are largely under the burden of their bitter histories while America is to maintain the status quo in the Indian Ocean Region. China's investment under the banner of MSR, by default, has saboteur impacts for the US hegemony and status-que while for India scare to be overwhelmed. Additionally, power influx phenomena acts as catalyst for this strategic competition. In this power transition process and in the middle of the structural changes various stakeholders are locked in zero-sum-game competition for proper place in the re-configuration process of international world order.

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Fourth Wave Feminism in Indonesia:
Body Shaming Through Social Media Phenomenon

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Abstract

Recently, Indonesia has been horrified by the phenomenon of body shaming through social media. Even though this has happened previously, but now the victims take serious action to respond the situation, including filed reports on the police based on violations of the ITE Law Article 27 paragraph (3) in conjunction with Article 45 paragraph (3) of Law No 11 of 2008. However, some people still do the body shaming especially through social media by disguising body size, imperfection and appearance. Based on the data, there are 966 cases of body shaming in 2018. Furthermore, this research aims to assess the body shaming through social media phenomenon in Indonesia which has the relations with the fourth wave feminism issues. To answer the research question, the writers use objectification theory and feminist constructivism approach. This study deployed the qualitative research instrument by primary and secondary data. The result shows that body shaming through social media in Indonesia caused by natural and social order that formed people's habit in daily life.

Keywords: *Body Shaming; Constructivism; Feminism; Social Media.*

Introduction

The feminism issues have been discussed since eighteenth century (first-wave feminism), the issues mostly talk about women's right. Going through long period, the focus of the issues has been progressing followed by the dynamic of society. This also happened in Indonesia, feminism in Indonesia has a long story and contributed to the discourse

of equality (Arivia & Subono, 2017) The feminist movement in Indonesia has taken action since the Dutch colonialization's era till during the post-colonialization, meanwhile growing number of women's organization become historical records of feminist movement in Indonesia. They dealt with issues such as equality right and participation (Arivia & Subono, 2017).

Nonetheless, many feminist scholars believe that the contemporary issues of feminist have entered new phase following the social dynamics, called the fourth-wave feminism. Based on Prudence Chamberlain in her books *The Feminist Fourth Wave Active Temporality* (2017) argued that the issues of fourth wave feminism include the justice for women, particularly to counter sexual harassment and violence against women. To handle feminism issues, Indonesian government and some advocated groups have tried to raise awareness of the citizen towards the issues, such as by developing national law to executing the case related to the issues and campaigns that has been done by some Non-Governmental Organizations.

In using technology, the government had set the regulation by ratified Electronic Information and Transactions Law (*Undang-Undang ITE,* ITE Law) in 2008 and later was revised in 2016, the aims of the regulation are to protect, manage electronic information and transaction. In ITE Law also accomodates the regulation about body shaming, through Article 27 paragraph (3) in conjunction with Article 45 paragraph (2) of Law No 11 of 2008. Both articles conclude that every person intentionally and/or without rights to distribute and/or transmit and/or make access to electronic information and/or electronic documents that have insulting contents can be punished for (maximum) 6 months and/or paying fine (maximum) IDR. 1,000,000,000 (±USD. 71,000), this also applies to body shaming activity.

Against to the background, eventhough it has been well regulated in the national law and the criminals will get the sanction, body shaming phenomenon still happen in Indonesia, particularly through social media. Based on *Detik.com,* during 2018 there were 966 case related to body shaming recorded by the police in Indonesia. 374 cases had resolved either using the law procedure or mediation between the victims and the perpetrators

(Santoso, 2018). Thus becomes the highlighted issues in this research.

Feminism in Indonesia

The phenomena of fourth-wave feminism has also been widely discussed recently. This regards to issues that have not been covered by first-, second-, and third-wave feminism. Fourth-wave feminism tries to focus on enhace human equality through the use of internet-based technologies, empowerment of all marginalized groups in society, inculing women and girls (Chamberlain, 2017).It is a follow-up conversation that began in 1848 with the aim of fighting for women's rights.

Before the existence of fourth-wave feminism, there are three wave of feminism that exists with different focus study. The current wave that called fourth-wave feminism is combined with the era of technology by using the social media as the tool. The fourth wave aiming to advocate women in politics and business. The focuses of the news had been added in fourth wave feminism such as salary in workplace, sexual harassment and assault, sexual entitlement, freedom of individual choice, discrimination, body shaming, online misogyny, intersectionality and many others.

In her article, *'Feminism: A Fourth-Wave?'* Ealasaid Munro claims for the fourth feminism that it has been enabled by internet, particularly social media facilitating call-out culture (Munro, 2013). Social media has allowed for the continual challeging of sexism and misogyny, creating environment in which feminism can directly engage with that which it is agains. Not only the numbers of women online increasing, but also multiple feminist campaigns have been launched on the internet (Chamberlain, 2017). Most of the focus issues was related to the technology such as social media.

The use of technology is a good alternative to campaign the women right, considering the social media now became a tool of the people among the world to communicate. Meanwhile more than 50% population around the world use the internet and around 42% use social media. There are no limit of time and space in using social media. Bates and Soraya Chemaly did the campaign of 4th wave feminism against misogynist through facebook pages and Bridget Christie also railed against sexiest comments and concerning ethical filing in social media (Cochrane, 2013).

Body shaming is one of the topic issue that fourth-wave feminism focusing on. The word body shaming is very famous around the world. According to Cambridge dictionary, body shaming is criticism of someone based on the shape, size, or appearance of their body (Gaffney, 2017). Katelyn J. Gaffney on her research mentioned that the side effect of body shaming is resulted eating disorder, anxiety, anger, dissatisfaction of the body and depression. She also mentioned about the phenomena of body shaming around the world such as in America, Britain and Australia (Gaffney, 2017).

The trend of body shape on social media is common along with the huge number use of social media. There are some challenges in social media that might be led to body shaming indirectly such as 'iPhone knees challenge' that can prove the skinny of the legs, collarbone challenge by coin to show the sexy of their collarbone, 'A4 challenge' to prove the tiny of their waist, and many others. Those challenges are indirectly shows the discrimination to them who did not have "specific" size of bodies, because they cannot join and enjoy the challenge in social media.

Heather R. Gallivan on his presentation about *Teens, Social Media And Body Image* shows the list of data regarding to the social media and body shaming, the study he conducts in Univeritsy of Haifa found out that A 2011 study from the University of Haifa found that the more time girls spent on Facebook, the more they suffered conditions of AN, BN, poor body image, negative approach to eating and more urges to be on a weight loss diet. One residential eating disorder treatment center found that 30-50% of their patients are actively using social networking sites to support their eating disorders. (Gallivan, 2014). Dina Borzekowski, professor at Johns Hopkins school of public health also notes that social media may have a stronger impact on children's body image than traditional media. Messages and images are more targeted, if the message comes from a friend it is perceived as more meaningful and credible.

Research Question

The previous study shows that there is relations between body shaming and social, furthermore this paper would like to assess why does the body shaming through social media happen in Indonesia in regards with fourth-wave feminism?

Literature Review

Objectification Theory

According to Fredrickson and Roberts (1997), objectification theory posits that girls and women are typically acculturated to internalize an observer's perspective as a primary view of their physical selves and will be lead to habitual body monitoring. The impacts of being sexual objectification is poor mental health both direct and indirect (Fredickson & Roberts, 1997). Melanie S. Hill and Ann R Fischer try to form a framework based on Fredrickson and Roberts idea of objectification theory (Hill & Fischer, 2008).
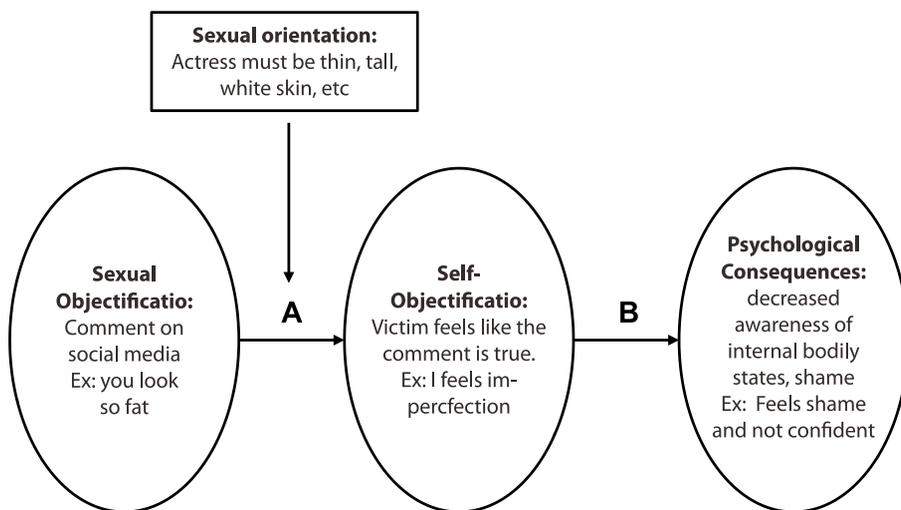
Source: (Hill & Fischer, 2008) based on Fredickson and Roberts (1997)

The chart explains that in path A there is influence from observer of sexual orientation that can bring the sexual objectification to be self-objectification. The people who get self-objectification by the observer tend to have self-objectification or they are be able to evaluate their own body based on people's perspective that they think it was a standard. in Path B and C shows that the existence of health disorder range from shame to the depression. Path D shows the direct impact from sexual objectification. So we see the two impacts of sexual objectification may be happens direct and indirect.

Constructivism Approach

This research will use the constructivism approach, to explore the reason of body shaming

in social media still happens in Indonesia despite all the advocacy efforts. The basic insight behind the constructivist approach can be understood by unpacking a quick observation made by Archer that argued that the norms or value that infiltrated in particular society is not given, it comes from the interaction of people with their environment. Besides, the causal power also can be modify.

The properties and powers of the human being are neither seen as pregiven, nor as socially appropriated, but rather these are emergent from our relations with our environment. As such they have relative autonomy from biology and society alike, and causal powers to modify both of them' (Archer, 2000).

Archer uses perspective if Merleau-Ponty points out that the 'sensed bodily enveloped' is critical to the development in the sense of self-distinguished from others (Archer, 2000). This self-constituted in practical activity in relation with natural needs. Archer maintains that looking for an 'entity or substance', the self is an emergent property whose realization comes from the necessary relations between embodied practice and the non-discursive environment (Archer, 2000).

Archer continues her argument with an examination of the emotional inner life all human being that grounds all human development. In the natural order the concern is about the physical well being of the body in the environment and emotional reaction is visceral. In the practice order the concern is for subject or object relations and the concern is for competent performance or achievement. And in the third, the discursive order, the concern is also for subject or object relations but the concern is for self-worth in the light of normative strictures. The dilemma for any individual is, of cours, that these three orders are not, in practice, distintc and there are no guarantees that they are compatible. As a result, the contradiction of first-order concersn and commentaries givers rise to the second-order emotionality that is concerned with striking a balance between the three orders dan it is the particular balance that each individual strikes that produces the personal identituy of that person.

Second order concerns arise out of the human ability to reflect upon our emotions, to transform them and thus to set up the priorities among emotions that are particular to ourselves. It is through

our inner conversations, involving discernment, deliberation and dedication in morphogenetic cycle that second-order emotionally is elaborated and personal identity is formed. The achievement of personal identity through second order emotionally is not automatic and there are instabilities, often through second-order emotionality over the life cycle, that prompt new dialogue and change commitments. The emergent subject that Archer outlines is a stratified concerp involving different powers and properties at each emergent level. The four strata comprise the self, the person, the agent and the actor. The agent and the actor are social selves but they are dependent upon the continues sense of self and they are co-dependent with the emergence of personal identity.

The social sel develops at the interface of structure and agency. But in contrast, to person, structure and culture all face emergent power and properties. It is in the interplay of all three components that social change is affected and either one of the three may be the precipitting trigger of change. Archer points out that chave tendency to accelrate most especially under conditions of modernity. Archer's social relatist position accords sui generis causal power to all three components, which are culture, sturcture and agents.
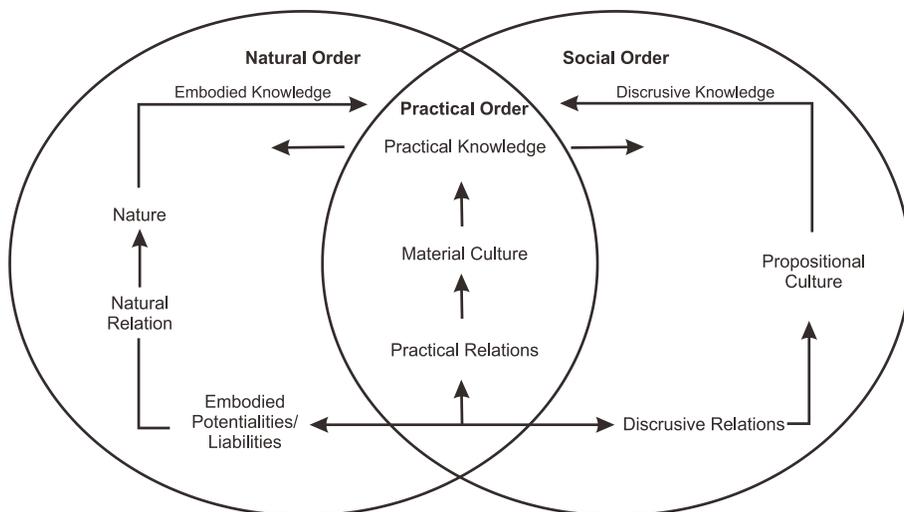
Source: (Clegg, 2006) based on Archer (2000)

Methodology

In order to answer the research question, this research is using qualitative research method. A qualitative data is not convert all of the result into a single data as number but leaves the data in a varieties forms (Neuman, 2014). The writers used primary data through observation and secondary data by the books, journal, news and others document related to the body shaming on social media in Indonesia. This research is counted as the phenomenological research.

Result

Social Media Misuse

The regulation of ITE Law is clearly stated, the bullies of body shaming will be punished based on Article 27 paragraph (3) and Article 45 paragraph (2). The regulation shows that the Government of Indonesia has taken serious action towards body shaming activities. It is also to prevent the further activities of body shaming and the misuse of media for defamation or insults. This cannot be denied that the number of body shaming on social media is also related to the length of social media usage in Indonesia since social media is providing a platform to a wide range of women, who are able to use the connectivity.

In recent year, Indonesia has greater internet penetration with 88 million people connected online, including 79 million active social media users. Based on the global digital report 2018 that merge the data reports from We Are Social and Hootsuite, Indonesia is one of the top five countries that spend many hours in using internet per day. Indonesia placed in fourth which is approximately 8h50m per day. In 8h50m, Indonesian user spend 3h20m for only social media, in this case Indonesia is still in big three after Philippines and Brazil. In January 2017, the annual growth of social media users from Indonesia is 23%. (Kemp, 2018). Indonesia is also ranked high for social media penetration with 111 million Facebook users, it comes as fourth the biggest uses globally and the first in Southeast Asia. The country has 24 million users on Twitter, one of the highest in the world, and 8.9 million are on Instagram (Rakhmat & Tarahita, 2017).

Along with the high numbers of internet penetration in Indonesia, including social media, this study finds the cases relating to social media also differ with their various motives. In 2009, cases of body

shaming on social media occurred on the basis of jealousy. At that time a teenage girl named Felly commented on the Facebook status of a man named Ujang to decide his girlfriend Farah. Looking at the comment, the boyfriend felt uncomfortable and jealous and then chose to reply to the comment using the man's account. Farah commented on Felly that she has unproper body shape, not fashionable, to the family of Felly (Gunawan, 2009).

The other case study happened to some public figures in Indonesia. The public figures always have been on the spotligtht, since their works engage with public and broad audiences. Many people make public figures as role models such as fashion, but not a few also give negative comments to the public figures such as commenting on body shape. As it is known to almost all artists have experienced this, but there are some artists who choose not to care about people's comments. The following is a case of body shaming on social media that befell public figures, such as mom-shaming happens to many public figures. During pregnancy it is very normal if a woman experiences changes in body shape, but many actually comment on changes in body shape. Tasya Kamila,

Putri Titian, and Audi Item, the famous publc figures in Indonesia experience the body shaming, most of the bullies commented that their body getting fatter while pregnant and still fat after delivering the babies.

Dian Nitami's case has just happened recently. She chose to send her report to the police about the body shaming that she experienced on Instagram social media made her not confident. This case was then processed by the authorities, even though the person actually doing it was an educated person. Besides being insulted by one of her body part, Dian is also advised to do plastic surgery to improve his body shape. Aside from Dian Nitami, actress Ussy Sulistiawati chose the legal route for the body shaming experienced by her daughter. Immediately, she brought 20 account names of social media that insulted her daughter's body. Besides, there are still many public figures who experience similar malicious comments about body shape, such as skin color experienced by Nana Mirdad and Ariel Tatum, height experienced by Prilly Latuconsina, Rossa, Brisia Jodie, Aurel Hermansyah, to the case of Rina nose who chose to release

her hijab and still many other cases of humiliation.

From the illustration case above, it is shown that social media is place to share their activity, such as in the form of pictures and people are able to communicate with other through social media, however, the relationship that exists can also be negative towards other people. Here in the case of giving harsh comment towards certain body part to other people, they might just want to comment to show their dissatisfaction or disagreement towards certain part of the people's body, because it has an ideal body construction in their thinking.

Lack of Attention of the Issues

The feminsts groups in Indonesia has been well aware about the feminism issues, some significant action had been taken to handle the issues, such as Women's March in Jakarta earlier that become the annual event of feminists campaign to commemorate the International Women's Day. In 2018, the Women's March highlighted the issue of violation, harassment and harmful of traditional practices against women, the issue of early marriage also became a concern in the march. The march also demands the Government of Indonesia to

establish pro-women and pro-marginal groups public policy (BBC, 2018).

The other campaign like Feminist Fest Indonesia has also showed its notable action by holding the festival that explore the use and importance of feminism in Indonesia in 21st century. The Feminist Fest sessions include plenary panels, small group discussions, workshops, and classes with quite a number of themes, including gender based violence, sexual and reproductive health, sexual orientation and gender identity, eco-feminism, and public policy. This festival specifically targets young people who already have an interest in joining the movement and striving to achieve gender equality and fulfill women's rights in Indonesia (FEMFEST, n.d.). Both Women's March and Feminist Fest Indonesia activities involved various group of people in Indonesia.

Beside those two movements, the government of Indonesia has done collaborative action with United Nations Women (UN Women) to counter the gender equality and empower women issues. The activity focuses on strengthening law implementation and piloting for good practices (UN WOMEN, 2019). From three

advocacy group, the feminist activists in Indonesia still focus traditional way of gender issues (UN WOMEN, 2019).

Eventhough the body shaming through social is new phenomenon, there is data that shows a large number of the case of women's body shaming on social media that happened in Indonesia. Reportedly, there were 966 cases of body shaming, the number shall be properly addressed and immediately became a concern. Based on the results of interviews by the Head of the Public Information Bureau of the Police Headquarters Public Relations Division Brigadier General Dedi, he said that in 2018 there were 966 cases of body shaming on social media that had been completed in 374 cases. But it uses a more humane approach or mediation between the two parties before being below to a more serious level of law (CNN Indonesia, 2018).

Discussion

a. Self Objectivication

Case of body shaming in Indonesia appear whether from direct conversation or through social media such as Facebook, Instagram, twitter, etc. Based on what Fredrickson and Roberts said, women will value themselves more based on people's views. The picture made by Hill and Fischer based on Fredickson and Robert's theory objectification, this research puts concern on path A. In this case, how is the change in sexual objectification to the stage of self-objectification that is influenced by the sexual orientation. Sexual orientation becomes a tool for changes that occur from sexual objectification to self-objectification.

Sexual objectification occurs continuously because it has become human nature. In the world of feminism, sexual objectification occurs when someone judges women based on their bodies both in terms of form and others. Sexual objectification usually occurs because someone has their own judgment, for example, seeing someone else being a little fatter, then starting to say that the person is fat. Although not necessarily through different perspectives will be considered fat too.

Normally someone does sexual objectification because they have had their sexual orientation. Sexual orientation has different sources, some measure based on using the Brosca formula until there are only those that use the senses of sight or the eyes. Everyone usually has a sexual orientation that is different

this is because it is made aware of each individual's different interests. For example there is someone who likes to be fat, some like to be thin. However in this study, the brosca formula is not valid, because cases that occur on social media cannot find out whether the person is really fat or thin, as social media cannot tell how many sizes of weight or height of someone other than that person who tells himself. So that most cases of self objectifictaion that occur can be categorized as judgments only from the sense of sight. After this sexual objectification, people will enter self-objectification. Self objectification is carried out because the mind of a person has been disturbed by the values that are embedded due to people's comments. Self objectification does not only come from yourself but it occurs due to external factors, namely comments from others.

There are some people who are normal in responding but sometimes some others look very serious in dealing with it. Like the case of the artists, some just let it go but some chose to take legal action such as reporting to the police. In case of Dian Nitami, she has been shamed by people of her face through social media Instagram. That people comment her to do operation because she is an actress that must have perfect face. We can see that the sexual objectification that happen in Dian Nitami's case is body shamed based on sexual orientation which is actress must have perfect body no matter what. This builds people opinion to do the body shame on Dian Nitami. Because of cannot accept being acted like that, Dian Nitami decide to report to Police.

Sexual orientation: Actress must be thin, tall, white skin, etc

Sexual Objectificatio: Comment on social media Ex: you look so fat

A

Self-Objectificatio: Victim feels like the comment is true. Ex: I feels im-percfection

B

Psychological Consequences: decreased awareness of internal bodily states, shame Ex: Feels shame and not confident
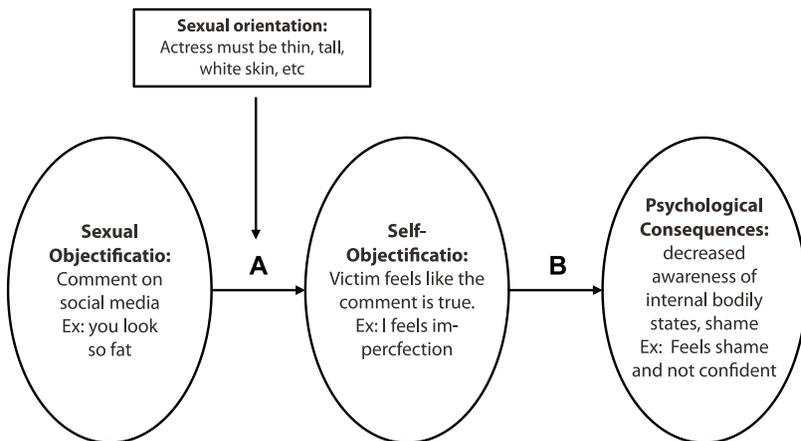
From case of Dian Nitami, we can see the sex orientation here is that as a public figure must be perfect in everything especially body. The figure above is clearly stated about how the process of body shaming that impact to the victim. Such as the actress must be thin, white, neat, tall, beautiful, high and small nose and many others as

the viewer sexual orientation. This thing has been set up to the most of people mindset. They are trying to apply what do they like to people's look like by shamed the other people because beyond their expectation and their own standard.

b. Emerging New Norms as Practical Order
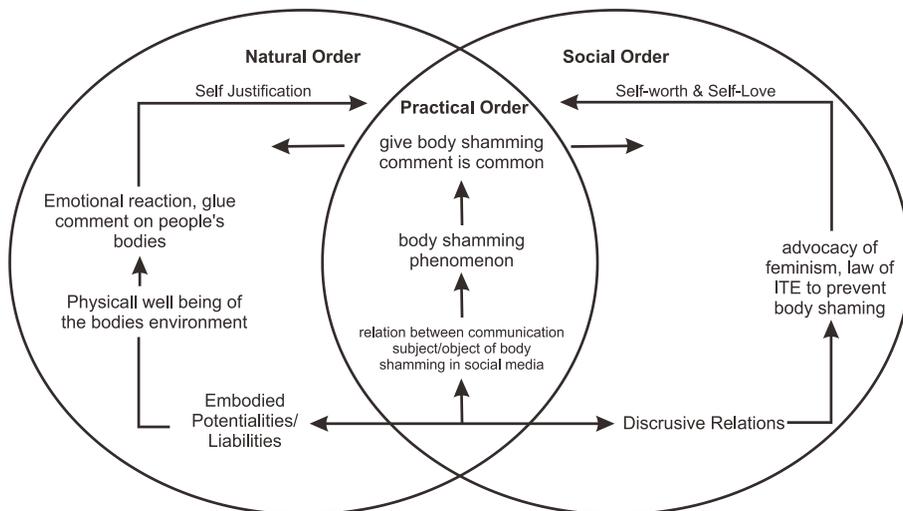
Source: (Clegg, 2006) based on Archer (2000)

In accordance with the findings, Archer's model about practical order can be the opposite of natural order and social order. The self-constituted in practical activity in relations with natural needs. Here the society concern of their physical well being of the body and the environment as the natural relation, and people have the emotional fuels to have internal conversation with themselves to questioning certain body image. This

also part of their reaction towards the social construction of the ideal body image meets the reality. In the natural order the concern is about body image and emotional reaction is visceral. As the results, people have emotional reactions towards the body image and glue comment on people's bodies. Furthermore, self-justification becomes embodied knowledge in natural order.

In the practical order, the parctical conciousness of the people is not the result of some intellectual capability of linguistic principles or syntax. In the case of Dian Nitami, the bullies are educated person, this shows that their consciousness does not have relations with the education degree. The centrality practice is tied to the fact that it is only through practice that human potential can be realized and personal identity formed. In this order, people communication through social media creates the pracical relations between the bullies and victims, people give harsh comment towards certain body shape because it does not meet their expectation. This proceeds to the phenomenon of body shaming in social media. Then, it is led to giving comment on people's body is common things, even though it might insult other's feeling.

For the third order, social order, discursive knowledge, the concern of the people -should be self-worth or self-love normative action. This should be the normative value and proportional culture that emerge because of the result of advocacy feminism and the *ITE Law* to prevent and stop the body shaming. However the dillemas for any individual are distinct and no guarantees that they are compatible. As the shole result, the contradiction between three orders rise and the new value has emerged, in this case is that giving body shaming comment to other individuals is common things.

Conclusion

So in the conclusion, why does the body shaming through social media happenings in Indonesia with fourth-wave feminism caused by habits formed in social life. This habit makes the mindset of most people doing body shaming that it is actually a normal thing to do. Even though the fact is that these things can have a major impact both directly and indirectly. Based on the model produced by Archer, there are two factors that influence the occurrence of body shaming through social media called natural order and social order. In this natural order talking about how self-justification as expressed in the theory of objectification that this can occur because of the sexual orientation in this case which says which is good and what is right. So when someone believes that it is the right thing, then the occurrence of body shaming on social media can be a justification for them. This is the basis for why this phenomenon still occurs in Indonesia. Because

in Indonesia, commenting on the physical is an ordinary thing which is a supporting factor for them as a form of justification for the phenomenon of body shaming on social media.

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Women's Political Participation in Bangladesh in 2008-2018: Status Quo, Obstacles and Future Prospects.

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Abstract

In the contemporary world, the involvement of women in parliament is necessary. However, not all nations uphold the idea of gender equality. Many countries are still trapped by their values and norms such as the patriarchy system. Bangladesh is an example of a country where the patriarchy system has become an obstacle for women to participate in political activities. The current fact has shown its progressivity to involve women in political activities. Therefore, the question arises as of how the future prospect for women in Bangladesh to be able to participate and to involve in the political and parliament activities. This study uses the theory of feminism to examine women's demand that will affect Bangladesh's future policies on women's involvement in political activities. This paper will discuss the current condition and the obstacles faced by the women in Bangladesh regarding political activities. Some obstacles such as women dual role, prohibition of women leadership in Islam, absent of women friendly electoral system as well as present negative women psychology of political culture. The method used in this study is a qualitative based research method. This paper concludes demands appears from the women in Bangladesh to increase their involvement in political activities.

Keywords: Bangladesh, Women political participation, Obstacles, Affirmative action

Introduction

Many new issues have brought up into international scale in this contemporary world. From the environmental issues, human right issues, transnational crime and gender equality. At the beginning of the emergence of gender equality concern, it was started as the part of human right issues which sees that women have not been given an equal chance in many aspects compared with the men. While gender equality itself means the balance or equal right given to both known gender, masculine and feminine where both gender is highly associated with man and woman. The international actors who concern on this issues have given their thought that there should be an equal chance for man and woman to have the same position in many fields, since it is often men that get higher position or status in the society rather than woman. The unequal or balance position or status between man and woman has triggered some feminine activist who see that woman is as capable as man to handle certain, to show their efforts on promoting the equality on both gender.

In the contemporary world, the development of politics also becomes one of field that women has not been given much equal position as man do, especially in the decision making process. Not all of nations uphold the idea of gender equality that can be seen from the small number of women involved on their political activities. Even for certain countries, the limited number of women involvement in the parliament or political activities is merely a tradition or cultural value that women should not be put into any public space activities and only can have their job at the private life. This particular value known as the patriarchal system. This value has limit women to express their desire and involved themselves in the public society, including in the parliament or politics activity.

An example of a country that still applied this patriarchy system into their daily activities is Bangladesh. Surrounded by strong various culture and norms has sent Bangladesh into one of countries that has less gender equality number among the world. As the developing country, Bangladesh still faced a high number of poverty, which led to the poor condition of education, health and uneven distribution of facilities, especially for women. This make only wealth people that can reach the higher education and better facilities to develop themselves. In the 1979 elections,

the military regime only have 17 women among 2,125 candidates for 300 seats; none of the women won, and only 3 polled over 15 percent of the vote. According to the 1988 parliamentary election, the provision for reserved seats for women had been allowed to lapse. In the 1981, the Awami League (AL) chose Sheikh Hasina Wazed as their first female head of the party and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) chose Begum Khaleda Zia as the first female party chairman. Both are from political families who received sympathy and support of the masses and the media. Khaleda Zia was the wife of former president General Zia (whom assassinated in 1981), proclaimed independence of the country, while Sheikh Hasina is the daughter of father of the nation, Sheikh Mujib (also assassinated in 1975. It is completely seen that the women involvement in Bangladesh's political activities was strongly depends on its family relations or history to the country and none of ordinary women who does not come from a political families have been chosen to have rights in the parliament (Iwanaga, 2008).

Literature Review

There are many articles discussing about women participations in politics in the area of south Asia including Bangladesh. Article entitled *Women's Political Participations in Bangladesh: Rhetoric and Reality* by Lasna Kabir mostlikely examine the obstacles faced by Bangladeshi woman participating in politics. Thus Kabir sees that any policies given by the legal government seems just rethoric relate in the fact that the number of women join in any political activities are still in small number. Other article by Pranab Panday entitled *Women's Political Participation in Bangladesh and* India gives us comparison on how those countries give space for women in joining political activites. The reason why Panday made that comparison is because both countries faced the similar problem which is patriarchy value that still practiced by most of their society. While most of scholar discussing about the obstacles, on our paper we are not just discuss about those factors but we also provide the future prospect for women in Bangladesh by giving analysis where women will have bigger opportunity since there are many supportive actors push the presence of women in Bangladesh.

Theoretical Framework

Feminism is ideology that

states equality of rights between man and woman. Feminism is often interpreted as the women's emancipation movement voiced about the improvement of women's status and refused a difference in degree between man and woman. Equality between man and woman in this ideology applies in all aspects. In the early days of its appearance, feminism known as "the struggle of women" but today feminism has developed and known as "the struggle against all forms of injustice".

In history, feminism was born as the beginning of the rise of women to shift status as the second creature after man in this world. Feminism developed in medieval Europe in 16-18th BC. The first feminism is an attempt to deal with patriarchy system. Patriarchy is a system that put men in important position and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property. The focus of first feminism is to against the patriarchy system view regarding subordinate position of women who are considered a weaker creature, more emotional and irrational (Suwastini, 2013).

Feminism spearheaded by woman divided into several waves and each wave has a very rapid development. Characterized by the enlightment era happened in Europe where Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Marquis de Condoracet were the pioneers.

First wave feminism

The first wave of feminism took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, emerging out of an environment of urban industrialism and liberal, socialist politics. First wave of feminism doesn't refer to the first feminist thinkers in history but it refers to the West's first sustained political equality for women: to open opportunities for women focusing on suffrage.

The first wave officially began at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 when almost 200 women for the purpose of equality for women: the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women. In 1920, Congress passed the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote (Grady, 2018).

Second wave feminism

The second wave began in the 1960s which was signed by the publication of The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan, followed by establishment National Organization for Women in 1966

and the interaction of conscious raising (CR) groups in the end of 1960s.

The second wave of feminism themed "Women's Liberation" is considered as a revolutionary collective movement. This wave appear as a reaction to women's dissatisfaction with the various discriminations they experienced even though legal and political emancipation had been achieved by the first wave of feminism. Therefore, the second wave of feminism focuses more on issues that directly affect women's lives such as reproduction, childcare, sexual violence, female sexuality, and the problem of domesticity (Rampton, 2015).

Third wave feminism

The third wave of feminism began in the early 1980s to the early 1990s, was marked by an understanding of the increasingly diverse feminism movement. Wherein the political movement has prioritized women's politics, ethnicity, and subject positions that are often discussed in the "postmodern politics" rubric. Wherein something that has been marginalized and marginalized in the "postmodern theory", specification of their position

begin to be highlighted with their differences of opinion from other groups and individuals (Grady, 2018).

So, even though each wave has a different focus, feminists provide support, encouragement, and inspiration about the importance of women's roles and positions, special roles and positions in the realm of culture and politics.

Based on this explanation, we use the concept of feminism especially the first wave of feminism. The focus of feminism in the first wave is to fight for women's suffrage or emancipation in the political sphere. Through the concept, we can find out obstacles in parliament and woman in parliament in future prospect.

Methodology

This research uses qualitative descriptive research methods with a secondary data analysis approach. The qualitative approach in this research is to match empirical reality with the prevailing theory by using descriptive methods. Whereas qualitative secondary data is a method by using secondary data as the main source. Secondary data may include field notes, personal documents, and other official documents.

Result and Disscussion

Bangladesh Progress for Woman to Participate in Jatiya Sangshad (National Parliament)

As developing country, Bangladesh is quiet progressive in terms of woman's political participation despite it is not significantly shown in the number. Since getting independence in 1972, Bangladesh has recognized and legalized their constitution to guarantee woman presence in any political activities. On the article 28(1) stated that *"the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth"*, it means that the Bangladesh constitution has no limitation and recognizes woman in the aspect of politics. Again, in article 28(2) stated that *"women shall have equal rights with men in all spheres of the state and public life"*.

Table 1. Elected women in joining parliament 1973-2001

Year	% of Women Candidates	Won in direct seats or by-elections	Total elected women	Reserved seats	% off women in the parliament
1973	0.3	0	0	15	4.8% out of 315 seats
1979	0.9	0+2	2	30	9.69% out of 330 seats
1986	1.3	5+2	7	30	11.21% out of 330 seats
1988	0.7	4	4	0	1.33% out of 300 seats
1991	1.5	8+1	9	30	11.81% out of 330 seats
1996	1.4	13+2	15	30	13% out of 330 seats
2001	1.8	6	6	0	2% out of 300 seats

Source: Election Commission of Bangladesh

Both articles shown that Bangladesh actually aware towards woman participation in any political activities throughout the country.

In order to involve more women in parliament, Bangladesh government also establishes several legislations such as Women and Children Repression Act 1995 that amended in 2000 and Dowry Prohibition Act 1980 that amended in 1982, these legislations are an attempt to ensure women presence in political activities in Bangladesh (Ahmed, 2008). However, since its independence, in terms of number, women political participation in Bangladesh has not showing the significant number in the past decades due to Bangladeshi women are disadvantaged and denied equal rights with men. In the period of 1973 election to 2001, there are no more than 12% of women joined in parliament. However in 2014 the election result show the percentage of women conquer the parliament seats increase up to 20.3% or 71 seats out of 350 seats (Kumar, 2017). The affirmative action given by the Bangladesh government atleast can attract women participation to compete for legislative seats

Despite its number, Bangladesh government did not remain silent in order to push the involvement of women in joining political activities. Since the 1979 CEDAW introduced gender based quotas, many countries start to adopt this form of affirmative action (Baldez, 2006). Affirmative action itself is a form of policy to give particular entities such as gender based, race, religions and faith and so on who are underrepresented in various position such as parliament in order to create and to accommodate a good policy for their entities interest. However, before the enactment of 1997 Act, the participation of women in parliament was meager. Before amended in 1997, seats for woman in parliament was reserved and filled by nomination or indirect election because in political contest women will find difficulties against men (Panday & Li, 2014). The 1997 Act was a starting point for the development of women participation in politics, in this time the affirmative action to allow women to compete for parliament seats through direct election by suffrage to the three women-only reserved seat, in which they can only compete with another woman candidates and men are not allowed to compete against women. This policy is the first time for women in Bangladesh to compete through direct election with women

candidates only to provide elected candidates equal legitimacy, power and rights as what men earned (Sultana, 2000).

Despite the separation policy for women through direct election, there is also other policy which is territorial demarcation to appoint a ward for woman members, the nine wards for general member were grouped into three larger wards for the purpose of election for women in parliament seats (Panday & Li, 2014). Even though in the national level, women still find difficulties to have a seats, after 1997 Act established women in local level dramatically increase as around 12.828 women were elected in 1997 local level election (Zaman, 2016). On May 2004, Bangladesh Parliament called Jatiya Sangshad have passed the 14th constitutional amandement to add extra 15 reserved seats for women in parliament to 345 which 45 (15%) seats are reserved for women only. In the 2018 election, Bangladesh government add extra 5 seats for reserved seats for women, so in total is 350 seats where 50 seats are reserved. This table below show the increasing women seats in parliament after establishment of 14th constitutional amandement (Kumar, 2017).

Table 2. Parliament Election result 2008-2018

Year	Women in Reserved Seats	Women in General Seats	Total Number of Women in Parliament	Percentage
2008	45	6	51	14.7
2014	45	19	64	18.6
2018	50	22	77	22

Source : Election Commission of Bangladesh

The Bangladesh government make a progressive attempt to always involve women in any political activities including for national parliament. Even though the result is not that significant, but the fact prove that in every election period shown the rise of women elected in national parliament. The affirmative action given by Bangladesh government can boost the involvement of women.

Obstacles that Hamper Women Participation in National Parliament

Bangladesh is a country located in South Asia identic with its

patriarchy system where society tend to look man upper than woman. Patriarchy itself is a social system in which males have greater accesses in occupying political roles, moral authority and control of property. Even though the participation rate of women in political activities in Bangladesh is always progressive, but then their presence in political agenda and decision making process are still seen as a symbolic role since the affirmative action always overshadowing their presence. However survey conducted by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) back in 2004 show that more than 70% women joined in political activities both in national or local level were not aware of their rights and responsibilities as woman represntatives in parliament (Mukhopadhyay, 2005). The big argument talking about the obstacle for women to participate in politics is that the idea of patriarchy value that still adopted by most of Bangladeshi. Moreover in the other part of the world, feminist movement have no longer need the acknowledgement about their presence in any activities including politics. There are several factors that support the existence of patriarchy value that hamper the presence of women in Bangladesh to join in politics even though the world have progressive anyway with globalization.

First factor is lack of control over corruption and their own incomes. It is not surprised when the election period come in Bangladesh there will be "black money" easily thrown in rural area such as district. Black money refers to money that is illegal and unaccounted consider as result of corruption that used by the political candidates to win the election by bribing or "buying votes" especially from people stayed in slum area. The political candidates which dominated by men are depended towards this black money since it needs bigger money to win election and women have no control towards this. The fact show that many businessmen are involved in national parliament since the very first election held in Bangladesh and its number always increase in every election continuously. In the ninth parliament there are around 59% of the elected members of parliament are businessmen and they are the person who will be nominated by their party leaders by paying huge amount of money and the result is many businessman were elected to become corrupt member of parliament through such of nominations process (Chowdhury, 2009).

In the other hand talking about private income, it is still hard for women to independently spend their own income for themselves. Most of women spend their money jointly with their husbands, therefore they could not manage their money for political purpose. Due to the patriarchy value, husband tend to look women as their property thus women income automatically belong to their husband since their wives also their own property. Men always take control towards their wives income so that women have no autonomy towards their personal income used for political activities.

Second factor is related to the economic incapability that lead to the less access to the education. Education is primary source to obtain knowledge used for woman to have equal political position with man and it can influence woman political outlook. However woman in Bangladesh are still lack of access towards education considering number of illiteracy is quiet high especially in slum area. It reflect on the member of parliaments itself when the member of parliament in 1996-2001 consist by 37 woman, only around 37% of them had degree from university level. In contrast, most of man in parliaments seats were hold bachelor degree, it made

the presence of woman in parliament be more overshadow when it came to the decision making process. The exact thing also happened in local level (Union Parishad), woman who sat for legislative in local level were dominated by housewife where they are actually not aware about political process. Therefore many of them assigned assistant from men to help them run the local legislative, and it is create stigma in society that woman actually incapable to do job as society representative in legislative. For the society live in slum area, the presence of women in politics did not contribute that much towards their life. They not even aware towards their political rights and responsibility so they can easily bribed by the candidates using black money and taking for granted giving their votes to them (Chowdhury, 2009).

Those two basic factors lead to the preservation of patriarchy value in Bangladesh that hamper the political development for woman. Lack of control and limit education makes woman difficult to break their boundaries in order to join political activities. Beside that, most of society live in slum area are not supportive towards woman in politics since they are not aware about their political rights since

they lack of access toward proper information about politics. This condition getting worse when their representatives in parliament doing corruption and use that money to ensure their position in parliament. This going to create an evil circle where parliament are dominated by "powerful men" and the other especially women remain in their position

Future Prospects

The success of the struggle for feminism and the demands of democracy so that all citizens actively participate in politics, for better governance requires the participation of women in all fields including politics, in other words women are expected to take part in decision making procedure.

Sue Thomas offered five reason why woman needs to increase their participation in politics. First, the equal opportunities for both sexes to hold political office can increase the legitimacy of democratic governments that claim to represent all of their citizens. Second, citizens believe that all citizens have equal opportunities to participate in decision making procedure. If it can be realized, so it can be increase the level of trust and support government and this can help create

a more stable government. Third, women are large talent group. Their abilities, points of view and ideas can give benefit society by involving male and female office holders at once. Fourth, a government that embraces male and female leaders convey message to the young men and women, as well as adults from age groups, that the political world is open to all people and all groups, not only as an exclusive men. Fifth, the importance reason of including women in ranks of political leaders is based on the fact that men and women have different experiences. With this difference, men and women can complement and enhance their respective roles (Idris, 2010).

The participation of woman is also important for reasons of fairness, legitimacy, stability and political symbolism. Political activists and politicians who struggle to increase the number of female office holders argue that women will make a difference in politics, women will represent the perspectives, needs and interests of female citizens. Some observers have concluded that the presence of woman is needed in politics to ensure the voices, interests and priorities of woman are so underrepresented in

government and in laws enacted by the government.

Furthermore, the United Nation declared *"International Women's Day"*. It is a day when woman is recognized for her achievements without regard to divisions, whether national, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, economic or political. It also increases the attention of citizens, politicians and academics about the role of woman in politics, especially her role as holder of political office. So, this charter was the first international agreement to affirm the principle of equality between women and men (International Women's Day , n.d.).

At this time, Bangladesh, the community has begun to agree and hope for greater women's participation, although for women there are still many obstacles that must be overcome. In addition, it is not easy for women to enter the political world, even though there are no formal rules that block but it is also a difficult choice. When a woman has chosen to pursue a career in politics, woman must be fully prepared to bear all the risks of professionalism. They must be prepared to sacrifice time, feelings, opportunities that should be given to their families.

Supporting actor of women in politics

Woman's own organizations which are fighting to ensure equal social and political rights for women, have been important factors that led both the governments of Bangladesh to bring about changes in policies regarding woman's participation in politics. The experience in Bangladesh shows that woman's activism picked up them the space that they presently have and which they likewise need to shield and secure (Panday P. K.).

For more than five decades, feminist organizations in Bangladesh have been trying to increase the resources of the various bases and have focused on the mobilization against gender inequality in the country. Organization that were initially only concerned about women's issues began to promote and demand that the government focus more on the fate of national women. A few examples of the hundreds of organizations that are dedicated to the advancement of women Bangladesh such as *'Jatiya Mahila Sanshad'*, *'Women for Women'*, *'Naripokho'*, *'Bangladesh National Women's Lawyer Association (BNWLA), 'Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha'*, *'Democracy Watch'*, and *'Khan Foundation'* are

strong advocates of women's rights, gender equality, and women's empowerment (Ahmed, 2008). Furthermore, these organization also acts as a social actor that connects between woman and the government of Bangladesh and seeks to contribute towards gender issues. Organizations that appear to act as a forum for leadership training for woman and as a conduit to bring woman's voices into proper perspective in the future. It can be said that there is an opportunity for woman to join parliamentary positions by the many actors who support them.

Conclusion

Although the number of womens participation in the Bangladesh's Parliament and political activities shows an increasing number, yet the obstacles remain exist and faced a challenges or difficulties to completely free out of the obstacles. As it still restricted by norms and values in the surrounding environment and societies, such as patriarchy system and Islamic values which says women should stay at the private life since Bangladesh is one of largest number of Muslim followers.

Participating Women in Parliament in 2008 - 2018
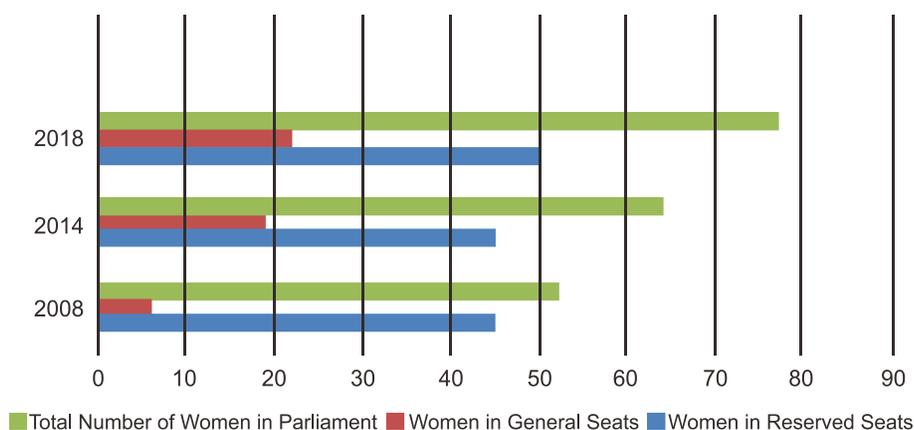
As it seen at the graphic table above, we can conclude that there is increasing number of women participation in the Bangladesh's political activities, especially in the Parliament with almost 80 women.

While in the General Seats, the number of women involved has significantly increased since 2008 to 2018 and in the Reserved Seats, it remains stable or does not increased much.

But the development of technology and information has spread the values of gender equality to reach the Bangladesh's society and encourage the emergence of supporting actors to make woman able to involved in any kind public activities, including in the political field. As the supporting actors in which formed as woman organization such as Women for Women, Bangladesh's National Women for Law Association are growing significantly to support the women's right and gender equality, the future prospect for women to be more involved in the parliament activities will likely increased and create a fairness between men and women's right at any public activities.

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Industrial Relations between Ojek Online Drivers with PT. Gojek Indonesia Branch of Surakarta

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Abstract

This study to analyze about understanding the driver and the company of Gojek about Partnership Agreements which is different with Work Agreements that has been set up by labor law in Indonesia, so it became a new study, and then analyze to know the relation that partnerships between the driver, company, government and consumer. This research is assessed using the theory social exchange Peter Blau. The method of this study is naturalistic inquiry. We find there is a different understanding between the driver with the company of Partnership Agreements. According to the drivers, contract offered by the company Gojek have not answered the rights of driver as a partner or as worker, like social security, a system of compensation, and working time. Partnership Agreements that should have mutually beneficial, but in fact a working relationship which is interwoven as a working relationship on workers that have must always be subject to any company policy. Therefore the drivers agree if online transportation of ojek arranged by the government. The absence of a labor union official and there is no industrial relations commonly called Tripartite between the driver, company, government and consumer.

Keyword: *Industrial Relations; Partnership Agreements; The Rights of Workers; Online Ojek Transportation; Gojek*

Introduction

The limited job opportunities in formal sector reform the people looking at other alternatives like the informal sector. This aims to meet the needs of its economy. Generally the informal sector do not have social security is facilitated by the employer, but this was not the halting intention for workers

who don't have the ability to work in the formal sector. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2018, indicate roughly 58% the amount of labor in indonesia took the lead is the informal sector. The number of informal sector workers is greater than workers in the formal sector. Therefore, the informal sector jobs are considered to be more rapidly than employment growth in formal sector reform.

Not many of the intervention of a government against, informal sector the government focus on workers in the formal sector. As a result, the informal sector wasn't capable of being raised in bargaining position workers better welfare standard, even have to find out how to survive. On the other side, the existence of the informal sector isn't inferior on all fours with the formal sector in encouraging the development continuity and the whole economy.

One of the field work in informal sector which is being demanded by the breadwinner is to be ojek online drivers. One whose business services of ojek online hot issue right now is Gojek. Service industry it began operations in the city of Surakarta in may 2016 with the income promising and far greater than conventional transportation, put

the target Gojek job opportunities for the breadwinners. Some only joined as a partner to work with side, but there are also some who work fulltime and become the main livelihood for his family.

Gojek is one based company ridesharing and ridehailing with a system of sharing economy. The system is based on the role of a share of the revenue that is mutually beneficial to both parties. Like other companies, PT. Gojek Indonesia also has an agreement as a guideline cooperation between the company with their partners namely the driver. Work agreements be offered the partnership agreements. This is very different with the Undang-Undang Ketenagakerjaan in general have rules working time, wages, social security and social facilities with a view so that workers feel comfortable for work, and can increase productivity performance. Partnership agreements offered by the company to the driver which isn't having hours or come home from work for sure, there is no guarantee social and not provided social facilities as a place to stop or to rest for the ojek online drivers.

Partnership agreements between companies gojek with the driver is to use a sharing economy system, namely 90 % for the

driver and 10 % for the company. Because of that , according to Lora (2018:69) it is perfectly natural to companies did not facilitate in their entirety about social security and social facilities for the driver. The relationship between gojek and drivers in partnership agreements is not an employment relationship which is usually in general the existence of a party boss (employer) and the subordinate (laborer), so if his position as a worker then he should get the full facilities from the company. It was because, the partnership agreements does not meet the wages and command were elements of a cooperative relationship (Lora,2018:78). Partnership agreements of Gojek is a work that puts forward on the basis of partnership with the mutual benefit of each other. But based on the field findings on the driver gojek in Jebres District at Surakarta City, there are several cases have according to the ojek online drivers are very injurious to his side. It was because the parties the driver consider their position as a partner. One of them is as the slow process of transactions in the bank accounts of driver, that there were some changes of any tariff or suspend suddenly of company without notice and consensus with the driver.

In this case, partnership agreements that should benefit each other, have a parallel position, there are no positions such as superiors or subordinates, but without realizing it, there is an unequal relationship in which the drivers require that they always comply with any policy and not given space to consult before changing existing policies.

Literature Review

In this discussion, there are several conceptuals such as industrial relations, Partnership Agreements and social exchange theory from Peter Michael Blau.

Industrial Relations

According to labor law No.13 in 2003 chapter 1 paragraph 16, industrial relations is a system relationships formed between actors production of goods or services comprising of elements entrepreneurs, workers, and the government based on values Pancasila and the Undang-Undang of the Republic of Indonesia 1945. Interested parties in those relationships, namely workers a businessman, as well as a labor organization, employers organization, government and the community as a consumer (Suprihanto,1992:29). The relationship

need to ensure are kept and developed in the interests of all parties involved. The purpose of training or the development of industrial relations is to create a secure relationship and harmonious between parties is to increase productivity business (Simanjuntak,2003:25). Thus, industrial relations management is one of the development of human resources management.

One from management at the company is industrial relations has formulated regulations corporation or partnership agreement which contain rights and obligations of workers and the authority and obligations of employers. The rights of workers is fulfillment of an obligation entrepreneurs. An obligation workers based on the authority employers to take care of that. The workers a job in accordance with the leaders to work and discipline in the work that has been set up. In return for the employment services it, workers eligible for wages, allowance and other social security, rest, on leave, fight for their rights directly or indirectly through the union. In addition to the workers are entitled to various kinds of protection, such as the protection of the health and safety, protection of the right to associate and negotiate with employers, as well as the protection of wages and incomes at the time were unable to do the job (Suprihanto,1992:31).

Industrial relations started from the working relationships were more in the nature of individual between employers and workers. Setting the rights and obligations workers governed by an employment agreement. This work agreement is carried out at the time of receipt of workers, among other contain provisions related to the extraction time , the problem of probation, office concerned, salary or wages, facilities available, the responsibility of, job description and work placement (Batubara,2008:63). In industrial relations both the company and workers has the same right and legitimate to protect matter considered as their interests each, also to secure their aims. Thus industrial relations is legality of an official nature. On the one hand, workers and entrepreneurs have the same interests, which is survival and progress company, but on the other hand the relationship between they also have the potential conflict, especially if both relating to the perception or interpretation who do not same points about the interests of each side (Batubara, 2008:67).

Industrial relations involves a number of the concept, for example

the concept of justice and equality, power and authority, individualism and collectivity, rights and obligations, and integrity and trust (Djokopitojo,1994:92). This is in line with the elements contained in the social exchange theory which is used as a problem analysis tool in this study. Meanwhile, the main function of the government in Industrial Relations is to establish or compile labor laws and regulations so that the relationship between workers and employers goes hand in hand and is balanced, based on the regulation of fair rights and obligations (Batubara,2008: 69). In addition the government also obliged to finish fairly dispute or conflict. Basically, the interests of the government also to maintain the sustainability of the production process in the broader. According to Simajuntak (2003:55), the ultimate goal of industrial relations is to increase productivity and their welfare and entrepreneurs. Both these goals are intertwined, not separate, even affect each other. Productivity a company that was preceded by work productivity of its employees can only occur if the company supported by the workers prosperous.

According to Batubara (2008: 71) the key success created a safe and dynamic of industrial relations is communication. With maintaining the a communication that in an orderly fashion are both sides, the workers and employers , will to be able to draw a tremendous benefit. The main supporting this communication is a good positive interaction between employers and workers. This kind of interaction and maintained regularly and sustainable will create mutual understanding and trust. Both of these are dominant factors in creating work calm and entrepreneurship or also called industrial peace (Batubara, 2008:83). For workers communication can be used to know early and deep about the state of the company and the company in the future. In addition, workers can also convey their various views to help improve company performance. This kind of thing to be taken positively by the management of the company, as well as be recognition and appreciation to workers who care the company.

In this case, the relationship that is built between Gojek drivers and Gojek companies has not yet had official industrial relations such as bipartite and tripartite. Bipartite relationship is a relationship between two parties namely the workers and the company, while

tripartite is between three parties, namely workers, companies and the government. The relationship between the Gojek driver and company is still informal, but not familial. The relationship that exists is still a gap between the driver, the company and the government. Based on field findings, all the main informants (Gojek drivers) wanted the Gojek company to be regulated under the auspices of the government. This is so that the driver gets the rights that are worthy of being accepted as workers, so that the partner status offered by the Gojek company can be an employee status under the authority of the government.

There are three elements that supports the achievement of the aims industrial relations, namely the first, rights and obligations guaranteed and implemented. Second, if a dispute arises, it can be resolved internally (bipartite). Third, strike by workers as well as closing company (lock out), by employers, should not need to be used to impose the will of each other, because the disputes that occurs can be solved well.

Partnership Agreements

According to Umar Kasim in Lora (2018:29) the partnership agreement is a general form a legal relationship between one party and another party on the basis of a partnership agreement. Forms of agreements do work on the basis of partnerships, namely: profit sharing agreements, agency agreements (in person or corporation), core-plasma, sub-contracts, payment agreements (deposits) for a certain amount of money, and others. Therefore, the partnership agreement puts forward a mutually beneficial relationship between the parties so that the position of the parties is the same. Whereas, in a work agreement, it contains elements of work, wages, and orders where the position of the employer as the boss and the employee as subordinates.

In the relationship of work agreements, workers have rights in general, which partners do not have in partnership relationships such as overtime wages (additional wages given in the event of additional working hours than specified), health insurance, and old age benefits if the employment relationship ends (Sovia in Lora,2018:33). In this case, relationship between the application provider company Gojek and drivers is a partnership relationship based on a partnership agreement. Partnership agreement PT. Gojek Indonesia with drivers

does not fulfill the characteristics and elements of work agreements such as wages, orders and elements of work. Based on the attachment to the contents of the partnership agreement, it has also been mentioned that Gojek drivers act as partners. Not only that, the drivers do not get a salary from the Gojek application company but the ojek drivers must share their income with the company. Gojek drivers income itself depends on how many passengers place an order through the application and the willingness of the driver to deliver services according to passenger demand.

Social Exchange Theory

The theory used in this study is the social exchange theory from Peter Michael Blau. Blau focuses on problems that originate in social processes, which regulate very complex social structures from more fundamental processes that extend to the daily activities of relationships between individuals and their interpersonal relationships (Ritzer, 2014: 192). Blau places power, domination, and conflict of interest as the center of his analysis.

Man was born as individuals interconnected to each other, so that they also interdependent and affect one another. Therefore, in

fulfillment of the needs of his life. man must exchange needs, Even is not limited in just the materialistic, but also social needs so as to form a social bond. These exchanges build on the purpose to be achieved by each the drivers of Gojek and the company of Gojek.

The concept of social exchange that was mentioned by Blau, the limit on the act of that depends on reaction from others namely action that will be lost when a reaction that is expected to follow up appear. According to blau , the attracted to each other for various reasons that drives they build social association. When the initial bond is built, return given to each other serves to maintain and strengthen ties. The exchanged rewards can be intrinsic (example love or respect) or extrinsic (example money or physical labor). Each party cannot always provide equal compensation. When inequality occurs, differences in power will appear. This supported by statement Blau in Ritzer (2014:198):

To speak of social life is to speak of the association between people, their associating in work and in play, in love and in war, to trade or to worship, to help or to hinder. it is in the social relations men establish

that their interest find expression and their desires become realized.

The links between theory and problem in this study is generally social relations consisting of some individuals. Each individual has behaviors that influence each other in the relationship where there are elements of rewards, beliefs, profit-loss rationales, values, norms, power, dominance and conflicts of interest that has each party. The Gojek company offers a work system such as profit sharing with a percentage of 90% for the driver and 10% for the company, besides that the company also provides bonuses to drivers who have high work productivity. The rights and obligations of the Gojek only manage the application and monitor the order of the order.

Methodology

This study uses naturalistic inquiry. In naturalistic inquiry researchers are the main key in collecting and interpreting data. Informants are treated as subjects and their relationship with researchers is interactive. The location of the study was conducted in Surakarta City in Jebres, this is because the city of Surakarta is a city of culture and strongly supports conventional transportation such as becak, ojek pangkalan or kosti (local

taxi). The beginning of the entry the Gojek at Surakarta in may 2016 is a denial of Surakarta city government, and is only allowed for deliver goods is not to take passengers. But over time, now motorcycle online of Gojek develop rapidly and to transport most favorite in the city of Surakarta, either as transport drivers or as consumers. As for several reasons for Jebres as research sites is administratively. In Jebres is in both widest and having most populous second populated in Surakarta. Jebres sub-district also has many potentials such as tourism, education and industrial areas. The many potentials of Jebres also support the high mobility of people in this region, and have an impact on the number of interested people use Gojek and into the driver Gojek while around the region.

Informants in this study consisted of Gojek drivers, Gojek companies, communities as consumers and Government of Surakarta City. Informants was selected based on the basis that informants to reflect themselves and business partner. The informant retrieval technique uses purposive sampling. Data validation involves thorough triangulation, which includes information sources (informants) and data collection

methods. Data was collected through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and interactive model data analysis. Miles and huberman (1994:88), suggested that activity in qualitative data analysis was conducted in interactive place in a continuous until complete, so the data is saturated. The size of data saturation is indicated by no new data or information obtained. Activities in the analysis of this model include data reduction, data display, conclusion drawing/ verification.

Result

The research result refers to the formulation problem in this research namely to know meaning of Ojek Online Drivers and PT. Gojek Indonesia in Partnership Agreements. In this case, information will be obtained in depth about the rights and obligations of each party in the Partnership Agreements, and to find out the industrial relations between Ojek Online Drivers and PT. Gojek Indonesia. In this case also knows the relationship between the two parties to the role of the Government and the role of the community as consumers.

1. The Meaning of Ojek Online Drivers and PT. Gojek Indonesia in Partnership Agreements

In this case, to answer these problems, researchers collect information about the rights and obligations of each party in Partnership Agreements. Based on field findings, there are differences in understanding between the driver and the company on the Partnership Agreement, the driver feels the employment contract offered by the Gojek company has not answered the rights of the driver as a work partner or even as a worker who facilitates social security, wage system and working time arrangements.

But according to the company of Gojek, the company considers the distribution of 90:10 made by Gojek with the partnership agreement has greatly benefited the driver. But most of the Gojek drivers said that the cooperation system offered by Gojek was still detrimental to the driver. This is because the partnership agreement made is not based on the results of a mutual agreement. This agreement is made by the Gojek company. So that any policies offered must be forcibly followed. The driver considers their position as a partner, not a worker. So

they feel that the partnership cooperation system offered by Gojek like a system of employee cooperation. If indeed the cooperation that is built leads to the work system of the employee, the driver wants to get the right to social security, such as accident, health, death and pension plan.

2. Industrial Relations between Ojek Online Drivers and PT. Gojek Indonesia

In this case, to answer these problems, researchers obtain information to know relations between the two parties with the government role and roles of the people as consumers. The working relationship that exists between the driver and the Gojek company, is a work relationship such as for workers who must always submit to any company policy, not the appropriate partner relationship. In this case the partnership agreement which should be mutually beneficial to each other, have a parallel position, there are no positions such as superiors or subordinates, but without realizing it, there are unbalanced relationships in which the driver must always comply with any policy and there is not given space for deliberation before changing existing policies

The relationship between the Gojek branch of Surakarta drivers and companies is inharmonious, but productivity is still maintained. This is because the driver only works according to the maximum points. The driver must share his income with the company and the target work system, so that the driver only works according to the maximum point limit of 20 points a day, more than 20 points, they don't get a bonus.

On the other hand, the driver agrees that this online motorcycle transportation is regulated under the authority of the Government. Based on field findings, there is no official trade union, so there is no official relationship in tripartite institutions between the government, drivers, companies and consumers. The government does not have an official role in resolving disputes that occur between the driver and the company. Likewise, consumers do not have insurance from the company if they

have an accident. In this case, consumers consider it not a problem, so those interested in online ojek services are still increasing.

Discussion

The discussion in this study refers to the framework of thinking and the relation of problems to theory and conceptual. Elements in industrial relations that want to be seen by using propositions in Blau's social exchange theory include power, domination, conflicts of interest, values, norms, social rewards, trust and social bonds and rational socio-economic concepts such as profit and loss.

Through these elements, the principles of exchange in the partnership agreement offered are balanced or not; and knowing the relationships that all parties have in harmony or not. Thus the output to be achieved in this study is if the creation of harmonious industrial relations, then the productivity of workers will increase. But if industrial relations are inharmonious and power imbalances occur, then worker productivity will decline.

The company considers the distribution of 90:10 made by Gojek with the partnership agreement has greatly benefited the driver. But most of the Gojek drivers said that the cooperation

Figure: Framework of Thinking
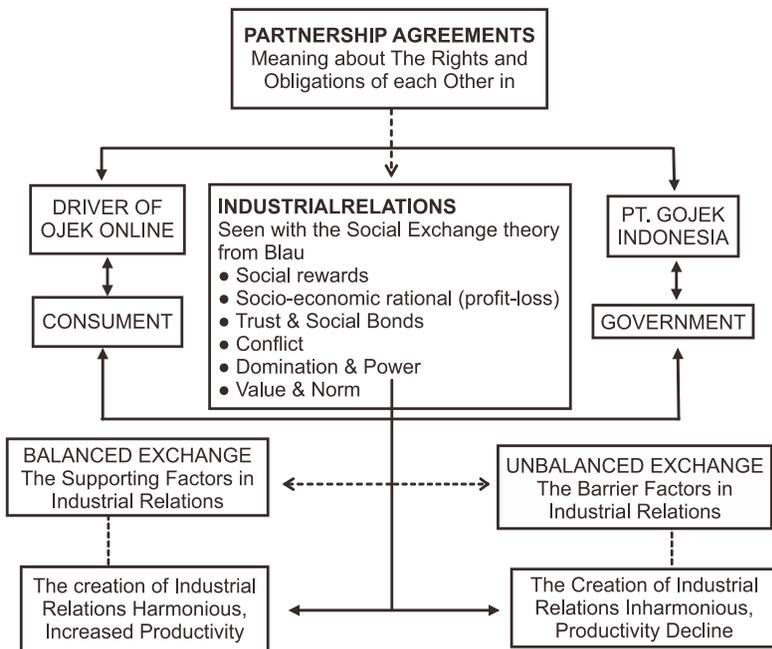
system offered by Gojek was still detrimental to the driver. This is because the partnership agreement made is not based on the results of a mutual agreement (unbalanced exchange). This agreement is made by the Gojek company. So that any policies offered must be forcibly followed (power). While the driver, must have all the attributes and equipment such as motorcycles, cellular phones, helmets, jackets to driving licenses. Each party rationalizes profit and loss, this is because each party has an interest that if the exchange that are built is unbalanced (rewards, dominate) it will give birth to conflict. Thus the trust of each other that has been built will be lost.

The driver considers their position as a partner, not a worker. So they feel that the partnership cooperation system offered by Gojek like a system of employee cooperation (rational profit-loss). If indeed the cooperation that is built leads to the work system of the employee, the driver wants to get the right to social security, such as accident, health, death and pension plan. So, the drivers agree more if transportation online arranged under the government authority. In this case, the element of the driver's trust in the Gojek company

decreases, so the driver believes his fate will prosper if under the authority of the government (trust the government).

The government does not have an official role in resolving disputes that occur between the driver and the company. Likewise, consumers do not have insurance from the company if they have an accident. In this case, consumers consider it not a problem, so those interested in online ojek services are still increasing (social bonds & trust). Industrial relations involves a number of the concept, for example the concept of justice and equality, power and authority, individualism and collectivity, rights and obligations, and integrity and trust. This is in line with the elements contained in the social exchange theory which is used as a problem analysis tool in this study which is used as a problem analysis tool in this research where rights and obligations in the partnership agreement are a social exchange. in this case, it can be seen that the exchange is balanced or unbalanced . based on the results of research, exchanges were built between PT. Gojek Indonesia with ojek online drivers is not balanced and the relationship that is established is less harmonious. But productivity is

still maintained. This is because the driver must share his income with the company and the target work system, so that the driver only works according to the maximum point limit of 20 points a day. more than 20 points, they don't get a bonus.

Conclusions

Based on the research done it can be concluded, **First**, there are differences in understanding between the driver and the company on the Partnership Agreement, the driver feels the employment contract offered by the Gojek company has not answered the rights of the driver as a work partner or even as a worker who facilitates social security, wage system and working time arrangements. But the company considers the distribution of 90:10 made by the Gojek in the partnership agreement has greatly benefited the driver. So the concept of the Partnership Agreement is less effective if applied to the online motorcycle service industry. **Second**, the working relationship that exists between the driver and the Gojek company, is a work relationship such as for workers who must always submit to any company policy, not the appropriate partner relationship. In this case the partnership agreement which

should be mutually beneficial to each other, have a parallel position, there are no positions such as superiors or subordinates, but without realizing it, there are unbalanced relationships in which the driver must always comply with any policy and there is not given space for deliberation before changing existing policies. **Third**, the relationship between the Gojek branch of Surakarta drivers and companies is inharmonious, but productivity is still maintained. This is because the driver only works according to the maximum points. On the other hand, the driver agrees that this online motorcycle transportation is regulated under the authority of the Government. **Fourth**, there is no official trade union, so there is no official relationship in tripartite institutions between the government, drivers, companies and consumers.

Recommendation

From the results of the study, there are several things that can be suggested, **First**, In order to create an Industrial Harmony and Economic Development in the company, both workers and employers must obey and implement the applicable laws and regulations including determining the most effective cooperation agreements. **Second,**

The need for roles and functions of bipartite and tripartite cooperation institutions in partnership agreements. **Third,** Guidance and supervision by technical institutions on a consistent and continuous basis to the implementation of the provisions of applicable laws and regulations in the field of employment in both the formal and informal sectors.

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Monetizing *Hijab*: Analysis on State's National Interest on the Growing *Hijab* Fashion Trend in Indonesia

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Abstract

Hijab and its practices grow consistently as an iconic fashion of Muslim women in Indonesia. This phenomenon yields scholarly commentaries pertaining to the motivation of hijab's massive production and Muslim women in veiling as well as the socioeconomic impact it carries with. However, the discussion on what sources of power underlie such a trend is still underrated. Therefore, this study aims at elucidating why now hijab receives greater support from the government under Joko Widodo's administration that illuminates massive production and consumption on hijab domestically. The analyst came to argue that hijab consumption and production has become Indonesia's national interest along with the mushrooming liberalization in its economy. Employing the qualitative research method to explain the source of power that makes hijab marketable in global and national market, the analyst also found that this trend is widely undermined by the implementation of neo-liberal economic policy that stresses the power of economic liberation of every individual while maintaining the state as the ultimate power of directing economic trajectory. Thus, the government of Indonesia seems to reconcile with the increasing domestic and global market demand on hijab. It is due to the state's interest in establishing Indonesia as a global hijab centre by 2020.

Keywords: *hijab, fashion, national interest, neo-liberal economy.*

Abstrak

Penggunaan hijab tumbuh secara signifikan sebagai gaya khas busana wanita Muslim di Indonesia. Sehingga mengundang banyak komentar ilmiah yang

berkaitan dengan motivasi produksi besar-besaran hijab beserta dampak sosial ekonomi yang dibawanya. Namun, diskusi tentang kekuatan apa yang mendasari dan memotivasi pertumbuhan tersebut tidak banyak dibahas. Oleh karena itu, dengan mengacu pada tren mode hijab saat ini penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan mengapa sekarang penggunaan dan produksi jilbab tumbuh secara konsisten dan menerima dukungan yang lebih besar dari rezim politik sekarang. Untuk mencapai tujuan ini, analis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif untuk menjelaskan tekanan yang mendorong tren penggunaan jilbab sehingga dapat diterima dan diproduksi secara nasional. Analis menemukan bahwa hijab dapat dipahami sebagai sarana penting untuk mencapai kepentingan nasional negara. Studi ini menemukan bahwa tren industri hijab mendapat pengaruh positif dari penerapan kebijakan ekonomi neo-liberal yang menekankan kekuatan kebebasan ekonomi setiap individu dengan tetap berkeyakinan bahwa negara sebagai kekuatan utama mengarahkan lintasan ekonomi. Hal ini dikarenakan tujuan utama yaitu membantu negara untuk mempercepat misi globalnya, yang menjadikan Indonesia sebagai pusat jilbab global pada tahun 2020.

Kata kunci: *hijab, fesyen, kepentingan nasional, ekonomi neo-liberal.*

Introduction

The practice of *hijab* and other form of Islamic fashion have been widely contested due to the symbolic meaning it carries with. Such a contestation remains present not only in Western societies where Muslim remains a minority group but also in an archipelagic country where Muslim remains the largest population, Indonesia. Muslim polity in Indonesia has experienced challenges in performing their Islamic identities. However, recent phenomenon evidently shows a contrasting background where *hijab* has transformed its meanings from symbolism of political identity to the marketable Muslim fashion icon. The latest view receives greater attention from scholars, politicians, and fashion designers as to alleviate the sacred values that *hijab* has previously brought to the public that becomes extremely apparent in Indonesia however remote the place is.

Some literatures have discussed the rising trend of *hijab* as an iconic Muslim fashion worldwide

by focusing on the motivation of manufacturing and wearing *hijab* as well as the socioeconomic impacts it yields. On one hand, the literatures found that the rise of *hijab* can be seen from sociological unit of analysis. This perspective justifies that the trend of *hijab* represents the power of social media echoing the trend of searching new identity of Muslim women who reconstruct their beauty and piety "…regardless of the social interpretation attached to them" when wearing *hijab* (List-yani et al 2018).

On the other hand, a study conducted by Sari and Asad (2018) found that currently *hijab* is not contained in the larger scope of fashion industry; it is now part of Indonesia's fashion industry. This analysis managed to emphasize that the mushrooming production and use of *hijab* has consequently brought socioeconomic impacts to the business community. The quest for beauty in piety amongst Muslim women has become a new trend that promises pragmatist opportunities for generating incomes and greater market especially for those operating small medium enterprises. More interestingly, the demand on *hijab* does not only come from lower-income family but also from the highly educated urban Muslim women and the elite government. The manifestation of government's support is shown in a series of fashion shows and public dialogues illuminating such a dramatic increase of *hijab's* practices and production.

Although these literatures have generated analytical discussion in *hijab* from both sociological and microeconomics point of views however the attention addressed to unveil the power that fuels the trend of the widening market of *hijab* remains insufficient. The existing literature that compre-hends sociological narrative seems to reduce the importance of understanding greater power that give incentive to the group of individuals in maximizing any social media means available to highlight the global trend of Islamic beauty in *hijab*. In addition to this, assuming that financial consideration of market is high in the list of motivating factors of *hijab* practices and production then the question remains why should the government intervenes this market.

One can refer to a national fashion expo titled "Toward Indo-nesia as *Hijab* Fashion World Mecca" held in early October 2018 in Jakarta. With reference to this information, this study asked

further research questions that, first, why now the government under Joko Widodo's administration which emerged from secular and nationalist yet anti-Islamist political front increasingly shows its support on *hijab* trend that gives incentive to the massive production and consumption on *hijab* domestically. Second, what source of power that makes *hijab* successfully attracts the government to generously reach the market on global and domestic level.

To substantiate those questions, the analyst employed qualitative research method and thus generated narrative based on its interpretation from secondary sources. The analyst viewed *hijab* as a strategic political and economic commodity. The state which becomes one of the most critical actors in international political economy holds substantial source of power to determine national political and economic trajectory of its nation. Therefore, the analyst treated the *hijab* trend as dependent variable and the state's interest as the first independent variable. As to comprehend its analysis, the analyst also question the power lies in the state's national interest and therefore it also treated the liberalization of global economy which also benefits

the growing Muslim middle class as second independent variable.

In generating a solid foundation of its analysis, this study employed theory of national interest as well as neo liberal perspective in political economy. In this part, the analyst will elaborate the theoretical building of neo liberalism in global political economy and its correlation to the national interest theory. The neo liberal theorists of political economy highlight the presence of state in international market. Despite the effort to reducing state's intervention in ruling market as what classical liberal theorists have arguably defended, the neo liberal international political economy rather consolidates with the presence of states as to prevent market failure. To achieve this goal, the state must be able to prevent the presence of monopolies from any actors. The presence of monopoly represents the failure in maintaining market competitiveness and can hinder innovation in production, supply, and consumption. The state also has to provide protection toward individual freedom in economy. It then promotes the privatization of assets that previously operated under state's commando. Any asset in any form must be deregulated to make sure the "…free mobility of

capital between sectors, regions, and countries" and all forms of barriers that potentially obscure "…that free movement… such as tariffs, punitive taxation arrangements, and other locational impediments" must also be eliminated "…except in those areas crucial to the national interest" (Harvey 2005).

On the other hand, the trajectory of state's foreign policy including its decision to actively participating in global collaboration in economy is determined by its national interest. National interest itself can be interpreted as the main reason of countries' preferences in participating in international political economy and building cooperation with other countries. According to liberalism, the birth of national interest theory is related to the contested discussion on the causes of war. To prevent war from perpetuation, the state's interest must be aligned with the pursuit of peace and harmonious relations among nations (Burchill 2005, 125). Neo liberalism also believes that rational principles of individuals can also be applied in the formulation of national interest and foreign policy of a state (Burchill 2005). Although neo-liberalism underlines competition among individuals, it rather highlights possibility of

sharing interests and engaging in collaboration and cooperation at national and international level. This perception supposedly can result in greater benefits for every individual (Jackson, et al. 2003).

The Failure of Suharto's Initiatives

Prior to the massive evolution of economic globalization, it was a difficult task to trace evidences proving Indonesia's possession of high reputation in the realm of world fashion industry since the development of innovative fashion production and its materialization in Indonesia remained lacking. The government of Indonesia under Suharto's administration did not seriously take into account the optimization of garment sectors. In addition to this, it also contained the flourish of Islamic dress code from fashion industrialization. In this context, the stagnancy of Islamic dress code manufactures or the low appearance of *hijab* in Indonesia's domestic market were determined by the dominant perspective perceiving the practice of *hijab* as threatening national identity and reflecting religious extremism since the first place. The point of view the government utilized in figuring out the strategic role of *hijab* seemed to be similar to the politics

of containment implemented by Dutch monopoly under the possession of VOC. Its occupation undermined the development of Indonesia's garment production and particularly blocked the practice of Islamic dress code.

Although garment manufacturers gave incentives to the innovation of fashion and market regulation in Southeast Asia, the production of *hijab* fashion in Indonesia was seen less importance more importantly when Suharto's authoritarian regime intensified its policy in garment sector in mid 1980s (TREDA 2009). In 1970s, for example, the government's inconsistency toward fashion sector was evident. In the beginning of these years, Suharto's administration claimed to renew national economic performance by undergoing liberalization with some limitation, however. Previously, the government concentrated in principles of exploiting row material resources and exploring agribusinesses sectors. Subsequently the government decided to switch its decision by focusing on export oriented policy especially that of coming from textile industry (Haq 1980). To realize such industrial transformation, starting in 1986 Suharto's administration

performed "a series of liberalization measures…" that "… gave a massive stimulus to garment production" such as the creation of "…duty exemptions and incentive schemes" (Vickers 2012, 45; Thee 2005, 341-59).

Unfortunately the trade liberalization by Suharto's administration did not totally take place since the regime adopted statist centric policy. Instead of becoming one of main fashion producers, it rather provided unskilled and cheap labors in textile manufactures. The strong control from the central government also created a space for monopolies and cronyism developed hugely that caused slow progress of innovation in fashion industry included Islamic fashion production. The lack of transparency and professionalism also negatively affected the sustainability of investment in this sector due to massive corruption and the imposition of export tax and tariff protection. Instead of experiencing positive endeavors, Islamic fashion industry fell into skepticism (James, 2002).

Emerging Global Muslim Market And Hijab Fashion

Assuming that Islamic fashion industry was skeptically perceived

as a non-promising sector under Suharto's regime then why now it shows rather a contrary figure. Since the collapse of Suharto's political power that took effect in 1998, the flow of information nested in the wave of globalization happened to come across in Indonesia and transformed the expression of any religious symbols including Islamic fashion than ever before (Fachrurazi, 2017). Nevertheless, the invasion of cultural globalization and rapid information development cannot solely work to undermine the landscape of *hijab* fashion industry. In this part, the analyst comes to argue that the government's positive response to the growing trend of *hijab* fashion is due to the government's national interest toward *hijab* and its economy. The government reactively generates incentives to accelerate innovation on national *hijab* production to optimize the opportunities offered by the emerging power of Islamic global economy.

At global level, in many parts of Muslim majority countries, fashion, which then develops as part of popular culture and urban lifestyle, has become a critical engine in generating national income. The power of globalization has crafted Islamic economy, which

comprises six main clusters which are *halal* food, Islamic finance, *halal* travel, modest fashion, *halal* media and recreation, as well as *halal* pharmaceuticals and cosmetics; which Islamic Finance and *Halal* Food becoming the weightiest indicator in global Islamic economy. Recently, the global economy is entering the phase of secular stagnation whereby the population keep ageing and there is a decrease in capital investment by business in both advanced and emerging market economies, this consequently will lower the living standard of future generation than previously expected as well as making the national debt burdens harder to reduce (IMF 2015).

Based on the data derived from State of the Global Islamic Economy Report year 2018/2019, in total the Islamic economy market size in 2017 is up to US\$ 2,107 billion. This number is made up of US\$ 2,438 billion from the Islamic Finance sector, US\$ 1,303 billion from the Halal Food sector, US\$ 270 billion from the Modest Fashion sector, US\$ 209 billion from Halal Media and Recreation, US\$ 177 billion from Halal Travel sector, US\$ 87 billion from Halal Pharmaceuticals, and US\$ 61 billion from Halal Cosmetics. This number is expected

to reach US$ 3,007 billion in 2023, making global Islamic economy becoming stronger and stronger. On the other hand, Indonesia's Islamic economy also faces greater opportunity that importantly amends the liberalization of its national manufacturing sectors including textile industry and fashion trend. As globalization brings the entrance of capitalist power and free market system, it managed to give incentive to the materialization and fabricat ion of Islamic veiling. The expression of *hijab* practice becomes varied and thus strategically being turned as the commercialization of Islamic symbols to earn economic gains (Fealy 2008).

As a matter of fact, the Muslim consumers are estimated to comprise 1.8 billion of people which make the Muslim consumer market becoming a quarter of world's population, this number is accompanied with the global median age of Muslim consumers which is 24; age whereby t he purchasing and demand power is in the highest rate (Pew Research Forum 2011). Those large, young, and fast-growing global Muslim demographic goes together with the large and fast growing global Islamic economies; majorly the member states of The Organisation

of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) had a GDP (PPP based) of $7 trillion which represented 15% of the total global GDP of $113 trillion in 2015. The average projected growth of the OIC market between 2015 until 2021 is expected to be 4.19% compared to the global growth of 3.6% even though the global economic growth is now in slow climate (IMF 2016). This is caused by the Islamic values or ethos that increasingly driving the lifestyle and business practice. Therefore, the OIC countries are focusing more and more into Islamic or *halal* market development through regulatory initiatives, economic incentives, and marketing program (Thomson Reuters 2016/2017, 14).

Making a third position as the biggest contributor to Global Islamic Economy, Islamic fashion is a unique case because it continues to grow despite the wider fashion industry is facing financial pressures due to the global recession. In recent years, modest fashion has gained momentum as it has moved solidly into the mainstream side of fashion industry. From retailers to high brand until catwalks, modest fashion is everywhere. The impact of the mainstreaming of modest fashion can be sum up into three main indicators, which are; the

growth in modest fashion market size, an increasing competition due to the emerging of leading global apparel brands and retailers to modest fashion arena; and modest fashion product innovation.

The first impact is the market size. The clothing market for Muslims has become a part of the vast global clothing and accessories industry and value chain. Summarized from the State of Global Islamic Economy Report in the year of 2015/2016, 2016/2017, 2017/2018, and 2018/2019 developed and produced by Thomson Reuters in collaboration with Dinar Standard, hereby the data of the global Muslim market compared to the top global clothing market.

	The Comparison of Global Muslim Market to Top Global Clothing Market (in US$, billion)					
	United States	China	Global Muslim Market	United Kingdom	German	India
2014	$400	$310	$230	$107	$99	$96
2015	$406	$344	$243	$114	$101	$99
2016	$412	$357	$254	$116	$103	$109

From the table above, it can be shown that the Global Muslim Market is gradually growing throughout the years with recently it made up of almost 19% of global market in total. The Global Muslim Market is on the third position after United States and China in terms of the biggest market size globally. The growth of the Global Muslim Market is notably high too with 5% growth in 2014 to 2015, and 4% growth in 2015 to 2016; compared to the global market that only grows for 4% in 2014 to 2015 and 3% in 2015 to 2016.

With the growth of global market, the global apparel brands and retailers turn its attention more in modest fashion. In 2015/16, the famous brand started to launch its Ramadhan collection such as Mango and Tommy Hilfiger and one of global brand which is Uniqlo has collaborated with Hana Tajima Collection to launch a casual modest wear line. In this year of modest fashion, the number of e-commerce players are also growing and expanding. The brands and e-commerce mostly focused on new product developments with

"comfort" and "versatility" as key words.

Meanwhile, in the year of 2016/17, another global brand Marks and Spencer launched modest fashion product which is *burkini* collection because sport-wear is a high-growth segment in this era. Beside of sport wear, formal and luxury wear is also globally growing high. This year, several start-ups are showing signs of maturity by opening bricks and mortar stores and expanding product line, this achievement is also followed by the beginning of investor's interest in modest fashion segment because several notable capital investments relating to the Muslim fashion market have occurred.

There are not so much key developments of modest fashion between 2017/18 and 2018/2019 except that while it is used to only launch its Ramadhan collection, the global brands such as H&M has launched its own modest fashion line named LTD. The largest United States retailers, Macy's also started to stock modest clothing label Verona. Another famous brand that actively promoting modesty is Dolce and Gabbana that started to collaborate with modest fashion influencer. This entrance of leading global apparel brands making the modest fashion industry becoming more and more competitive as there are also small and medium enterprises focusing on producing modest fashion product. Nowadays, the competition is between the raw materials producers, retailers, and designer or label as well as valued-added manufacturers.

Hijab Fashion And National Interest

Speaking of which hijab transformation, there are two critical phases marking the integration of *hijab* to the fashion realm which then stimulate the formulation of *hijab* as a lifestyle. The first phase emerged in 1990s where *Hijab* Revolution 1.0, took place. Within this period, Muslim polity experienced freedom of expressing their piety including the use of Islamic fashion. This was the foundation of Muslim fashion although *hijab* itself did not develop simultaneously yet. The next phase continued in the era 2010s where *Hijab* Revolution 2.0, emerged in the fashion world and inspired more Islamic fashion industries to increase innovation in technology and product quality in Indonesia. In the beginning 2000s, the fashion managed to maximize the liberalization of market economy through mass production. It then

resulted in the capitalization of *hijab* and transformation of *hijab* from religious commodity to the expression of lifestyle. In this vein, innovation in *hijab* fashion as *hijab* becomes more fashionable, modern, and stylish combining Islamic virtue and modernity has stimulated competition among Islamic fashion designers to increase the quantity and quality of their *hijab* production to the international level. *Hijab* does not only address a classical Islamic teaching but also the acculturation of progressive Muslim and modernity. Consequently, it seems to be hard to draw a clear boundary differentiating motivation of Muslim women in veiling either for religious obedience or lifestyle follower (Puspitasari and Dolah 2018).

As to accelerate fashion economy, where Muslim market at global and domestic level becomes larger and promising, the government of Indonesia has significantly supported the establishment of *hijab* fashion as part of its national interest. Data from BPS in 2013 showed that there are as many as 1,107,955 companies engaged in fashion sector. About 10% of them are large companies, 20% are medium enterprises and mostly 70% are small enterprises.

30% out of 750,000 small clothing enterprises are *hijab* and Muslim fashion producers. The government remains conscious to making profit from this growing trend. To reach this end, the government must be able to keep domestic market steady to help *hijab* fashion industries grow consistently by providing mass consumers demand (Buera and Kaboski 2008). .

One thing that cannot be forgotten from the dynamics of Islamic fashion industry is the consumers itself, which Indonesia as the most Muslim populated country play a big role in it. The rising Muslim middle class comes to assume that they have adhered to "…the ethical use of wealth" (Hefner 2012). Year by year, Indonesia has been the top Muslim consumer clothing expenditure market, since it spent approximately US$ 12.69 in 2014 and US$ 13.28 billion in 2015 for Muslim clothing expenditure. This number grew into US$ 13.5 billion in the year of 2016 and rocketed to US$ 20 billion in the year of 2017 (Reuters 2017, 112). In order to promote *hijab* fashion domestically, Indonesia has held out several events such as fashion show, one of the notable fashion show is the Islamic Fashion Fair the largest annual fashion show. Besides, the

government also encourages Muslim fashion enterprises to optimize the use of digital marketing to increase publicity and purchasing.

To demonstrate strong interest in *hijab* fashion, the government through its agency the Ministry of Trade in 2015 formally publicized the goal to make Indonesia a new centre of global Islamic fashion by 2020. This interest seems to be equally important to the achievement of Indonesia's 2020 new industrial policy where the government targets to create Indonesia a new industrialized country. Indonesia and its large market possess powerful economic basis that can enhance its strategic position as the most influential key player in global modest fashion. Cooperating with Indonesia Islamic Fashion Consortium (IIFC), both the government and private sectors show their commitment to vision Indonesia as a world *hijab* fashion centre. It can be seen from the fact that more Indonesian designers also becoming the global modest fashion key players such as Dian Pelangi and Itang Yunasz. Retailers in Indonesia made up the majority of key players for modest fashion such as PT. Shafira Laras Persada, ELzatta, Hijup, Saqina, Matahari, and Moschaict. Particularly, the

first Islamic e-commerce Hijup got achievement in investment by getting funding from 500 start-ups, Fenox venture capital and Skystar capital; it also showcased the work of 4 Indonesian designers at the international fashion showcase section of London Fashion Week, the first time of modest fashion's appearance in the event. Indonesia's Muslim market keep growing as it raised series a funding from 500 start-ups and other regional investors in recent years.

Conclusion

The discussion in this paper has a central point; analyzing the current growing trend on *hijab* fashion from state level of analysis. It has questioned why now the government of Indonesia consistently supported the expanding market of *hijab*. By way in contrast, *hijab* did not gain positive response during Suharto's regime; it was rather perceived a symbolic gesture of Islamic extremism which brought existential threat to national security. Recently, neither does the current regime show political affiliation to any Islamist political ideology. However, it demonstrates strong voice to the creation of *hijab* fashion as a new Islamic lifestyle. In elucidating this question, the analyst

has employed national interest theory and neo-liberalism which then results in several key points.

Firstly, it seems to be valid arguing that the growing trend of *hijab* fashion is not always due to growing extremism. Instead, it significantly develops for government's consistent support by showing off its strong interest in making Indonesia a new global *hijab* fashion centre by 2020. This goal is intended to accelerate the attainment of Indonesia's new industrial policy gaining a new status of Indonesia as a new developed and industrialized country by the same year. To reach this, the government must be able to comprehend its national economy by shifting its focus from raw material export to the manufacture sector. Thus, given that growing Muslim middle class as well as high consumers demand on Islamic fashion, the government perceives a great opportunity to sustain a strategic role for Indonesia in the global *hijab* fashion market. Therefore, the government seeks to establish steady market in domestic level to keep the industries grow increasingly by taking technology transfer and innovation development into account. Besides, the government also holds numbers of fashion shows, abroad and at home. In order to promote the most current and update *hijab* fashion the government also urges the use of digital marketing and social media. This is indeed coherent with the spirit of economic liberalization by which the government seeks to encourage individual creativity and innovation in producing high end *hijab* fashion.

Secondly, the government's interest to make Indonesia a global *hijab* fashion centre is also situated in global political economic context. Due to the increase of Muslim global consumerism on Islamic lifestyle including Islamic fashion, some states with large Muslim population decided to take the power of Muslim global market into account. Therefore, the government of Indonesia is currently dovetailing the expansion of its national *hijab* production to the global market level. To reach this goal, the government must show its strong commitment to support the growth of *hijab* and other Islamic garments.

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Menakar Paradiplomasi Batam dalam Lingkup *Free Trade Zone* melalui Analisis Isi Regulasi

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Abstrak

Batam merupakan salah satu daerah di Kepulauan Riau. Berdasarkan letak geografis, Batam berbatasan langsung dengan negara tetangga yaitu Malaysia dan Sngapura yang memiliki keistimewaan sendiri dibandingkan daerah sekitarnya, dan dilewati oleh jalur perdagangan Internasional. Sehingga, Batam dijadikan salah satu daerah Free Trade Zone (FTZ) untuk investasi asing dan berdaya saing tinggi. Konsep dari FTZ ini berfokus terhadap sektor ekspor industri, membuka lapangan pekerjaan dan mengembangkan industri lokal. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori liberalisme, teori efektivitas, dan paradiplomasi. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menentukan efektivitas dari pemerintahan Free Trade Zone (FTZ) paradiplomasi di daerah Batam. Metode penelitian kombinasi, metode kuantitatif digunakan dalam pengkodean untuk mendeteksi dalam konten analisis dan metode kualitatif, library research seperti buku, artikel, jurnal, peraturan. Hasil penelitian, kebijakan baru pemerintah Indonesia dari sentalisasi menjadi desentralisasi. Pemerintah pusat memberikan kewenangan pemerintah daerah untuk mengelola wilayah sendiri salah satunya Batam. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 tahun 2011 tentang area bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam untuk zona bebas perdagangan (FTZ) daerah Batam. FTZ Batam berlaku 70 Tahun. Namun, beberapa peraturan yang mengatur FTZ di Batam masih terjadi dalam ketidakkonsistenan dilihat dari beberapa indikator yang diteliti.

Kata Kunci: *Free Trade Zone (FTZ), Regulasi, Pemerintah, Paradiplomasi, Efektivitas*

Abstract

Batam is one of the areas in Riau Islands. Based on geographical, Batam directly borders on neighboring country such as Malaysia and Singapore with its own privileges compared to the surrounding area, and passed by international trade. Therefore, Batam is one of the Free Trade Zone (FTZ) areas for foreign investment and highly competitive. The concept of the FTZ focuses on the sector exports industry, open jobs and developing local industry. The research used theories of liberalism, effectiveness theory, and paradiplomacy. This article aims to determine the effectiveness of the governance of Free Trade Zone (FTZ) paradiplomacy in Batam area. The method used is quantitative research using a coding for detect in the analysis content and qualitative for library research such as books, articles, journals, and regulations. The research result is the Indonesian government's new policy of centralization into decentralization where the central government gives regional authority to manage its own area, one of them is Batam. Government regulation number 5 year 2011 about free area and Batam free port for Free Trade Zone (FTZ) Batam. FTZ Batam valid for 70 years. However, some of the regulations governing FTZ in Batam still occur in the inconsistencies seen from some of the indicators studied.

Keywords: *Free Trade Zone (FTZ), Regulations, Government, Paradiplomacy, Effectiveness*

Pendahuluan

Terbentuknya Provinsi Kepulauan Riau (Kepri) berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 25 Tahun 2002, dengan lingkup daerah Kota Tanjungpinang, Kota Batam, Kabupaten Bintan, Kabupaten Karimun, Kabupaten Natuna, Kabupaten Kepulauan Anambas dan Kabupaten Lingga serta menjadikannya sebagai Provinsi ke 32 di Indonesia. Dengan Ibukota provinsi berada di Tanjungpinang. Provinsi ini terletak pada jalur lalu lintas transportasi laut dan udara yang strategis dan terpadat pada tingkat internasional serta memiliki peluang besar di pasar internasional. Secara geografis, Provinsi Kepulauan Riau berdekatan dengan Singapura dan Malaysia. (Kepri, 2014).

Sejak tahun 1986, Batam dijadikan kawasan berikat dengan fasilitas ekspor manufaktur sehing-

ga menjadikan Batam sebagai pusat pertumbuhan. Pada tahun 2007, Batam, Bintan, dan Karimun dijadikan sebagai *Free Trade Zone*. Akan tetapi pada tahun 2009, penetapan Batam, Bintan, dan Karimun baru selesai (Umar Juoro, dkk, 2013, p. 1). Pemilihan Batam, Bintan, dan Karimun (BBK) sebagai *pilot project* pelaksanaan Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus (KEK) telah mendorong provinsi lainnya untuk mengajukan usul kepada pemerintah agar di daerahnya dapat juga dibentuk KEK. Namun demikian, guna mempercepat kerja sama ekonomi antara Indonesia dan Singapura, pemerintah telah menetapkan Batam, Bintan dan Karimun sebagai kawasan perdagangan bebas dan pelabuhan bebas (*free trade zone/FTZ*) melalui Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 46 Tahun 2007 untuk Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam, Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 47 Tahun 2007 untuk Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Bintan, Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 48 Tahun 2007 untuk Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Karimun yang diterbitkan pada tanggal 20 Agustus 2007 diberikan selama 70 tahun. Selanjutnya melalui Keputusan Presiden juga telah menetapkan Dewan Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas di ketiga wilayah tersebut yang diterbitkan pada tanggal 7 Mei 2008. Namun demikian, karena tiga Peraturan Pemerintah di atas harus dilengkapi dengan Keputusan-Keputusan Menteri terkait, maka secara efektif implementasi FTZ dikawasan Batam, Bintan dan Karimun terhitung mulai pada tanggal 1 April 2009. (Syarif Hidayat dkk, 2010, pp. 3-4).

Berdasarkan letak geografis, kawasan BBK berada pada posisi jalur perdagangan internasional dan berdekatan dengan Singapura dan Malaysia sehingga hal ini dapat mempermudah masuknya investor asing ke Indonesia melalui kawasan BBK. Apalagi, jika didukung dengan infrastruktur yang berkesinambungan dan memadai sehingga dapat bersaing dengan negara-negara yang lebih maju dan bernilai daya saing tinggi (Bambang Hendrawan dan Rahmat Hidayat, 2012, pp. 5-7). Batam diberikan kekhususan oleh pemerintah tentang kepabeanan, pajak, dan peraturan lain yang dapat meningkatkan perekonomian. Sebagian besar yang bertujuan melakukan ekspor di Batam merupakan perusahaan asing. Misalnya, Singapura yang memiliki

keterbatasan lahan, sehingga menjadikan Batam serta didaerah sekitarnya pilihan untuk melakukan perdagangan Inetrnasional seperti kegiatan ekspor impor serta berinvestasi. (Indra Pahlawan, p. 2)

Para perangkat birokrasi lokal (pemerintah daerah) merupakan *stakeholder* dalam pelaksanaan otonomi daerah. Termasuk dalam menangani masuknya investor asing di daerah. Mereka pula yang akan menjadi "gerbang utama" dalam upaya memanfaatkan peluang ekspor bagi daerah. Peran pemerintah daerah dalam pengelolaan investasi asing. Salah satunya masuknya badan-badan pengelola investasi dengan pembagian kerja yang jelas. Tujuannya adalah agar pemerintah daerah memiliki kapasitas dan keleluasaan mengelola kegiatan investasi tanpa terlampau banyak campur tangan pemerintah pusat. Kondisi lain adalah bahwa pemerintah daerah harus memiliki kemampuan yang tinggi untuk mencari dan mengelola investasi asing bagi pembangunan daerahnya. Dengan kata lain, pemerintah daerah harus aktif berdiplomasi dan berbisnis internasional, seperti halnya yang dilakukan pemerintah pusat (Jatmika, 2001, p. 93).

Artikel ini bermaksud untuk memberikan gambaran beberapa regulasi terkait FTZ di Batam yang mana pada pelaksanaannya dimulai pada tahun 2007 sampai sekarang dengan berdasarkan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2011 perubahan atas peraturan pemerintah Nomor 46 Tahun 2007 tentang Kawasan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam kawasan perdagangan bebas dan pelabuhan bebas Batam yang meliputi wilayah Pulau Batam, Pulau Tonton, Pulau Nipah, Pulau rempang, Pulau Galang, Pulau Galang Baru dan Pulau Setokok. Dan setelah perubahan bertambah menjadi pulau Janda Hias dan gugusannya. FTZ di Batam berlaku 70 tahun sejak peraturan ini dibuat.

Metode Penelitian

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kombinasi (*mix method*). Metode kombinasi adalah teknik pengumpulan data dan analisis data melalui proses pencampuran yaitu kualitatif dan kuantitatif. *Mix method* digunakan secara bersamaan dalam proses penelitian. Di dalam artikel ini, penulis menggunakan level teks dengan menggunakan teknik *coding* terkait beberapa regulasi yang berlaku di Indonesia untuk menangani *free trade zone*/ kawasan bebas dan pelabuhan bebas Batam. Terdapat tiga indikator yang digunakan penulis untuk melaku-

kan pengukuran yaitu aktor, tata kelola perdagangan bebas dan efisiensi manajemen pelabuhan dan jumlah penggunaan kata diakumulasikan serta dianalisa di bagian pembahasan.

Studi Pustaka

Free Trade Zone (FTZ) adalah wilayah dimana ada beberapa hambatan perdagangan seperti tarif dan kuota dihapuskan dan mempermudah urusan birokrasi dengan harapan menarik bisnis baru dan investasi asing. Pelaksanaan FTZ di wilayah Batam, Bintan, Karimun dan Tanjung Pinang adalah amanat yang terkandung dalam UU No. 44 tahun 2007 serta peraturan pelaksanaan yang berada dibawahnya. Sebagai amanat undang-undang, maka menjadi kewajiban bagi setiap instansi terkait untuk melaksanakannya secara konsekuen dan konsisten. FTZ berfungsi sebagai sarana perdagangan bebas, bongkar muat dan penyimpanan barang, serta *manufacturing*, dengan atau tanpa pagar pembatas di sekeliling wilayah, dengan akses terbatas yang dijaga petugas bea cukai (Rade, 2014, pp. 3-4). *Free trade zone* adalah kawasan yang berada di luar daerah pabean dalam wilayah suatu negara. Daerah pabean merupakan

daerah yang identtik dengan wilayah suatu negara. fasilitas istimewa itu berupa pembebasan pengenaan Bea Masuk (BM), Pajak Pertambahan Nilai (PPN), Pajak Penjualan atas Barang Mewah (PPnBM) dan Cukai (Muliono, 2003, p. 9).

Pelaksanaan atau pekerjaan yang dapat dikatakan efektif bilamana kegiatan itu dapat dicapai sejalan sesuai tujuan seperti efektivitas, tujuan, penetpaan standart, metode, fasilitas atau sarana atau fasilitas yang memberikan pengaruh, dikarenakan efektif tidak sekadar memberikan pengaruh (Mardalena, 2017, p. 81). Richard M. Steers, berpendapat terdapat beberapa faktor utama yang menjadi keberhasilan efektivitas dalam organisasi adalah (1) karakteristik organisasi, terdiri dari struktur dan teknologi dalam organisasi; (2) karakteristik lingkungan terdiri dari lingkungan ekstern dan intern. Lingkungan ekstren adalah yang berada di luar batas-batas organisasi yang mempengaruhi keputusan contoh kondisi ekonomi, pasar, dan peraturan pemerintah. Lingkungan intern terdiri dari dalam lingkungan itu sendiri seperti dilihat dari segi efektivitas dari tingkat individu; (3) karakteristik pekerja, yang mana dapat dilihat dari beragamnya pandangan, tujuan, kebutuhan

dan kemampuan orang yang ber-beda-beda; (4) kebijakan dan praktek manajemen, dengan berbagai kebijakan dan praktek kepemimpinan dapat menghasilkan tujuan tertentu. Peranan manajemen dengan adanya teknologi menjadi semakin penting untuk mencapai keberhasilan (Streers, 1985, pp. 9-11).

Berdasarkan Keating, ada tiga hal untuk mengetahui keefektivitasan tata kelola paradiplomasi berjalan dengan sesuai dengan semestinya antara lain. Pertama, terdapat kesamaan dalam tingkat pembangunan ataupun saling membutuhkan satu sama lain seperti sumber daya maupun keahlian lain dalam daerah untuk menjalin kerjasama. Kedua, kelembagaan, memiliki pemerintah daerah yang dapat berperan sebagai *interlocutor* (penghubung dan penengah) bertindak sebagai penghubung dari berbagai macam kepentingan di wilayah tersebut. Ketiga, daerah memiliki kewenangan, struktur dan kekuatan yang seimbang untuk melaksanakan kerja sama (Keating, 2000, p. 7).

Teori-teori liberal tentang interdependensi atau saling ketergantungan didasarkan pada ide-ide tentang hubungan-hubungan perdagangan dan ekonomi.

Dengan adanya perdagangan, teori liberal percaya bahwa akan meningkatkan konsumsi. Sehingga, dilihat dari hal ini, perdagangan dapat menguntungkan dalam sisi permintaan dan penawaran (Bakry, 2015, p. 105). David Ricardo menyatakan pentingnya perdagangan bebas dalam hubungan internasional, dikarenakan membuat negara menjadi efisien, yang mana salah satu nilai liberalism yang kualitasnya sama dengan kebebasan. Dalam pandangan Ricardo, pasar internasional yang bebas akan menstimulasi industri, medorong inovasi dan menciptakan keuntungan bersama melalui peningkatan produksi. (Bakry, 2015, p. 33).

Pada awal abad 20-an dengan adanya perkembangan globalisasi, Paradiplomasi merupakan penemuan baru di bidang hubungan Internasional. Perubahan dari perkembangan ekonomi global ini, sehingga mengakibatkan tidak adanya pembatasan antara urusan dalam negeri dan luar negeri, dan bertanggung jawab terhadap pemerintah daerah dan negara (Tavares, 2016, p. 10). Dalam lingkup hubungan Internasional, pemda menjadi sadar dengan pentingnya kerjasama lintas perbatasan untuk mempromosikan perdagangan

dan menarik investasi untuk kepentingan daerahnya dan negara (Tavares, 2016, p. 33).

Isu paradiplomasi merupakan hal yang baru dalam aktivitas pemerintahan di Indonesia. Paradiplomasi mengacu terhadap perilaku dan kapasitas yang dilakukan '*sub-state*' atau pemerintah daerah atau pemerintah regional dengan pihak asing dalam menyelenggarakan hubungan atau kerjasama luar negeri. Awal mulanya, istilah *Paradiplomacy* pertama kali diluncurkan dalam perdebatan akademik oleh ilman asal Basque, Panayotis Soidatos tahun 1980-an sebagai penggabungan istilah *parallel diplomacy* menjadi *paradiplomacy* yang mngacu pada makna *'the foreign policy of non-central governments'* menurut Aldecoa, keating dan Boyer. Berdasarkan regulasi Indonesia, kerjasama luar negeri diatur dalam UU nomor 22 tahun 1999 tentang Pemerintah Daerah yang dikenal dengan UU Otonomi Daerah, dalam undang-undnag ini kewenangan kerjsama luar negeri tidak diwajibkan bagi daerah, akan tetapi dilakukan perubahan UU Nomor 32 Tahun 2004 tentang Pemerintah Daerah dan didalam UU ini Pemda diberikan kewenangan untuk melakukan kerjasama laur negeri (Mukti, 2013, pp. 2-3).

Hasil dan Pembahasan

Perkembangan Batam

Konsep dari kebijakan FTZ atau KPBPB harus disesuaikan dengan perkembangan zaman sehingga pada pelaksanaannya mendapatkan hasil yang lebih baik serta meminimalisirkan hambatan. Karakterisitik di perbatasan wilayah dalam social budaya diepngaruhi atas investasi asing. Jika hal ini dapat diimplemantasikan denan tepat, maka perkembangan FTZ di Indonesia dapat memberikan dampak positif yang signifikan terhadap pertumbuhan perekonomian di Indonesia. Seperti penyerapan jumlah tenaga kerja lokal, jumlah UMKM yang ikut serta, multiplier bagi pengembangan wilayah lain disekitarnya dan keterlibatan bahan baku lokal yang dipergunakan (Bappenas, 2009, p. 14).

FTZ Batam menjadi model dalam pembangunan FTZ di Indonesia. Pemberian fasilitas di FTZ Batam bukan hanya untuk perusahaan saja akan tetapi juga terhadap penduduk sekitar dikarenakan wilayah ini didalamnya berpenduduk dan

dapat memberikan manfaat yang besar dari sisi konsumsi. Disamping itu, juga harus diperkuat dengan pelayanan keimigrasian dan proses transaksi keuangan yang lebih modern. Adanya saling koordinasi antara transaksi ekonomi, inetraksi social, dan sistem transportasi barang agar tidak terjadinya penggelapan terhadap barang maupun imigran gelap (Bahrum, Mercusuar Batam Madani Potret & Prospek Pengembangan FTZ Batam, 2011, pp. 22-23).

Tabel 1. Perkembangan Status Batam

No	Status	Keterangan
1	Tahun 1970-an ditetapkan Batu Ampar sebagai Kawasan Industri yang berstatus entrepot partikulir	*Entrepot Partikulir* adalah suatu tempat perusahaan partikulir yang berfungsi sebagai pusat penerimaan barang untuk distribusi, dengan pelabuhan alih-kapal barang impor atau penyimpanan sementara sebelum direekspor tanpa control pabean. menjadi logistic bagi Pertamina hingga menjadi kawasan Bonded Zone atau kawasan berikat
2	Penetapan Kawasan Kabil, Batu Ampar, dan Sekupang sebagai Gudang Berikat (Bonded Warehouse) dengan Keppres No 33 Tahun 1974 hingga Diatur dalam Keppres No 41 Tahun 1978	*Bonded Warehouse* adalah suatu kawasan dengan batas-batas tertentu diwilayah pabean Indonesia yang didalamnya diberlakukan ketentuan khusus dibidang ke pabean yaitu terhadap barang yang dimasukkan dari luar daerah pabean atau dari dalam daerah pabean Indonesia lainnya tanpa terlebih dahulu dikenakan pungutan bea, cukai dan atau pungutan Negara lainnya sampai barang tersebut dikeluarkan untuk tujuan impor, ekspor atau reekspor. Meliputi Pulau Janda Berhias, Tanjung Sauh, Ngenang, Kasem dan Moi-Moi berdasarkan Keppres No 56 Tahun 1984. kawasan ini dilakukan penyimpanan barang

No	Status	Keterangan
3	Bonded Zone (Kawasan Berikat) Keppres No 28 Tahun 1992	*Bonded Zone* adalah suatu kawasan dengan batas-batas tertentu diwilayah pabean Indonesia yang didalamnya diberlakukan ketentuan khusus dibidang pabean, yaitu terhadap barang yang dimasukkan dari luar daerah pabean atau dari dakam daerah pabean Indonesia lainnya tanpa terlebih dahulu dikenakan pungutan bea, cukai dan atau pungutan Negara lainnya sampai barang tersebut dikeluarkan untuk tujuan impor, ekspor atau reekspor. Memiliki cangkupan yang lebih luas yaitu Batam, Rempang, Galang, Galang Baru dan 39 pulau kecil disekitarnya disebut wilaayah kerja daerah industry Pulau Batam. Dapat dilakukan pengolahan dan penyimpanan barang
4	Diwacanakan menjadi kawasan SEZ (Special Economic Zone) akan tetapi yang muncul FTZ	Kawasan yang SEZ mencakup seluruh kawasan Berikat (Bonded Zone Plus) di 26 kawasan industry dan dijadikan FTZ termasuk kawasan industry berakses pelabuhan yang dijadikan FTZ Plus Free Port-partikelir yakni Batu Ampar, Sekupang, Tanjung Uncang dan Kabil.
5	PP No 46 Tahun 2007	Menetapkan tujuh pulau ditetapkan sebagai kawasan FTZ yaitu Batam, Tonton, Nipah, Setokok, Rempang, Galang dan Galang Baru. Menyusul Pulau Janda Berhias berdasarkan PP No 5 Tahun 2011 tentang perubahan atas PP No 46 Tahun 2007 tentang KPBPB Batam

Sumber: Diolah oleh penulis dari beberapa sumber

Perkembangan dalam sejarah status Batam selalu berubah-ubah, dimulai pada tahun 1970-an hingga ditetapkan Batam sebagai Kawasan Perdagangan dan Pelabuhan Bebas dengan dikeluarkannya peraturan pada tahun 2007. Pada mulanya, pertamina yang merasa berat dengan biaya yang terus meningkat dalam pengelolaan minyak lepas pantai (*offshore*) sehingga dicarilah daerah Indonesia yang berdekatan dengan Singapura, dan dipilih Batam sekaligus dijadikan daerah investasi. Batam memiliki dua instutisi dalam pembangunannya yang berada dalam pemerintahan Batam. Pertama, Badan Pengusahan Batam yang dahalu bernama Otorita Batam sebelum tahun 2007, BP ini berperan sebagai pengembangan dalam pembangunan Batam, yang dimulai perkembangan pesatnya terjadi pada masa orde baru dibawah Presiden BJ. Habibie dengan dicontoh Barelang. BP Batam merupakan lembaga dengan kewenangan yang merujuk pada Presiden RI sebagai kepala negara dan regulasi pemerintah pusat. Dari Badan Pengusahaan inilah, yang "melahirkan" dan maju seperti sekarang. Untuk meningkatkan devisa negara, pendapatan daerah, membuka lapangan pekerjaan, magnet bagi tenaga kerja nasional,

dan terjadinya ubanisasi. Kedua, Pemerintah Kota Batam merupakan pelaksanaan otonom daerah atau pemerintah daerah di Batam. Pemko Batam berperan sebagai pendirian dalam pengelolaan Batam dengan memiliki fungsi utama sebagai kawasan industri, bongkar muat kapal (jasa ahli kapal), pariwisata maupun perdagangan. (Bahrum, 2008, p. 89).

Dilakukan proses penanda-tanganan kesepakan kerja sama ekonomi antara Pemrintah Indonesia dan Pemerintah Singapura dalam pengembangan Kawasan BBK pada tahun 2006. Ditindaklanjutinnya dari kesepakatan ini, dengan di-keluarkan Peraturan pemerintah untuk pengembangan wilayah ini. Melalui Peraturan Pemerintah No 46 Tahun 2007 untuk KPBPB Batam, Peraturan Pemerintah No 47 Tahun 2007 untuk KPBPB Bintan dan Peraturan Pemerintah No 48 Tahun 2007 untuk KPBPB Karimun (Bambang Hendrawan dan Rahmat Hidayat, 2012, pp. 5-7). Pada tanggal 25 Juni 2006 dibentuk kerja sama antara Indonesia dan Singapura dengan ditandatangi *Memorandum of Understanding* (MoU) Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus untuk wilayah BBK oleh Menko Perekonomian Boediono dan Menteri Perdagangan & Perindustrian Singapura Lim

Hing Kiang dan disaksikan Presiden Republik Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Perdana Menteri Singapura-Lee Hsien Loong bertempat di Nongsa Point Marina Batam. (Waluyo, Romayati Apriliyanti dan Tri Joko, 2015, p. 9)

Regulasi FTZ yang Sangat Birokratis

Di dalam paradiplomasi, aktor merupakan hal yang penting karena aktorlah yang melakukan hubungan luar negeri. *Good governance* menjadi hubungan yang kompleks di antara sektor privat dan publik dengan masyarakat, kekuatan dari keseimbangan yang di barengi dari praktek demokrasi berkelanjutan. Pada saat ini, *civil society* menjadi alasan untuk *good governance* seperti transparan, efektivitas, keterbukaan pertanggungjawaban dan *responsiveness* (Malik, 2015, p. 29). Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2004 menjadi UU 23 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintah Daerah, didalam UU ini berisi memberikan hak kepada daerah untuk mengurusi daerahnya sendiri, serta memanfaatkan potensi daerahnya masing-masing untuk melakukan hubungan dengan pihak asing. Pemerintah daerah sebagai pelaku dalam melakukan kerja sama luar negeri dengan pihak asing dnegan bentuk investasi asing, hanya diberikan batas dalam pendatanganan MoU atau *Letter of Intent*. Sehingga, dapat dilihat pemerintah pusat masih memegang kendali penuh dalam kesepakatan-kespakatan internasional seperti konvensi, perjanjian maupun traktat (Fathun, 2016, p. 80).

Tabel 2. Indikator Aktor

Indikator	Regulasi Nasional										Total	%
	5/11	4/18	994/17	10/12	120/17	44/07	10/19	48/12	45/17	07/16		
Aktor Pusat Presiden P), Pemerintah Pusat (PP), Diplomat (D), Duta Besar (DB), Menteri (M), Menteri Luar Negeri (MLN), Lembaga Negara (LN), Direktorat Jenderal (DJ), Kepala Badan Pengusahaan (KP)	5	6	27	42	12	3	18	6	31	15	165	56%

Indikator	Regulasi Nasional										Total	%
	5/11	4/18	994/17	10/12	120/17	44/07	10/19	48/12	45/17	07/16		
Aktor Daerah Dewan Kawasan (DK), Pemerintah Daerah (PD), Gubernur (G), Walikota (W), DPRD, Kepala Daerah (KD),	3	8	3	1	1	3	7	0	17	22	65	22%
Aktor Swasta Pengusaha/ Pelaku Usaha (PU)	0	0	2	2	40	0	0	14	4	1	63	21,5%

Hasil dari isi yang dikaji terhadap sepuluh regulasi, pada indikator aktor. Peranan aktor daerah masih menjadi minoritas dibandingkan aktor pusat. Artinya, aktor daerah diajdikan dijadikan sebagai *fasilitator* atau hanya memfasilitasi penyelenggaraan hubungan kerjasama internasional di cangkupan FTZ Batam. Pada Peraturan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 48/PMK.04/2012 Tentang Pemberitahuan Pabean Dalam Rangka Pemasukan dan Pengeluaran Barang Ke Dan Dari Kawasan yang Telah Ditetapkan Sebagai Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas, dalam konten analisis ini aktor daerah tidak terdeteksi sama sekali. Sehingga, hal ini kurang efektif dalam pelaksanaan paradilomasi di lingkungan FTZ di Batam. Seharusnya, aktor daerah dapat memiliki peran dalam hal

ini. Jika, hal ini dapat ditingkatkan maka dapat memenuhi kebutuhan dan menyejahterakan masyarakat.

Sebagaimana impelementasi Batam yang dijadikan sebagai kawasan *Free Trade Zone* berdampak positif. Pelaku usaha atau bisnis dapat didukung dengan memperbaiki sesuai dengan berbagai bidangnya agar memiliki kesiapan *go international*. Pemerintah selaku fasilitator dapat ditingkatkan lagi karena kebutuhan masyrakat di Batam yang lebih modern sehingga dapat memberikan manfaat bagi mereka, memberikan kemudahan izin dan investasi bagi pengusaha di Batam, serta didukung dengan mendirikan pusat informasi dan promosi untuk produk Indonesia, perbankan sistem *go internasional* dan juga memberikan fasilitas lainnya untuk

kemudahan berinvestasi selama FTZ di Batam (Lesar, 2003, p. 27).

Tata Kelola Pelabuhan Bebas yang Kurang Kompetitif

Dampak positif yang seharusnya diberikan kawasan industri yaitu penyediaan infrastruktur, pengelolaan lingkungan dan adanya peningkatan sehingga memudahkan dalam suatu kawasan dengan memperluas lapangan kerja dan meningkatkan pendapatan daerah melalui pajak dan berkurangnya arus urbanisasi. Namun, pada penyelenggarannya masih belum terjadi keefektivitasan pengaruh hal ini, dan terjadinya masalah iklim investasi di lingkungan FTZ. Permasalahan akibat terhambatnya iklim investasi ini dikarenakan masalah ketenagakerjaan, dan belum siapnya bersaing produk dengan dengan lain. Biaya produksi yang tinggi dibandingkan dengan negara lain membuat ketidaksiapan ini terjadi (Bappenas, 2009, p. 15). Pada akhirnya, para investor kurang berminat melakukan investasi dikarenakan hal ini. Jika, permasalahan ekonomi yang tinggi dapat diatasi, maka investor akan melakukan kegaitan investasi di wialayah ini terutama di wilayah industri logistik dan industri pengolahan. Sehingga, investor dapat berminat melakukan investasi di kawasan FTZ jika masalah ekonomi dengan biaya tinggi ini dapat diatasi, terutama di wilayah industry pengolahan dan industri logistik.

Tabel 3. Indikator Tata Kelola Perdagangan Bebas

Indikator	Regulasi Nasional										Total	%
	5/11	4/18	994/17	10/12	120/17	44/07	10/19	48/12	45/17	07/16		
Pro-Investasi Kemudahan (K), Perdagangan Internasional (KI), Percepatan (PC), Jaminan (J), Insentif (IS), Kelancaran (KE), Waktu (W)	1	2	5	14	42	0	5	2	12	2		30%

Indikator	Regulasi Nasional										Total	%
	5/11	4/18	994/17	10/12	120/17	44/07	10/19	48/12	45/17	07/16		
Disinvestasi Perizinan (PZ), Pertimbangan (PB), Pengurusan (PG), Pajak (PA), Kendala (KE), Tarif (T)	4	2	15	44	69	1	32	12	14	1		70%

Dilihat dari tabel indikator tata kelola perdagangan bebas, tata kelola masih bersifat disinvestasi dengan persentase 70% dibandingkan yang pro-investasi 30%. Artinya, dalam beberapa regulasi ini, masih kurang memberikan keleluasaan terhadap investasi asing. Untuk meningkatkan paradiplomasi dalam hubungan kerja sama ekonomi maupun politik di ajang Internasional maka perlu adanya koordinasi dan keseimbangan (Yusuf, 2019 , p. 189). Pemerintah dapat melakukan kebijakan seperti (1) pemberantasan pungutan liar dan korupsi di bidang perijinan, lokasi investasi dan perpajakan di FTZ; (2) penurunan tingkat suku bunga kredit usaha; (3) memberlakukan perizinan elektronik satu atap untuk memudahkan dan memberikan pelayanan bisnis lebih cepat; (4) memberikan kepastian hukum terhadap pengusaha agar merasa aman menanamkan modalnya di FTZ; (5) untuk mengurangi kerusakan produk atau keterlambatan pendistribusian ke lokasi FTZ diperlukan pembangun infrastruktur seperti tol (untuk daratan) dan menambah *cargo ship* (untuk antar pulau); (6) mengatur kembali pertauran-peraturan daerah yang mempersulit pihak yang berinvestasi dan selnajutnya diawasi kebijakan tersebut sehingga dapat berjalan sesuai rencana. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2011 perubahan atas peraturan pemerintah Nomor 46 Tahun 2007 tentang Kawasan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Pasal 1, Kawasan Batam ditetapkan menjadi KPBPB dengan jangka waktu 70 tahun, meliputi Pulau Batam, Pulau Setokok, Pulau Tonton, Pulau Rempang, Pulau Nipah, Pulau Galang, Galang Baru, dan Pulau Janda Berhias serta gugusannya (Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2011 Tentang Kawasan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam, 2011, p. 2).

Efisiensi Pengelolaan Manajemen Pelabuhan yang Kurang Kompetitif

Interaksi antara pemerintah daerah dan pemerintah pusat harus ditingkatkan dalam proses pengembangan wilayah FTZ sehingga dapat memberikan hasil yang maksimal terhadap pelayanan publik dan juga dalam proses pengambilan keputusan juga aka bersifat efektif dan efisien berdasarkan otoritas yang dimiliki oleh kedua *stakeholder* tersebut. Masyarakat Batam yang heteregon menguntungkan daerah lainnya karena terwakilkan keberadaan etnis sehingga memudahkan dalam perdagangan antarnegara dan berharap agar dapat berkembang dengan baik. Dengan adanya proses ini, seharusnya setiap barang yang atau jasa yang dijual atau ditawarkan dalam lingkungan FTZ, masuknya melalui pintu terminal pelabuhan bebas FPZ *(Free Port Zone)* didapatkan dengan harga yang lebih murah dibandingkan dengan kawasan non-FTZ lainnya. Tidak dikenakan pajak, maka diberi kemudahan dengan masuk yang lebih bebas dan tanpa kuota. Sehingga kebijakan kuota dapat diterapkan secara fleksibel dan maencakup terhadap ketersediaan (Bahrum, Mercusuar Batam Madani Potret & Prospek Pengembangan FTZ Batam, 2011).

Tabel 5. Indikator Efisiensi Manajemen Pelabuhan

Indikator	Regulasi Nasional										Total	%	
	5/11	4/18	994/17	10/12	120/17	44/07	10/19	48/12	45/17	07/16			
Inward Looking Pembebasan (PB), Bandar Udara (BU), Pelabuhan Nasional (PN), Infrastruktur (I), Pelayanan (PL), Badan Pengusahaan (BP)	43	0	29	50	46	4	34	5	28	12	251	74%	
Outward Looking Bongkar Muat (BM), Bea Cukai (BC), Pelabuhan Internasional (PI), Fasilitas (F), Tempat Penimbunan (TP)	0	0	17	46	3	0	10	11	1	2	90	26%	

Dilihat dari tabel indikator efisiensi manajemen pelabuhan, masih bersifat *inward looking* atau melayani kebutuhan domestik dengan persentase 74% dibandingkan *outward looking* yang berorientasi melayani kebutuhan luar negeri dengan persentase 26%. Untuk mendorong kegiatan lalu lintas perdagangan internasional dengan mendatangkan devisa bagi negara dalam berorientasi *outward looking*, harus meningkatkan penanaman modal asing serta memperluas lapangan kerja, maka diperlukan Undang-undang atau peraturan-peraturan untuk mendukung menstabilkan kegiatan ini. Akan tetapi, dalam dapat dilihat dalam indikator ini masih dominan ke sektor *inward looking*. Di dalam perundangan-undangan sudah dijelaskan dengan rinci atau mekanisme tentang pemasukan atau pengeluaran barang dan dari ke kawasan bebas bagi pengusaha besar. Akan tetapi, pada praktik dilapangan masih terjadi kekurangan bagi pengusaha kecil atau masyarakat untuk melakukan perdagangan di kawasan bebas. Fasilitas adalah pembebasan pengenaan Bea Masuk, Pajak Pertambahan Nilai, dan Pajak Penjualan atas Barang Mewah dan Cukai untuk barang asal luar daerah pabean, dalam daerah pabean yang dimasukkan dan dikeluarkan ke dan dari Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas. (Peraturan Kepala Badan Pengusahaan Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam Nomor 10 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Pemasukan dan Pengeluaran Barang Ke Dan Dari Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam, 2019 , p. 7).

Kesimpulan

Pembentukan Batam pada tahun 1970-an dikarenakan *offshore* Pertamina yang terbebani oleh biaya yang terus meningkat dan dicarilah daerah yang berdekatan dengan Singapura sehingga dipilih Batam menjadi daerah investasi dikarenakan hal ini. Batam yang dilalui jalur perdagangan internasional melalui Selat Malaka. Berdasarkan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2011 perubahan atas peraturan pemerintah Nomor 46 Tahun 2007 tentang Kawasan Bebas dan Pelabuhan Bebas Batam, KPBPB Batam berlaku selama 70 tahun sesuai peraturan ini dibuat.

Peranan pemerintah juga sebagai *fasilitator* harus ditingkatkan karena kebutuhan masyarakat modern di Batam. Sehingga, kedudukan elite-elite politik yang ada di pemerintahan Batam seperti

Walikota Batam, Badan Pengusahaan (BP) Batam atau Gubernur Kepulauan Riau harus memiliki perbedaan dengan daerah lainnya di Indonesia, karena memiliki keistimewaan dengan berhadapan langsung dengan negara tetangga seperti Singapura dan Malaysia. Dilihat dari tabel indikator tata kelola perdagangan bebas, tata kelola masih bersifat disinvestasi dengan persentase 70% dibandingkan yang pro-investasi 30%. Artinya, dalam beberapa regulasi ini, masih kurang memberikan keleluasaan terhadap investasi asing. Untuk mendorong kegiatan lalu lintas perdagangan internasional dengan mendatangkan devisa bagi negara dalam berorientasi *outward looking*, harus meningkatkan penanaman modal asing serta memperluas lapangan kerja, maka diperlukan Undang-undang atau peraturan-peraturan untuk mendukung menstabilkan kegiatan ini. Akan tetapi, dalam dapat dilihat dalam indikator ini masih dominan ke sektor *inward looking*.

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The Reality behind the Rhetoric: an Examination of Saudi Vision 2030 Using Imminent Critique

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Abstract

The Saudi Vision 2030 is a Saudi statement of intent to transform the economic structure of Saudi Arabia from oil-based exports to a more skill-based economy. This paper conducted a critical review of the statement, comparing the stated intent of the Saudi authorities with the political situation in the country and region. It was found that given the present power structure, which the government has no intention of changing, the vision is unlikely to be successfully implemented. One of the strongest points in this Vision concerns human development of skills needed in the new order. However, the overt of human right violations within the regime would make realizing the full potentials of its citizens difficult. In particular, the misogynistic policy of denying half its population equal rights would neglect the potential of half of its people. Furthermore, the policies of the state directly contravene the rights and freedoms of people and of other countries in the region as proclaimed in the Vision. This state, then, would be extremely unlikely to fulfil its Vision unless it begins to recognise the basic human rights of all of its citizens. In other words, the Saudi regime would need to adopt less dogmatic policies for the Vision to have any chances of succeeding.

Keywords: *Human Development; Economic Transformation; Oil Politics*

Introduction

Saudi Arabia proclaimed the Saudi Vision 2030 in April 2016 in preparation for a post-oil economic. It is centre of their grand strategy to reform their economy, since the monarchy state can no longer provide everything for its citizen

by oil exports alone, and the full utilisation of its people's potential is the main strategy for the future prosperity of the kingdom (Young, 2016). A vibrant society is one of the three themes that underpins the vision. They understand that their people will be their strongest asset to achieve the Vision's target. The Vision states: "We have enormous untapped opportunities and a rich blend of natural resources, but our real wealth lies in our people and our society." Therefore, there is a strong need for a good relationship between the kingdom and its citizens if the ambitious project is to succeed. As John Edwards, a member of the board of the Reserve Bank of Australia, said, the success of the Vision requires profound changes in Saudi society and politics (Khashan, 2017). This article will critically assess the Saudi Vision 2030 in several areas which may affect its successful implementation. These are: Human rights violations including women rights, lack of press freedom, no freedom of assembly, intervention to Yemen government and diplomatic crisis with Qatar. The Saudi government talks of about ambition, tradition, religion, kingdom, technology, modernity, development, investment, job opportunities, but they neglect

humanity, which seems to go against the central tenets of the Vision.

Literature Review

Vision 2030

The Gulf Cooperation Council Countries Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman and the United Arab Emirates have the similar concept of their economic visions (Mitchell, 2018). However, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Vision steals the world attention since they are the largest regional economy and one of the most influential countries in the Middle East. KSA launched Vision 2030 based on three pillars and three themes. The three pillars are becoming the heart of Arab and Islamic worlds, the investment powerhouse and the hub connecting three continents, whilst the themes cover a vibrant society, a thriving economy and an ambitious nation (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2016b, p. 13). The Vision gives the direction of Saudi's economy for the future but is not offer a sense of political vision. However, it is very unclear what kind of political change would emerge in Saudi that follows the vision (Kinninmont, 2017). Bernard Haykel named it "revolution from above" (Gause, 2018) without strengthening on the "below" that is

facing tensions in the House of Saud and unstable regional situation.

Women Rights

Merlyna Lim wrote that Western views on feminism are adverse to Saudi Arabia's local knowledge (Lim, 2018) while Acker (2009) posits the concept "inequality regimes". Acker claims that the idea can capture complex, interlocking practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organisations, including top management levels. The processes of inequality shape work organisations and the experiences of employees at every level, leaving women in lower positions within the hierarchy (Acker, 2009; Abalkhail, 2017). Studies have found that within Arab countries, institutional forces are responsible for the limited progression of women to leadership positions, which is rare in patriarchal societies (Abalkhail, 2017). In Saudi Arabia, however, women have less access to organisational resources, for instances, information, participation in strategic planning and financial decision making (Abalkhail, 2016). Furthermore, vertical segregation, where women's roles simply support man is familiar. The dominant religion in Saudi Arabia is Islam, which has played a significant role in defining and shaping its culture. The ideas of *qiwama*, which is mentioned in the *Qur'an* (4:34), for example, is widely interpreted by religious scholars as meaning that God created men superior to women (Mernissi, 2011. Abalkhail, 2017). According to Mernissi, (2011) and Abalkhail (2017), however, that is a misinterpretation of Islam based on patriarchy.

This misinterpretation has resulted in Saudi females being culturally socialised to adopt certain attitudes, such as the importance of caring for their husbands and their families (Tlaiss and Kauser, 2011. Abalkhail 2017). Even though there were development plans to reduce gender inequality, including in the education system, women's participation in the labour market remains very low (Abalkhail, 2017). Gave the right to drive, does not mean lifting the ban for some figures that fight for the privilege. Loujain al-Hathloul, an important figure who fought for the driving reforms, is still in jail. Furthermore, women freedom to choose many basic decisions is still blocked by strict guardianship laws (The New York Times, 2019). Reema bint Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud is the first female ambassador who has

been appointed by the kingdom as an ambassador to the U.S., but she is a royal family member. Saudi labour laws, although espousing the need for equal treatment, discriminates against women (Abalkhail and Allan, 2015). Such laws assume males are the primary income providers, whereas women work either to subsidize family income or for self-satisfaction (Abalkhail, 2017). Abalkhail asserts that Vision for 2030 can be a promising path for greater equality, and the Saudi Government's also made some efforts to achieve United Nations' MDG, but it needs collaboration between the government, organisations and individuals if this to be realised.

Next, heightened uncertainties over an unexpected event (terrorist attacks, Brexit, Trump's win in the 2016 US presidential elections) (Bouoiyour, 2018) have prompted a decline in investment (Branden and Yook, 2012. Boe and Jordal, 2016). Furthermore, the gruesome killing of a journalist and the arrest of women activists have hindered the progress of the Vision. It was proved when many big companies take back their willingness to invest on the Kingdom, including the suspension from Sir Richard Branson related to his investment

to Saudi and condemnation by Dara Khosrowshahi, Uber CEO who also cancelled his attendance to FII conference in Riyadh, because of the Jamal Khashoggi'case.

Regional Issue

Around 9.5% of the world's total size is covered by the 22 Arab countries and they have a population of about 4% of the whole world. The Arab world has become more important since they own abundant oil and gas resources and strategic position in geopolitics (Yao, 2007). The Middle East has nonstop chaos related to regional instabilities, global order, and political-economic order. Religious reformists versus religious extremists, Sunni versus Shia, and other differences of beliefs are playing a big role (or has been only used as a rumour) on the regional instabilities. In terms of global order, the Middle East is a battlefield for big power countries such as the U.S., Russia, and other European countries. The rising of China as a new big power also make the problem more complicated at the struggling of influence and economy in this region. Besides, the relation of the U.S.-Israel in the region exacerbates the chaos, particularly on the land seizure to Palestinian territories. It made a

huge disadvantageous influence on the Arab world and held back the pace of their reform and development (Yao, 2007).

For Instance on Saudi's case, Alshabnan declared on his paper that the Saudi Foreign Ministry stated that Qatar is "harbouring terrorist and sectarian groups that threaten regional stability, including the Muslim Brotherhood, ISIS and Al-Qaeda, and promoting their literature and plans consistently through its media outlets." In contrast, Al-Jazeera reported, supported by the Iranian Foreign Ministry, that Saudi is the lead supporter of extremist ideology and terrorism (Alshabnan, 2018).

A prove that shown regional disharmony can create a bad effect on the economy in the Middle East can be found when the Yom Kippur War by a coalition of Arab states led by Syria and Egypt against Israel and the Islamic Revolution in Iran made an economic downtrend in the region (Klare, 2017). It was a disharmonic situation that the U.S. and European government need, which lead them to control oil resources in the Middle East and to keep their influence at the area, as Israel's strategic relationship with the U.S. has been stronger since then (Kumaraswamy, 2007).

Methodology

A document analysis and qualitative research method was held in order to fulfil the objective of this paper. The Saudi Vision 2030 and National Transformation Program 2020 were analysed, interpreted and used as the main resource to collect the data and to do the critical review. Numerous pieces of previous academic research related to the Vision were utilised to sharpen the criticism and to wrap up the literature review. The Research was conducted between December 2018 and February 2019. The research is limited to the Vision's rhetoric, which also means this focal point is in circa 2016 and afterward. During the processing, time limitedness was the main problem, as some deadlines appeared in short notice. Through the methodology mentioned above, the paper's aim is to explore one main notion: The Kingdom would be extremely unlikely to fulfil its Vision unless it begins to recognise the basic human rights of all of its citizens and respect the sovereignty of other countries in the region to ensure a peaceful environment conducive to economic development.

Results

MBS

Around a year after the launching of the Vision 2030, Prince Mohammed bin Salman bin Abdel-Aziz Al Saud (often referred to as 'MBS') was named by his father King Salman as Saudi Arabia's new crown prince. MBS is known as the key person behind Vision 2030 (Kinninmont, 2017). Nevertheless, the appointment of MBS was labelled as Saudi's Arab Spring by New York Times in 2017 (Bouoiyour, 2018). MBS is suspected by US intelligence agencies as the mastermind behind the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. Furthermore, it has been widely speculated that he is the chief protagonist in the military intervention in Yemen since 2016, the Qatar diplomatic crisis in June 2017, the arrest of his rivals in November 2017, and the detention of the Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri in December 2017 (Bouoiyour, 2018). For now, MBS can do anything that is considered will lead to his goal because he is backed by his father, King Salman, age 83. Including to clear any obstacles that can ruin his power. It is proven on the arrest of some family members of the royal family as well as wealthy businessmen and ministers. The problem will occur

if King Salman dies, the princes who are in the opposite position to MBS could fight back his reign. It is clear that one of the world's richest men, Prince Alwaleed bin Talal is against MBS. The domestic dispute, moreover inside the royal family, can interrupt the Vision goal that really needs political stability. Saudi has a long record about the story of friction within the Kingdom, one of the most prominent events was the assassination of King Faisal in 1975.

Not only a concordance inside the kingdom and the nation but also Saudi foreign policy should be set as a support system to aim the Vision's main purpose. On the contrary, MBS put some pressure on the Lebanese political system during his early dominion and intervene in the domestic politics of their neighbours (Gause, 2018).

Regional relations

Saudi GDP is the highest in the Middle East, with a value of SAR 2.4 trillion (Vision, 2016). It needs constructive relations with Islamic and foreign countries, particularly within its region. Goods, people and capital should have a smooth flow by air, maritime and other transport operators to strengthen business-friendly environment. Saudi is also a member of The Gulf Cooperation

Council (GCC) that focuses on political and economic aspects between six countries, including Qatar, and they are considering giving membership to Yemen.

However, Saudi and Qatar have been in a diplomatic war since June 2017. Saudi led a coalition of Arab countries that claimed Qatar was supporting terrorism in several countries, including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. Based on those accusations, it has closed the land, sea and air borders with Qatar. This conflict is very contradictory with the rhetoric contained within the Vision.

Besides Qatar, Saudi is also having a trouble with another bordering country to the south, Yemen. Saudi military intervention has been launched towards Yemen sovereignty since 2015. One of the most Saudi killing actions in there was a bombing on a school bus packed with children in 2018. Children, with most between the ages of six and eleven, were killed. Two weeks after, other Saudi-led coalition airstrike killed other 26 children and four women in the western province of Hudaydah (Guardian, 2018). Furthermore, a CNN's report states that Saudi Arabia and UAE transferred US-made weapons to al-Qaeda-linked groups and a Salafi militia, who worked with ISIL, in Yemen (Al-Jazeera, 2019).

Freedom of assembly

Karen E. Young stated that one of Saudi main problems is that the state has not created an institutional framework that allows citizens (not to mention foreign laborers and foreign investors) to create new organisations. The Kingdom wants to keep tight control of every organisation which is formed inside their territory. The abuse of power by the Saudi authorities in keeping its citizens on a tight leash could damage the future prospects of the Kingdom.

If the Saudi regime were to relax its tight grip and allow its citizens more freedom to express their creativity, it would help the human development which is the stated aim of the Vision. People need freedom to fully realise their potential, and the current restrictive Saudi regime is not conducive to this. For any economy to fully prosper, there need to be creative space for people to think and act freely, within reason. People must be free from the fear of transgressing undue restrictions from the Kingdom's unjust laws.

The logical result of freedom of assembly are public demonstrations, which are not permitted in the kingdom under any circumstances. The former interior minister Prince Nayef bin Abd al-Aziz said that demonstrations were "not compatible" with the kingdom's social system (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Of course, what he means is that demonstrations are not in the interest of his authoritarian ruling order. It always begs the question when regimes without a popular mandate declare this or that is not compatible with a certain social system or not in the people's interest, on what basis are they qualify to make such statement? In fact, even in the absence of universal suffrage, peaceful demonstrations could be useful controls to prevent abuses of power and act as a safety valve before discontent turns into something more serious.

However, reforms is not likely to happen, as the kingdom has a long tradition of authoritarian rule, and keep a tight control over their own people. The raise of non-governmental organisations and people power may well weaken the regime. However, without the freedom of association, the Vision could never be realised maximally.

The regime may be afraid to relax their control by giving people such basic freedom as freedom of assembly will likely be followed by demands other freedom and better awareness towards other rights.

Women Rights

"We are determined to build a thriving country in which all citizens can fulfil their dreams, hopes and ambitions.", or so it is boldly proclaimed the foreword of Saudi Vision 2030. However, women are marginalised by long traditions of misogyny in Saudi Arabia. For gender parity, Saudi Arabia has been ranked 141 out of 144 countries by The World Economic Forum's 2016 Global Gender Gap Report (Baqi, et. al, 2017). Patriarchy culture has been, and still are, rooted in Saudi daily life. Therefore, there is a need to change the culture if the Saudi regime is serious about the Vision, rather than making rhetorical noises. Misunderstanding of social tradition, Islamic teaching and culture are the main hindrance for women to participate in the workforce (Arabi, 2018).

The Vision mentions the strong foundation of a vibrant society is based on the family, which means family harmony should to give a stronger foundation for a better

society. However, in Saudi, a father is interpreted as the head of the family based on Islam, and this gender inequality runs through every level of society. The proclaimed Vision would appear that the kingdom is focusing on the future of the children in families, and that the engagement of parents in their children's future is the key. Parents, however, are more than the father making all the major decisions. It must also include the wife if human potentials are to be utilized to the maximum.

Gender inequality case can also be found in the education system. The second theme of Vision 2030 is "a thriving economy provides opportunities for all by building an education system aligned with market needs…" In reality, even though 58 percent of all university graduates are women, their educational background cannot guarantee an access to the labour markets (Baki, 2004). Since women can only choose particular field during their study, such as dentistry, education, medicine, nursing, and public administration, they are excluded from studying engineering, journalism, pharmacy, and architecture. The facts, then, do not coincide with the Vision.

Saudi will lose the potential of half of its people if gender inequality is tackled seriously. The World Bank data in 2017 showed that 42.93% of Saudi Arabia population are female. However, females make up takes 16% of total Saudi's labour force in 2018. However, the Vision states that there 22% of women participate in the workforce and they want to increase this to 30%.

Many "new" rights are given to Saudi women to support the Vision, such as women can vote and get elected, is allowed to become notary publics, to be the head of the stock exchange and to attend into sports stadiums and music concert. One of the most significant decisions for Saudi women was the lifting of the ban on women driving, a mass protests to this issue started in June 2011 (Lim, 2019), which lead to over 120,000 women applied for driver's licenses. It will bring massive change for Saudi social life. It boosts the work force, as women can become more productive and men will have more spare time to do something else instead of driving. Unfortunately, this policy brings also counteraction from some clerics who are regarded as "not ready" or "too conservative" religious (Gause, 2018).

Islam as Saudi's Main Pillar

Human Capital Development in Saudi Arabia will become an

unavoidable conflict between reformists and religious conservatives (Yamada, 2018). Economic reforms are associated with Westernisation while most historical political opposition for the Kingdom claimed themselves as representatives of authentic Islamic values (Kinninmont, 2017). Religious studies take 29.3% of the total curriculum in Saudi in the primary school level, the highest portion among other subjects (Yamada, 2018). The religious studies tend to a piece of knowledge about Islam's dogma, but the Vision 2030 needs more than that, skills, creativity, analytical and critical thinking.

Saudi always bring Islam into almost every single context related to them, including this Vision. Islam's doctrine, surely, is not teaching Muslims to kill and to silence people voice and to hinder Muslims to do the pilgrimage. Islam teaches Muslim to respect all human dignity and rights, including honesty, not only as an icon for branding.

On the blueprint, Mohammad bin Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud wrote their status as the land that was given the Two Holy Mosques by Allah the Almighty as their first pillars (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2016). This rhetoric contains problem which is that Allah the Almighty would not give sacred sites to a single nation. Muslims are all over the world, and their prayer direction cannot be monopolised by a single nation. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia uses Islam and Islamic holy sites for business or political bargaining position. When a belief is being monetized by a kingdom or a nation, the sacred itself can be questioned. Indeed, in the foreword of the Saudi Vision 2030, Mohammad bin Salman said, "We will do our utmost to ensure that Muslims from around the world can visit the Holy Sites.". This, however, is not currently the case. Qatari citizens, for example, are only being given a 1,200 quota to attend the pilgrimage and was actually banned from entering the country in 2018. Riyadh claims this is an exceptional blockade due to the Hajj, but Travel agents in Qatar stated the opposite. They said that the online registration for Qatari was blocked by Saudi Arabia's ministry for the Hajj (Al Jazeera, 2018). Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated in Article 18 that everyone has the right to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance. As in Islam, pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam which state

that all adult Muslims, who are physically and financially capable of undertaking the journey, must do so regardless of their nationality.

Press Freedom

The State has duties to implement this right. Those are their duties to make sure that this fundamental right can be enjoyed without any undue restriction. Saudi, through their NTP (the National Transformation Program), plight to a more transparent government. Unfortunately, it has not been followed by any freedom of speech and press freedom (Kinninmont, 2017).

The assassination of Jamal Khashoggi and arrest of Samar Badawi and Nassima al-Sadah are two examples that the Kingdom has not fully committed to this right. Khashoggi is one of the most prominent Saudi journalists and a consistent critic of the Saudi state. The CIA has voiced its suspicions that Mohammad Bin Salman is responsible for the killings (Bouoiyour, 2018).

The Saudi regime uses Islam and Islamic values as a pretext for their authoritarian rule. It also mentions values such as moderation, tolerance, excellence, discipline, equality, and transparency. This

rhetoric, however, is far away from reality. What kind of transparency do they mean? There is strong evidence that Jamal Khashoggi was killed in the Saudi embassy in Turkey. Even though the Kingdom said that they are not involved in the journalist's murder, this case has led to mass withdrawals (including JP Morgan, Ford, Softbank, Uber Technologies, AOL, Siemens, BNP) from the Saudi Future Investment Initiative (FII) Summit and had the most adverse impact on banks and financial services, materials, and technology (Bouoiyour, 2018).

Richard Branson, the Virgin President, resigned from his directorship of two Saudi's tourism projects around the Red Sea and believes the disappearance of Jamal Khashoggi would change the business relationship between the Kingdom and the West (Branson, 2018). Prior to the event, Bouoiyour found that banking and financial services were negatively affected by - 5.09% after two days and -9.16 % after 10 days. Materials were adversely influenced by -2.74% on the first day of trading, and by about -8.6% after 10 days. Software and computer services (i.e., technology) were negatively impacted by –3.64% after 5 days and by -4.52 after 10 days. In contrast, the Oil and Gas

sector responds differently to this event. It reacts positively by 1.49 on the first day of trading, negatively and modestly by -0.37% after two days, while it did not record any statistically significant results up to 10 days. Those aspects are also some focus of this Vision. UNCTAD's publication in 2017 showed inward investment into Riyadh dropped markedly (Bouoiyour, 2018). It proved that the serious human right violations can substantially hinder progress in the realisation of the Vision.

Discussion

To be more correct on an empirical basis, the Saudi Vision 2030 should have added some sentences on the foreword, on the lines of, "We will do our utmost to ensure that Muslims from around the world can visit the Holy Sites, as long as the nation which the Muslim come from does not have a problem with Saudi Arabia." Or the kingdom should follow its own words and allowed all Muslims all over the world to do the pilgrimage, regardless of the political situation.

Repressions towards human rights can only lead to a greater bounce back-resistance against the Kingdom. Even if people have no choice to express their interests,

it could give them an intention to build a stronger attempt to send the message, the only political alternative: political violence. A worse and more unstable condition could arise both within Saudi Arabia and regionally, culminate in a business-unfriendly environment.

The stability of the political situation regionally and domestically is essential to ensure a peaceful environment conducive to economic development. Therefore, they need to lower their interference in the other country's internal affairs. Notably, Saudi should stop their support of military action in Yemen and Syrian civil wars that cause to emerge a massive international censure. The Kingdom should also give loosen their suppression to their own people. The forcible suppression only can generate bigger or violent protest. Some nations and companies have shown that they want to do business with Saudi only when there is no human rights violation. Saudi need to bear in mind that. In the domestic issue, thereto, the Kingdom's conservative interpretation of Islam may bring other dissension with the Vision's way. The Vision contains many western notions that contradicted with the view of Saudi's conservative clerics.

Conclusion

At the 27th Annual Arab-U.S. Policymakers Conference, titled "What Paths Forward for America in and with the Arab Region?" Mr. Hani Ukayli FTI Consulting Managing Director; former World Bank and Saudi Arabian Atomic and Renewable Regulatory Authority Specialist, said that the Vision is not merely meaningless rhetoric, but a vision and a statement of intent (National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations, 2018). Ms. Fatimah Salem A. Baeshen Spokesperson at Embassy of Saudi Arabia in the United States, added that this Vision is aimed at 2030, not for the next one year or two, therefore it should not be judged in the short term. However, even they regard the Vision as a vision, not just rhetoric and the Vision should be assessed in 2030, unless there are changes to the way the regime operates, the statement of intent and the vision is unlikely to be successfully implemented. Lest we forget, 2030 is only 11 years away. Moreover, instrumental reasons are not the only reasons the kingdom should refrain from not human rights violations. The dignity of humans is also a strong moral reason for the protection of fundamental human rights.

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Towards 'Another of Me': Random Para Tolol : v and The Language Games

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Abstract

When social media experiences an escalation in the number of users until today, now social media offers an alternative for the community in constructing more intimate social relations. This is likened to a new world that Tom Boelstorff has tried to discuss in Second Life. Absolutely, here, the identity will find its intersection: could it reproduce? In some cases, that question turns the answer: "yes". For example in a Facebook group called Random The Tolol: v (RPT: v). Not just building an image as a community that shares jokes as shown on its group's timeline, there is a tendency to "become Spanish" when its members almost use Spanish phrases in each of their post captions frequently. What is interesting is that RPT: v is an Indonesian community. At the same time, to be honest, this language politics case also involved me who had long joined the RPT :v. Therefore, by using the method of digital ethnography research that has an autoetnographical character, I will try to explore more deeply what the meaning of language for members of RPT :v which simultaneously can (re) form their identity in the internet?

Keywords: *Language Games, Identity, Social Media.*

Introduction

Presently, social media has entered its new space. It's too narrow to imagine the function of social media only as a "sharing information" platform. In fact, social media now becomes a new dimension that allows its users to create a virtual community after each of them has established intensive communication in its. We could look it on Facebook's

case, which many of us, nowadays, may find various groups based on themes and different interests. We cand find a group that come as a united of football club lovers. We also may find a group that call theirself as government's opposition movement.

Among many groups that crossing on Facebook, Random Para Tolol: v (RPT: v), for me, considered as an attractive virtual group. With its background as an *entertainment group* , RPT: v allows its members to share posts with jokes. For other members who do not act as thread starters or content posters, they can still enliven the group by giving reactions and comments. These posts cannot only be enjoyed by RPT members: v along its group's character as an Public Group. With the availability of the "share" feature in each post in the group, the members of the RPT :v can disseminate it to the others. So the people who has not joined yet as a member of the RPT: v still could watch, react, and share the group posts - even though they cannot provide comments like members of RPT :v.

But when we look it deeper, RPT: v had another interesting thing that makes me want to explore in this research. It is about the construction of "Spanishness" through the use of Spanish by its members. In their daily lives, if we observed it, the members of RPT: v often use Spanish when they are involved in a conversation in the comments column or when each of them gives a *caption* in the post uploaded in the group. In fact, as far as I have observed, the members of RPT: v that involved in in the group's communication dynamics were Indonesian. On many occasions, the sentences that shared by group's members were not arranged based on the the standard grammar in the Spanish language. On the contrary, the members of RPT: v, frequently, mix Spanish phonemes with the native Indonesian vocabularies or regional languages that exist in Indonesia.

However, it must be admitted that the phenomenon of planting Spanish-language cultures in RPT group: v, actually, is not a new case. Because on social media, there have been a number of groups that did the same thing before - when they tried to revived the culture of a particular language in their daily lives. Take for example, the Info Salafi group, which many of it's group members use various Arabic vocabulary in conversations with the fellow group members in

the comments column, as well as when they post some information in group's timeline. In another example, almost exactly with RPT: v, we can also see how a community called "Cosplay Semarang" became a mouthpiece for Japanese culture. The difference is, they are not adapting the Japanese language in the "Cosplay Semarang" group posts, but rather through showing the Japanese anime characters they worrn which anyhow, it is also a part of Japanese culture.

In my opinion, when the members of RPT :v using Spanish along with their Indonesian identity at the same time, actually, give an indication that, nowadays, a country's culture can grow anywhere. This is also understood by Manuel Castells (in Mubah, 2011). According to him, the expansion of communication networks that able to connect the world community quickly and closely, raises a dilemma for the community itself. They could remain in the real identity (the self), but at the same time, they also could participate into the community that identifies itself as the net network society. Afterwards, this strong penetration of globalized culture is not surprising to make some people feel their original identity has been obsolete because it is not in line

with globalization. In the midst of this identity crisis moment, there's a trace of many netizen which joined in RPT :v- that they have decided to constructing their new identity. Therefore, in this research, the main question I want to explore is "how the RPT :v members interpreting their identities as "Indonesians "through Spanish language games on social media."

Literature Review

Could The Identity be Ever?

For pre-modern society, the identity is not a problematic thing and cannot be rethought or rediscussed (Kellner, 2010: 315). But nowadays when the human enters the modern era, the identity becomes more free to move, multiply, tends to change, and can be remade (Castells, in Mubah, 2011: 252; Kellner, 2010: 315). This condition is nothing but departing from the fact that modernity makes a series of rules and norms that are no longer intact (Kellner, 2010: 315). We may test it through the way to understanding that modernity is prevalent to push innovation, continuous reversal, and novelty. In some formulas, modernity marks the destruction of various forms of life, values, and past identities combined with the production

of new things (Berman, 1982, in Kellner, 2010: 317). The implication is a person's identity can be out of date, futile, or illegitimate socially (Kellner, 2010: 317).

Furthermore, Wiradi added, identity is a sign of someone's awareness of himself as a unique being that makes him/her different from others. The identity, as Berger and Luckmann said, is a key in the formation of social-subjective reality. Thus, identity is a social dialectic that can be changed through a process of modification that involves elements of social change itself (Firmansyah, 2013: 16; Muis, 2001: 144; Hadi, 2005: 155; Timmermans, 2015: 11) Slouka agreed this argument. Because he understands that basically, every person, as a social creature, has and performed various kinds of roles that are appropriate to do in social drama as well as fulfillment of our natural desires and sense of humanity (Hadi, 2005: 164). Moreover, according to Foncha (2013), the identity never stands for prolonged homogeneity. This means that we, as humans, have never been born with the given identity, but have adopted an identity that born from our environment. Therefore, it is possible that we can leave an identity, to move towards another

identity that we want (in Foncha, 2014; Prastowo, 2012: 202; Nasrullah and Onggoboyo, no year: 8). That is why Stuart Hall through Yasraf Amir Piliang revealed, "identity ... is never perfect, always in the process, and always built from within" (Hadi, 2005: 157).

Identity anomaly as one of human character, later, could explored in the cyber world. In this world, to be a certain "self", the users will exchange and replace their body parts to fit their new identity (Piliang, in Slouka, 1999: 77; Pahlevi, 2013: 39; Boyd and Ellison, in Gunduz, 2012: 88) . The reality of cyberspace is considered to be able to enrich human capabilities in formulating their own reality. It means that humans have great opportunities to create new realities, which have never been experienced before. Humans have a power to choose the reality they use, without being limited by space and time (Piliang, in Slouka, 1999: 16). In this moment, everyone can pretend to be someone else, or can be a number of different people at the same time. What is formed, here, is an arena of game identity: a new identity, fake identity, multiple identities, and virtual identity (Piliang, in Slouka, 1999: 20). In other terms, the communication process allows

someone to experience what is called profile fictionalization (Otrar and Argin, in Gunduz, 2017: 88).

Language Games: A Part of Identity Reconstruction

As we know, in every context of life, humans use certain languages with certain game rules that have certain goals and meanings. This kind of language game is then termed Wittgenstein with language games (Danesi, 2010: 112; Hadi, 2005: 89). The existence of language games actually comes from the realization that in language, there are performative expressions and descriptive expressions - which are always based on facts. Language games at the next level become the limit for investigating how their words and expressions authentic function in everyday (Storey, 2003: viii; Purwoko, 2014: 98). Therefore, every linguistic phenomenon has different rules of the game and in the context of the delivery of messages- it cannot be confused with one another. Because it will be occuring "a chaos" when we use the rules of one language to another (Hadi, 2005: 90). We can contextualize this idea in the case of "cyberspace language" as a new phenomenon in the global information and communication universe lately. When referring to Hadi's opinion (2005: 90), we

may call this language a product of "language game chaos". Because according to him, the concept of cyberspace, is plurally and filled with overproduction of images, symbols, and signs that are full of meaning and frequently overlapping each other.

This concept, later, defined by Baudrillard as a characteristic of hyperreality communication (Hadi, 2005: 90). According to Baudrillard, the simulation production model not only produces hyperreal objects, but also compression and deconstruction which gives rise to sign and also language game (Hadi, 2005: 94). When cyberspace language expressions depart as a simulative expressions and behavior, the consequence that occurs is the emergence of abuse and piracy of signs as a mechanism of representation and language (Hadi, 2005: 93).

When we departing from a post-modernist understanding, this phenomenon is common to end with the obscurity of meaning in revealing the "reality of truth" (Hadi, 2005: 92). It could be understood, that cyberspace, in the reality of internet, naturally creates its own language reality as well as its essence to reconstructing our whole identity (Hadi, 2005:

85). The language of cyberspace in cultural discourse today leads to the reality of production and the reality of simulation. This means that cyberspace's linguistic relationships depend on the usage of its symbols and codes. The production of working system and simulation era in the mechanism of language pushing humans and it's social phenomena to follow the flow of pop culture and present various language games and signs with the intersection between various communities, cultures, and ideologies. Regarding to this, more far away, Baudrillard then assured that "... in a simulation system, a sign does not refer to any reference. Simulation is actually the creation of reality models without origin or reality reference." So, in the context of the language of cyberspace, every meaning, every sign or image, no longer refers to the real reality . It is only a language game that is not intended to achieve effective message communication and the depth of the meaning of communication itself. It is merely the pleasure of playing with language and enjoyment which Roland Barthes calls jouissance, or what Baudrillard termed "ecstasy of communication" (Hadi, 2005: 97)

Methodology

This study is an auto-ethno-graphic-based study, using a digital ethnographic approach (Douglas and Carless, 2013: 85; Murthy, 2008: 840; Riomandha, 2016: 14; Garcia et al, in Ardevol and Cruz, 2012: 10). I use this approach along with the theme that I examine, that is the social media group and the language culture which is created in it. Furthermore, the data mining process I will do by, first, reflecting on my memories of a number of things that lead to my activities before and when I have enjoyed the shitpost from the Random Para Tolol (RPT) group :v. It start from the relationship between my social media life, foreign language activities, and humorous activities. It's all, further, contextualized with my encounter process with meme content, which led to the process how I can enjoy shitpost, especially from RPT :v. To complete it all, I will use some of information I got from in-depth interviews with some people, involved in that historical process; namely Afiq, my cousin who influenced me to consume memes as my first favorite humor style; Pras and Bintang , as my colleague who influenced me to consume shitpost; and Adrian, as the admin of RPT :v. These data, then, will presented

in narrative-interpretation of the experience I have received.

Research Findings: The Intersection of My and Their Life

Long before I know Random Para Tolol :v, a group of Spanish language-based jokes, foreign languages and humor are separate things in my daily life on social media. In the early days I used social media, it is about on 2009, the humorous posts that I made, were mostly derived from the results of my conversations with my peers who were delivered in Indonesian or Javanese. These posts, were purely made by myself and from the other people's posts on social media. This separation between joking and foreign languages- can not be separated from the limitations of my understanding of foreign languages - even in English, which I often learned at school at that time. This is also supported by the lack of translation applications's capabilities at that time. Although I was already familiar with Google Translate, at that time, the sophistication of this application in harmonizing grammar of the translation results were still inadequate -compared to the present. This also happens with an offline-based translation application, like the Trans Tool,

which I also used. However, it must be admitted, Google Translate and many offline translating application, became my first access to be able to understand the foreign content that I encountered in the social media world.

However, my revolution in combining the world of humor and foreign languages came when I began to enjoy memes. My acquaintanceship to memes began when I got a recommendation from my cousin, Afiq, to take a look at meme posts based on Meme Comic Indonesia (MCI), a fanpage on Facebook. Indeed, the content in the group is basically in Indonesian. However, I feel that MCI's meme brings an urge to understand the material of a relatively new joke, through the appearance of its typical figures and sentences. What might have been famous until now and it has been known to many people- is the product of caricature of Yao Ming with the interlude of the phrase "Bitch Please". As far as I observed, the variety of meme-style humorous elements in Indonesia, including what I found in MCI, were adapted from meme's material that had previously been spread in the rest of the world.

This was known by me, when I also watched prominent

international meme site at the time, namely 9gag.com. The familiarity of these memes to its audiences, including that recognized by Afiq to me, was caused by a new nuance that manifested in visual products in the form of adding character illustrations from memes. "When you want to make a meme, you can take photos, and just keep write something in them. Well, afterwards, we can sketch images too. For example, carricaturing Yao Ming. Then we made a stickman body (in the figure of Yao Ming)," Afiq said to me. Although the image is aesthetically inadequate, but as far as I have caught, the simplicity of the image has no effect. Moreover, its idea of humor that contextualized along with the illustration- plays a vital role in making its humor sense.

I continue to enjoy this style humor, until I met my colleague, named Pras, in 2014. For us, the contents of some memes fanpage, including Indonesian Meme Comic, still shows its humorous value before it was held back by the stagnation of the idea only to the themes about love. For us, it's quite boring. However, as introduced by Pras, I began to enjoy new-style humor called shitpost. The concept of humor contained in shitpost is actually not much different from memes. It's just that, shitpost bases its content more on real and actual moments. Shitposting also emphasizes visualization of moments that are considered funny, without having to provide captions or humorous sentences like memes. The difference is that as Pras showed me, shitpost's content is not only found on the shitpost fanpage, but also on many groups. So, in this place, beside interacting with the other members and consuming some posts, we also have a chance to share the post we have.

I must admit, the Pras's knowledge about shitposting is more adequate than mine. Because, many of shitposting sources that I know were the recommendations of Pras, such as Cocoklogi Science and Seep/Zeeblogi Science. Until finally, I got information from Pras about a shitpost group called Random Para Tolol. For me, the special character of this group lies in their member's language culture. In a glance, I can understand that this group means to be a jokes group that spice up their shitpost posts with Spanish-language captions. But in many 5moments, the Spanish language used by its members being distorted by mixing Spanish phonemes with the Indonesian grammatical structure. Of course, with the

presence of the Spanish-Indonesian language caption, the shitpost content presented in the RPT: v has more distinctive compared to other shitpost groups.

Random Para Tolol :v, according to Adrian, began with his conversation with Tommy and Chval. As he recalled, it happened in March 2018. "It was originally when we chatting in Discord. Then, Chival, who described by Adrian as an absurd person, watch a post from Random Para Todos, a Facebook Group that based their post by Spanish language. After Tommy watched itu, suddenly he said "Random Para Tolol". Suddenly all of them were laughed. Afterwards, based on Adrian's story, Chival then realized the idea to create a group called Random Para Tolol. "Is it true that all of you have already become the official member of Random Para Todos?" I asked. "No we haven't. No one of us has officially joined Random Para Todos, "he admits.

However, for them, this group is nothing more than a fad to create a Random Para Todos's competitor. "It just a random post group. Random Para Todos based on Spanish. So we, in Indonesia, made RPT :v more similar like it. Because we also want people in the group- to speak Spanish. "Actually,

who were initiated to push the Spanish Language using in this group?" asked me to Adrian. Then, he replied, " Yeah, actually, it was inspirated by Random Para Todos which used Spanish. Then, it also because of me when I watching the mafia characters from the Trans TV's program, *Sketsa*. When we watched him, he likes to give some extra accent --os behind the words he said. So that's the reason behind the using of Indonesian language to be spelled in Spanish. Actually, I realized that (the character of the mafia) meant to follow Italian. It's just because I think there's a likeness between that, so it's finally applicated by me and then the other members."

Adrian also admitted that the popularity of Spanish in RPT :v was also influenced by the intensity of group members in using that language. However, according to Adrian, the language used by the members leads to mixing Spanish and Indonesian. This is different from the caption given by the admin when they upload posts in the group, which seems to use the correct Spanish even though the caption eventually makes people more complicated to directly understand the meaning.

But, the emergence of the Spanish language in Random Para Tolol :v, on the main point according to Adrian, was because the will to following the absurdness of Random Para Todos. He admitted, together with his friends, that actually they did not understand what was contained on the Random Para Todos's shitpost language. "Because we couldn't understood it, then we translated it. But in fact, these Spanish sentences evidently meaningless. Well, it may be correct on gramatical, but the meaning made us awkward. It motivated us to bring it on RPT by interfering Indonesian with Spanish " This absurd nature, by Adrian and his friends, were complemented by adding Pacman emoticons to the group's name. "I think Pacman has the impression of cringe. Well as I know, it was brought by MCI. Then to make our group character more cringe, we give Pacman emoticon (on our group nme). Pacman emoticon, incidentally also used by Random Para Todos on their posts and group name. "

But as I observed from the group RPT: v, and as Adrian told to me, in RPT :v, we will not only find the members using Spanish. But there are also English, Japanese and Indonesian in the words that

the admin and the members said in some caption's or comment's posts." Actually, the use of these languages, including Spanish, according to Adrian, is just to have fun. "But what we made as our special character is the using of Spanish and mix it with Indonesian," said Adrian. But there is an interesting thing that I found if I talked about Adrian's statement. In one group rule, I found one point:

"*Gunakanlah bahasa grup yang BENAR (Google translate ke bahasa spanyol, etc), kurangi penggunaan (kata bahasa indonesia+os), pelanggaran akan berujung kick atau penghapusan konten.*"

This post's point tends to command the members to use the right Spanish. But as Adrian admitted, this points are actually points that have not been renewed. Initially, this regulation, as explained by Adrian, arose because of his outrage with the other RPT's :v admin when they saw its members seem to be use Spanish without translating it. "At that time, the regulation of making a posst were very strict. It must be translated correctly. As I recall, this is come from me," Adrian told, "The history of pure Spanish using in RPT, is following to our ideal, that Indonesian language (for the caption) was too mainstream. But, at

that time, I couldn't use Spanish, so I decided to using Indonesian with the extra phrases --os." However, as Adrian realized then, the purity of Spanish became lost. This made his ideal and the other founder of RPT :v to equate the group with Random Para Todos were faltering. Therefore, Adrian gives that strict rules as written in the group. " But unfortunately, many of RPT :v members eventually rebelled. So this make us cancelled that regulation realization."

Arriving at this statement, I have a question, does Adrian mean that members can only choose one language they will use - Indonesia or Spain - in each post, without being able to mix them. So I asked him about it. However, this was denied by Adrian. "No. We just using Spanish as well as Random Para Todos. Moreover, if we find some post request but didn't deliver by Spanish, it won't be on accept on our group timeline". From this statement, I concluded that there's a such of Adrian's efforts to grow Spanish in the variety of Indonesian shitposts. For Adrian, the image that was awakened from Spain, was only felt when he saw the Random Para Todos group . "We already too mainstream using Indonesian. So, using the Spanish, as I think, could

make the world of shitposting is more colorful. "

As a prank, Random Para Tolol :v, according to Adrian, were established without any systematic and long-term planning. But as far as Adrian admitted to me, the netizen's enthusiasm for Random Para Tolol group was extraordinary. "Mostly, we invite from each friend list. And initially, the number of RPT's :v members was 500. After that, as I remembered, the group members were reached 1500 people. That's about four or three days after it was established. And the next day the group has reached 2,500 members. I don't know how can it be explosive (the number of members)," he concluded.

Furthermore, as far as I observe, this group has more than 80,000 members in the end as I checked it in January 2019. I think the group has good potential to become a new "influencer" for the humorous world in Indonesian social media - along with the rapid development of its members amount. But Adrian said oppositely that he and the RPT founders: v honestly didn't want the group spread too many people. "What really we avoided is RPT :v will enter mainstream media, such as television. We don't want it. Because the problem is, when you

have entered mainstream media, the target consumption will be different if you have entered the community, then for the wider community. For example, Nurhadi-Aldo's page that make themselves complicated and finally reduces its shitpost quality and quantity. We want to be exist but we don't want to spread it rapidly. Becuse, if it gets crowded, there's such a chaotic potention that may endanger our shitpost character and identity," he explained. "So it means that you want to maintain the life of the RPT, huh?," I asked to him. "Yes. The problem is that the trend is potentially always coming and missing," Adrian explained.

What Adrian said about his vision of RPT :v was in line with what Pras and Bintang said, one of the members of the RPT :v. On another occasion, I met them while also questioning Adrian's statement. For Pras, who has long observed the development of shitposting, acknowledged that there are some shitposting group that limiting its post's target. He justified Bintang's opinion to me, that the shitposting world would always struggle with the norms of a society. This shitposting's nature which seeks to break through the norm limits then become a concern when shitposting content can be funny, but at the same time,

shitposting will also be considered strange and controversial.

Regarding to this, Pras conti-nued, this is what made many shitposting groups closed . "What do you mean 'closed'?," asked me. "Well, there are restrictions about its audience. They don't want many people to join and follow their style. They have their own values and styles." he replied. To present his opinion clearly, Pras described several cases to me. " Just to give you example, like in Bykswlogi, when they say, 'why you have a baldy God'; 'Ah, y'all was cilok, Sundanese. You guys are just slave.'" What I caught here, later, that shitposting was able to make the members involved to have their own language culture . For example, what happened to the Bykswlogi group as Pras said, when the letters "a" they say are often replaced by "w", then the letters "k" or "ng" replaced by "x", to bring up new terms like asw (derived from the word asu) , ngamox (derived from the word ngamuk) , and mamanx (derived from the word mamang). Pras also continued, "This is also can be explored on the case of Random Para Tolol. When they make a Spanish slang by mixing it with Indonesian, e.g. akuos makanos (derived from the

phrase 'aku makan' in Indonesian or 'I eat' in English)."

So, through what I captured from Pras's, that's why shitposting is a kind of social segregation forming including in this case what happened to the RPT: v. As I mentioned earlier, their language characteristics have encouraged the brand to limit anyone who can be a connoisseur and member of the shitposting group. "That's why Adrian said why he didn't want to expose the group further. I think it's a true decision," Pras continued telling me. "Because I think there are two probability if he wasn't took it decision. If they don't die, their group will become a *normies*. *Normies* is a term for the people with mainstream humor style. Then *edgy* is a term for the people with absurd or anti-mainstream humor style."

If we back to the sentence I wrote earlier, personally, I assume that the RPT :v has more distinctiveness compared to other shitpost groups. Related to this, Pras also apparently admitted, "I think the RPT is a bit different. Its content hasn't derivativeness from Seep / Zeeblogi or Cocoklogi Science." At this point, I find the next attraction about RPT: v. It is not only departed as a joke group that tried to distinguish itself including

its members through linguistic construction in their shitpost content. As far as I found from the information given by Pras, RPT :v as part of the Indonesian shitpost world, is a fairly revolutionary group. As Pras explained, the shitposting group is always in potention to death. This potention, based on his observations, is based on the segregation of edgy and normies groups. When a group is considered normies, there will be a kind of ultimatum from a number of group members to maintain the edgyness of the group. Generally, this can be overcome by limiting its group members.

But on the other hand, there is one part of the group that actually lets the group's edgyness be snatched away by overwhelming the number of its members. It may implicate their sense of humor to become mainstream or in their term is normies. This, as Pras observed, had happened to the Cocoklogi Science group, where some members of its group defected and formed a new group called Seep/Zeeblogi Science. In the next time, with a similar case, several members of Seep/Zeeblogi Science initiated a new group called Seep/Zeeblogi Science Reborn. But if we look it generally, these groups have similarities in terms

of mentioning something cool to translated in their respective terms. If you we look at Cocoklogi Science, a something cool is called "cocok", then in Seep/Zeeblogi Science including Seep/Zeeblogi Science Reborn- it is called "Z e e b". Here, RPT: v, according to Pras, revealed itself as a group with distinctive character.

Although it is in line with the absence of relations with other shitposting groups, RPT :v along with its members- was actually able to created its typically character through their slang language. This is accompanied by their efforts to maintain their edgyness, by giving restrictions about who can join the group. Moreover, they didn't hesitated to eject anyone who is considered to disrupt the humorous style of RPT :v by bringing humorous culture from people they call *normies*. Because for them, the humor style that only allowed in this group is must be accordding to the group rules that have been set and included by the admin in the "Announcements" points available in the group. This is their way of making their members toward "the other".

Discussion

From what I have written above, there is one big point that I need to explain, that Random Para Tolol (RPT) :v, in my opinion, does not only exist as a shitpost-style group that breaks into shitpost culture like other groups. RPT :v also led its members - including me to treat the edgyness standard they had formed, through the use of slang language, namely Spanish-Indonesian. Furthermore, the construction of this language which is so typically, is too narrow for us to say as a characteristic of RPT :v especially as a factor that makes them look funny. In this research, we have understood how the use of this language is so glorified as a distinction between RPT :v which the combination of its language culture and shitpost content should not be known to another people.

The strategy adopted by the admin of RPT :v against its members is a way for them to fight the trauma of destruction experienced by other shitposting containers, such as Nurhadi-Aldo fanpage. Because thanks to their openness to all netizens to be able to enter and dynamically within the group, Nurhadi-Aldo's shitpost fanpage has decreasing its quality and intensity in posting the shitpost. More importantly, the shitpost content on Nurhadi-Aldo page is ultimately no longer known to be edgy - or has

the sense to look different- because in reality everyone now can imitate and intervene in the direction of the shitposting style of Nurhadi-Aldo's pages.

Conclusion

At this point, the edgyness of Nurhadi-Aldo's page has turned into a shitpost with the normies style or in other languages, namely mainstream. Although impressed a new style of social segregation, RPT's :v effort to maintain its diversity however is their way to stay alive: this is caused RPT :v to be selective in choosing and retaining its prospective members and current members.

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This research is the basis of development of the undergraduate thesis that I am working on. Therefore, I hope that through this research, I will get some critical view, to improve my next research about digital culture. I present this research to those who believe that everything which possessed by us will not last forever.

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