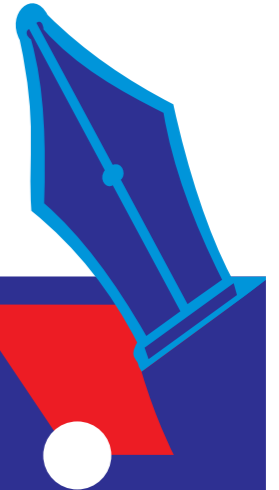
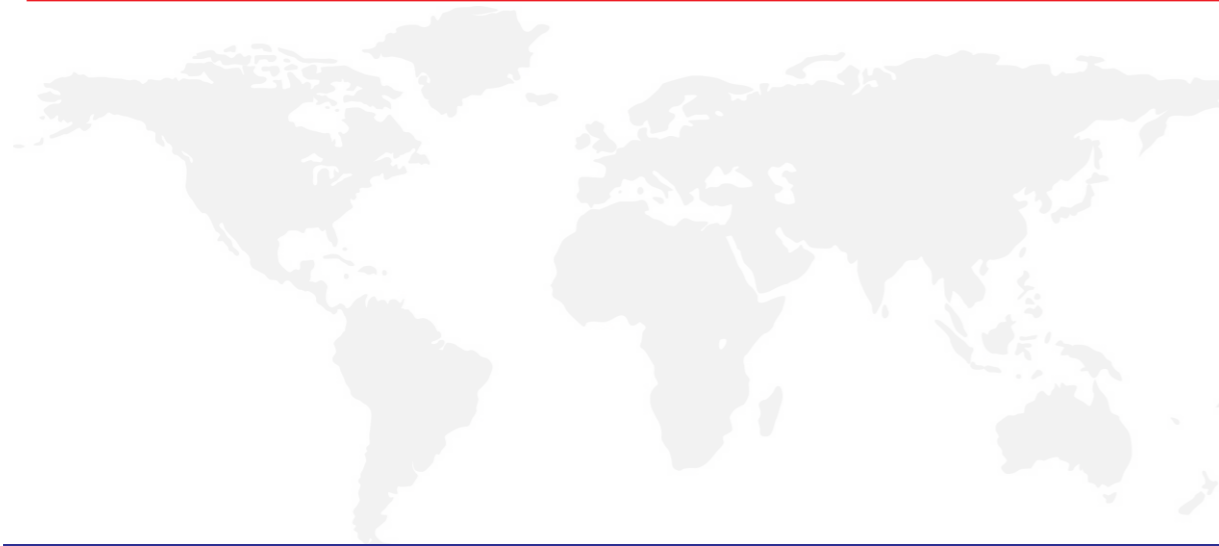


JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC WORLD AND POLITICS



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Journal of

Islamic World and Politics

Journal of Islamic World and Politics (JIWP) is the scientific journal published by Master of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY). This is published twice in a year, June and December. We invite colleagues and researchers of international studies to submit their best articles at Journal of Islamic World and Politics. The manuscript is written in size 12 Times New Roman (TNR), space 1.5 on A4 size paper with a side space of 3.5 cm from left side, 3 cm from the right edge, 3 cm from the top and bottom edges. Number of pages is 12-20 pages (4000-6000 words), including bibliography and tables.

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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 current situation in international relations, mainly in islamic world, in many issues, such as conflict, war, diplomacy, gender issues, and the like. In another side, the states in the worlds are doing many things to build cooperation in eradicating poverty, violation of the human right in upholding peace for the people in the universe, mainly after facing Coronavirus Desease 2019 (Covid-19). We realize that terrorism, global conflict, violation of human right, human trafficking, poverty, and slavery 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 nineth edition, we invite ten scholars and researchers to share their new ideas and the result of their researchs in reading the global and updating phenomenon currently in islamic world. We do hope that by publishing this nineth 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 ten 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

Psychological Empowerment and Job Satisfaction: Insights from Libyan Banking Sector

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Abstract

This study investigates the four psychological empowerment dimensions (competence, impact, meaning, and self-determination) and how they impact job satisfaction. Employee empowerment innovatively boosts the performance and capabilities of the organizations. This study is significant in the background of the Libyan banking sector working under uncertain conditions since the start of the Libyan civil war. This study proposed a theoretical framework with four hypotheses that established a relationship between competence, impact, meaning, self-determination, and job satisfaction. The study used a quantitative design to test the theoretical model using the psychological empowerment model of Spreitzer (1995) and job satisfaction with the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ). Five hundred thirty (530) questionnaires were distributed to 25 branches of banks in Libya and received 333 responses, out of which 327 were valid for the analysis. The data analysis was conducted using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) using Partial Least Squares (PLS), aided by Smartpls 3 software. The results indicated that competence was insignificant with job satisfaction and all other three dimensions were positive and significant with job satisfaction even in the bureaucratic organizational structures. It is also interesting to note that lower and middle-level managers have the self-belief to contribute despite influencing the strategies.

Keywords: *Psychological empowerment; Job satisfaction; Empowerment dimensions.*

Abstrak

Studi ini menyelidiki empat dimensi pemberdayaan psikologis (kompetensi, dampak, makna, dan penentuan nasib sendiri) dan bagaimana pengaruhnya terhadap kepuasan kerja. Pemberdayaan karyawan secara inovatif meningkatkan kinerja dan kapabilitas organisasi. Studi ini penting dilakukan dengan latar belakang sektor perbankan Libya yang bekerja dalam kondisi tidak pasti sejak dimulainya perang saudara Libya. Penelitian ini mengusulkan kerangka teori yang terdiri dari empat hipotesis yang menetapkan hubungan kompetensi, dampak, makna, dan penentuan nasib sendiri dengan kepuasan kerja. Penelitian ini menggunakan desain kuantitatif dengan menguji model teoritis menggunakan model pemberdayaan psikologis dari Spreitzer (1995) dan kepuasan kerja dengan Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ). 530 kuesioner dibagikan ke 25 cabang bank di Libya dan menerima 333 tanggapan dari 327 valid untuk analisis. Analisis data dilakukan dengan Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) menggunakan Partial Least Squares (PLS) berbantuan software Smartpls 3. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kompetensi tidak signifikan dengan kepuasan kerja dan ketiga dimensi lainnya positif dan signifikan dengan kepuasan kerja bahkan dalam struktur organisasi birokrasi. Menarik juga untuk dicatat bahwa manajer tingkat bawah dan menengah, meskipun memiliki kekuatan untuk mempengaruhi strategi, memiliki kepercayaan diri untuk berkontribusi.

Keywords: *Pemberdayaan psikologis, kepuasan kerja, dimensi Pemberdayaan,*

INTRODUCTION

The continuous improvement in human capital is vital for organizations to aggressively and effectively produce outcomes. The rapidly changing business environment further challenges

the organizations' coping abilities (Fernandez & Moldogaziev, 2013). One of the significant aspects is employee empowerment that innovatively boosts the performance and capabilities of the organizations (Ornelas & Maroco, 2015). Over the

years, the concept of empowerment is evolved and successfully incorporated into the organizational policies to empower the workforce (Jain & Jain, 2014). Moreover, it helps employees effectively achieve the job tasks, power distribution, access to information, knowledge creation, rewards, and required training (Spreitzer, 1995). Further, employee empowerment enhances the optimization of the workforce, efficacy, organizational commitment, productivity, and performance (Sahoo, Behera, Tripathy, 2010; Spreitzer, 1995).

Organizational structure plays an important role in implementing empowerment programs—for instance, the bureaucratic structures limit the initiatives, self-efficacy, organizational commitment, and employees' satisfaction (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). The banking sector, for example, emphasizes the adoption of formal policies, prescribed procedures to complete the job, and technical skills (Imran, Maqbool, & Shafique, 2014). Therefore, the practice of employee empowerment is limited. Hence, the concept is still developing in the context of organizational development and psychological empowerment that has been addressing the cognition aspects of the job.

Scholars have been exploring psychological empowerment in different managerial contexts (Fernandez & Modogalviez, 2013), motivational aspects (Spreitzer, 1995), job satisfaction effectiveness (Spreitzer, Kizilos, & Nason, 1997), customer relationship (Corsun & Enz, 1999), job enrichment (Liden, Wayne, & Sparrowe, 2000), psychological climate (Carless, 2004), empowerment climate (Seibert, Silver, & Randolph, 2004), and conflict (Janssen & Van Yperen, 2004). However, the relationship among these constructs still needs further research (Peterson, 2014). Moreover, the role of context is significant to explore the relationship between psychological empowerment and job satisfaction. The context is not limited to the managerial or organizational setting but the external environment (the organization exists, e.g., countries). Moreover, the changing industry trends and the social norms offer different meanings and experiences of psychological empowerment (Mitchell, 2016).

These constructs are hardly studied in the Libyan context, particularly the Libyan banking sector. Moreover, this study is significant in the background of the Libyan civil started in 2011.

Therefore, this study investigates the four psychological empowerment dimensions how they impact job satisfaction. In what follows, the authors first describe the concepts of psychological empowerment and job satisfaction, hypothesizing the four independent constructs, i.e., meaning, competence, impact, and self-determination, increase job satisfaction in employees of Libyan banks. Next, the authors tested the proposed theoretical framework with a sample of 327 employees from eight banks (multiple branches) in Tripoli and Misurata, Libya. The study has made significant contributions to theory development about insights from a unique context.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Psychological Empowerment and Job Satisfaction

Psychological empowerment has been evolving over the years, and it is defined as a process that provides control to individuals (Zimmerman, 1995; Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004). It is an interpersonal perception of empowerment and interaction of individuals with the environment (Zimmerman, 1995). Moreover, psychological empowerment is a process of an individual's cognitions

that induce the interpersonal sense of empowerment (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). The interpretations of the organizational climate shapes the employee's perceptions about empowerment, which leads to positive outcomes—it is the result of psychological empowerment and not entirely of structural empowerment (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990).

The concept of psychological empowerment represents four constructs and is defined as “a motivational construct manifested in four cognitions: meaning, competence, self-determination, and impact” (Spreitzer, 1995, p. 1444). This study used four independent variables since these characterize active orientation, denoted as “orientation in which an individual wish and feels able to shape his or her work role and context” (Spreitzer, 1995; p. 1444). The four dimensions are distinct and together make the empowerment experience of individuals.

The psychologically empowered employees feel the enlarged intrinsic motivation that leads to proactive behavior rather than a passive orientation (Spreitzer, 1996). Further, Spreitzer (1995, p. 1455) suggested that “psychological empowerment is a psychological

state that employees must experience for empowerment interventions to be successful". The construct of psychological empowerment has been consistently evolving, and researchers have been incorporating new combinations of dimensions. For instance, Menon (2001, p. 161) defined "the psychologically empowered state as a cognitive state characterized by a sense of perceived control, competence, and goal internalization".

The multidimensionality of the constructs also integrates the state of perception and behavior is based on how supervisors empower the subordinates, and it affects meaningfulness, self-determination, impact, and competence (Thomas and Velthouse, 1990). Empowerment is a complex concept that combines several elements such as delegation, participation, and the role of context is vital in which subordinate and supervisor's interaction. Particularly, psychological empowerment depends on the feelings, emotions, and cognitive process of an individual that changes over time (Koberg, Boss, Senjem, & Goodman, 1999). Therefore, the structural aspects of the organization are important even for psychological empowerment because it depends on how the leadership and management of the

organization lead the workforce. On the other hand, job satisfaction is "a pleasurable emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experience" (Locke, 1976, p. 86). The construct subjectively measures the employees' attitude towards their jobs (Robbins, Odendaal, & Roodt, 2003). Therefore, if individuals feel psychologically empowered, they will have a positive attitude towards the job and vice versa. Vroom's (1964) expectancy theory is an interesting example that predicts that employees' perception of efforts, performance, reward and personal goals is strong and will maximize the performance (Robbins, 2001). Another way of psychologically empowering the employees is to change their job characteristics and tasks—the challenge of new tasks improves job satisfaction (Boswell, Boudreau, & Tichy, 2005; Herzberg, 1987).

There is a logical relationship between psychological empowerment and job satisfaction because how employees feel empowered and motivated impacts satisfaction. The constructs of attitude and behavior serve as antecedents that shape the particular initiative for improvement in job satisfaction (Saari & Judge, 2004). For instance, Judge and Bono (2001) conducted a meta-analysis of 301 research studies that suggested

a significant relationship between performance and job satisfaction in professional and complex jobs. The organizational hierarchy and complexity are important determinants of job satisfaction. Therefore, the challenges in the job coupled with the level of autonomy and variety of tasks improve job satisfaction.

The intrinsic satisfaction in the work significantly motivates the employees. Particularly, the meaningful work will offer a certain level of motivation to perform (Oldham & Hackman, 2010). The job characteristics theory is based on five characteristics: various skills, identification of task, task significance, autonomy, and feedback (Oldham & Hackman, 2010). These characteristics are drawn from the early research to form a theory. Further, it also derived three psychological cognitions: meaningful experience, responsibility, and knowledge of the task (Oldam & Hackman, 2010). Therefore, the psychological states indeed contribute to the motivation of the employees to perform better—and ultimately job satisfaction.

Oldam and Hackman's (2010) job characteristics theory has used Spreitzer's (1995) concepts. For instance, Spreitzer's (1995)

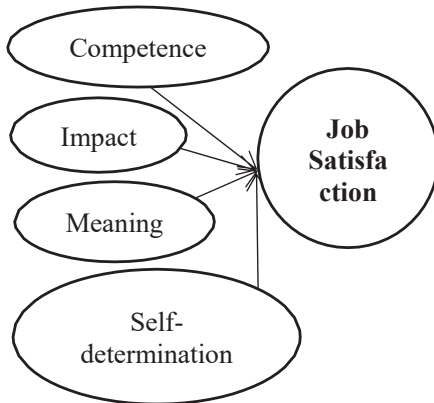
dimension of self-determination is used as autonomy and responsibility feelings. Similarly, the cognitions such as knowledge and task significance are derived from the dimensions of competence and impact of Spreitzer's (1995) model of psychological empowerment.

Thomas and Velthouse (1990) identified the four widely used psychological empowerment dimensions, i.e., competence, meaning, self-determination, and impact. Spreitzer (1995) further defined and developed measurement tools for these dimensions. The feelings and cognitions of the employees form the level of job satisfaction (Saari & Judge, 2004), and early theories of motivation provided the foundation to the construct (Herzberg, 1966).

The early empirical evidence on dimensions of psychological empowerment and job satisfaction suggested that 'meaning' is strongly significant compared to the other three dimensions (Spreitzer, Kizilos, & Nason, 1997). In line with the early research findings that indicated the professional and complex jobs induce 'meaning' for employees.

Moreover, there is empirical evidence that proves that psychological dimensions of 'meaning' and 'impact' are related

to job satisfaction—whereas the two other dimensions that are ‘self-determination’ and ‘competence’ are negatively related to job satisfaction (Carless, 2004). Therefore, the relation of psychological dimensions with job satisfaction is interesting. Particularly, the organization and the external environment also influence this relationship. The theoretical model is illustrated in Figure 1.



COMPETENCE

The dimension of competence suggests one’s belief in the capacity to perform a particular task (Spreitzer, 1995). The competence construct depends on several independent factors such as the nature of the job, manager, working environment, and reward. If an individual feels a lack of confidence in the skills and capability, it leads to a lack of empowerment resulting in low satisfaction. Further competence

characteristics include how difficult a task is, e.g., simple, moderate, or complex. The generalizability of the situations—for instance, some tasks are repetitive while others can be specific.

Moreover, how an individual believes themselves to complete the given task. Low competence of an employee will lead to avoidance and put in fear, distant capacity building, and lack of confidence to perceive competence (Bandura, 1977). Therefore, the dimension of competence is related to job satisfaction.

H1: The competence dimension of psychological empowerment will influence job satisfaction.

Impact

The impact is a belief that one can make a difference in an organization, i.e., by influencing the strategies, administration, and operational outcomes (Ashforth, 1989). Moreover, the impact is defined as the perception of the behavior that can achieve a task and affects the environment (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). The perception of impact depends on several other factors such as power, participation, and autonomy—for instance, lack of autonomy limits the individual’s participation, leading to

powerlessness. The psychologically motivated employee when marginalized feel unempowered (Ashforth, 1989). The bank employees usually follow the set procedures and are not allowed to participate in the administrative and operational decisions— thus, job satisfaction diminishes and end-up in static roles. The perception of impact only arises with the participation opportunities and autonomy to contribute to strategic decisions.

Literature indicated a positive relationship between impact and job satisfaction, while the lack of opportunity negatively turns this relationship (Ashforth, 1989; Thomas & Tymon, 1994). Therefore, the second hypothesis is as follows:

H2: The competence dimension of psychological empowerment will influence job satisfaction.

Meaning

Meaning is defined as “*a fit between the requirements of a work role and beliefs, values, and behaviors*”(Spreitzer, 1995, p. 1443). The construct is based on the meaningfulness of work of the model of job characteristics (Oldham & Hackman, 2010). It indicates that the motivating potential of an individual depends

on the nature of the task, diversity of skills, significance of the task, autonomy, and feedback. Further, it predicts the psychological states of an individual that are meaningful work, outcomes responsibility, and knowledge (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). Therefore, the meaningfulness of work and other characteristics motivate the employees to perform, feel empowered, and be satisfied with their jobs. However, the personal ideas and standards of an individual depict the work goal.

There is an intrinsic value in meaningful work, and it motivates an individual to experience an emotional attachment with the work (Spreitzer et al., 1997). Further, there is an emphasis on the personal view of an individual to complete the task and the respective outcomes. The personal opinion consists of three factors that are expectancy, valence, and instrument. The individual belief to achieve the task refers to expectancy, while the individual's belief whether the task completion will result in benefit or hard is referred to as valence. Further, the probability of completing the desired outcome is instrumentality.

Therefore, the dimension of meaning is the personal perspective of an individual. The employees in the banking sector who perceive

that their beliefs are aligned with their jobs will be more satisfied.

H3: The meaning dimension of psychological empowerment will influence job satisfaction.

Self-determination

The autonomy to initiate and regulate the actions to “*making decisions about work methods, pace, and effort*” (Spreitzer, 1995, p.1445). Moreover, it is also defined as “*the capacity to choose and to have those choices, rather than reinforcement contingencies, drives, or other forces or pressures, be the determinants of one’s actions*” (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p.38). Therefore, the perception of self-determination at the workplace allows one to take the initiative and regulate those actions. There is, however, flexibility to control the job accomplishment, new initiatives in the context of opportunities and problems, and sustain motivation to tackle the challenges (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). Thus, self-determination is related to job satisfaction. However, the working condition in banks allows a little autonomy.

H4: The self-determination dimension of psychological empowerment will influence job satisfaction.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study has used a quantitative design to test the theoretical model. The constructs of competence, meaning, impact, self-determination, and job satisfaction are widely tested in the literature. There are well-tested instruments available in the literature. Therefore, the authors have conceptualized the four dimensions of psychological empowerment using Spreitzer’s (1995) model. The authors used the same instrument tested by Spreitzer (1995) and later validated by Kraimer, Seibert, & Liden (1999). There are three items in each of the four dimensions of psychological empowerment.

Moreover, the study used Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) to measure job satisfaction (Vocational Psychology Research, 2019). The scale is useful for a wide range of occupational groups and consists of ten items. The authors used the survey method to measure the perceptions of the employees from the Libyan banking sector about psychological empowerment. The study has used purposive sampling and chosen lower and middle-level managers to be the respondents. Moreover, there were two cities selected that are Tripoli and Misurata, in Libya.

There were 530 questionnaires distributed to 25 branches of different banks. We received 333 responses. However, only 327 were valid for the analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The final 327 responses were analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) using Partial Least Squares (PLS) aided by Smartpls 3 software. The sample size for our study was moderate. However, PLS path modeling is most suitable when there are no assumptions about the population and measurement scales. SEM-PLS evaluates the measurement (outer) and structural (inner) models to interpret the results (Henseler, Hubona, & Ray, 2014). The measurement model evaluates the constructs and their relationships with the indicators, validity, and reliability. The structural model tests the path relationships among the constructs.

The Measurement Model

The measurement model examined the Cronbach's Alpha values for all the constructs. The constructs of competence, impact, and job satisfaction meet the threshold of 0.7. However, the construct of meaning and self-determination have values close to 0.7. Therefore, all the constructs are accepted to proceed with the analysis. Average Variance Extracted (AVE) is used to establish the convergent validity, and the results indicated that all the AVE values are above the threshold of 0.5—it indicated that convergency validity is confirmed (Henseler et al., 2014). The composite reliability in Table 1 confirms the reliability of the construct. It is preferred over Cronbach's Alpha because it considers the outer loadings of the particular construct (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2016).

Table 1 Results of the measurement model

	Cronbach's Alpha	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Competence	0.703	0.833	0.626
Impact	0.748	0.854	0.662
Job Satisfaction	0.892	0.912	0.509
Meaning	0.67	0.819	0.601
Self-determination	0.696	0.828	0.617

The Structural Model Hypothesis testing

The structural model tested the hypothesized relationships among the variables using path coefficients and t-statistics. The PLS used bootstrapping procedures to test the hypotheses. All four hypotheses were tested, and the results are illustrated in Figure 1.

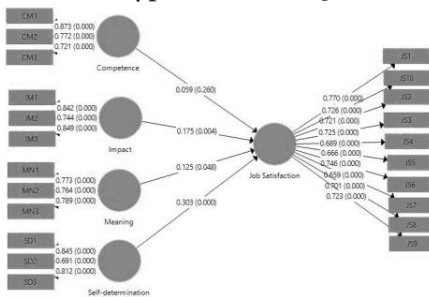
Findings revealed that competence is not associated with job satisfaction (Beta = 0.059, t statistics = 1.127, p-value = 0.260). Therefore, hypothesis 1 is rejected. The nature of the construct depends on external factors such as the working environment, rewards, difficulty of the task, and static or repetition. An individual,

based on these factors, realizes how ch belief they have in their abilities perform. Thus, the variable nature of the construct generates different results.

Further, the second hypothesis that stated impact influence the job satisfaction is accepted as (Beta = 0.175, t statistics = 2.893, p-value = 0.004). Therefore, perception of the behavior that can achieve a task makes a difference in an organization. The perception of impact arises with the participation opportunities and autonomy to contribute to strategic decisions. The employees in Libyan banks follow the set procedures and have limited participation in the administrative and operational decisions—however, they believe in impacting the organization, and they feel satisfied with their jobs.

Furthermore, results indicate that there is a significantly positive relationship between meaning and job satisfaction (Beta = 0.125, t statistics = 1.982, p-value = 0.048). Thus, hypothesis 3 was supported. The meaning of work and other characteristics motivate the employees to perform, feel empowered, and be satisfied with their jobs. There is an intrinsic value in meaningful work, and it motivates an individual to experience an emotional attachment to the work. The employees in the banking sector who perceive that their beliefs are aligned with their jobs will be more satisfied. In addition, results show that self-determination is positively

Figure 2 Structural Model Hypotheses Testing



and significantly related to job satisfaction (Beta = 0.303, t statistics = 5.704, p -value = 0.000). Hypothesis 4 was accepted with the highest beta value in all four relationships. The working condition in banks allows a little autonomy. However, the perception of self-determination at the workplace allows one to take the initiative and regulate those actions. The flexibility to control the job accomplishment, new initiatives in the context of opportunities and problems, and sustain motivation to tackle the challenges. Thus, self-determination is related to job satisfaction.

Bureaucratic structures of organizations are naturally disadvantaged because the rule and procedures overturn the initiatives, creativity, empowerment, and job satisfaction. Moreover, the organizations like banks promote the embracement of formal policies, standard operating procedures, formal job completion, and technical skills. Similarly, the practices that promote psychological empowerment are limited. Interestingly, results have suggested that the three dimensions of psychological empowerment, i.e., impact, meaning, and self-determination, are positively and significantly related to job

satisfaction. The insights from the Libyan banking sector (strict organizational structures and the procedures) indicated that even the jobs are monotonous and demanding, the three dimensions of psychological empowerment significantly advocate the employees' perception and its effect on job satisfaction.

The results also advocate that job satisfaction depends not only on the rewards, promotions, organization support, and leadership but also on the construct's self-beliefs. Pertinently, the absence of traditional autonomy in tasks cannot always negatively impact job satisfaction. The results from lower and middle-level employees from the banking sector suggested that they found meaning in their work, determination to accomplish the task, self-motivation, and belief to create organizational impact positively affect job satisfaction.

The concept of psychological empowerment is not fixed since factors such as context, environment, nature of organization, structure, leadership, intrinsic motivation of employees, self-belief, and organization culture are important to determine whether employees feel empowered or not. For instance, the strategies to make employees

owners of the companies by offering them stock ownership. However, such tactics can provide a sense of ownership to the employees, but they have limited success in empowering them. Moreover, the concept of empowerment is related to the freedom in the organizational decision making and taking control of activities and the access to information, resources, and training opportunities may not represent the whole concept of empowerment.

Prior researches from different countries indicated mixed results on the psychological empowerment construct and its relationship with job satisfaction. Moreover, how empowerment is interpreted and experienced is subject to the contexts, industry, and social norms—that might change over time (Mitchell, 2016). However, like international banks, the Libyan banking sector suffers from the empowerment's planning and implementation. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate and understand the culture and processes to initiate the respective empowerment plan. It is pertinent to note that employee empowerment is an internal organizational construct that hardly impacts external factors. Thus, the culture of the organization, leadership, and mindset mainly matters for empowerment initiatives.

CONCLUSION

The study aims to test the relationship of the four dimensions of psychological empowerment: competence, impact, meaning, and self-determination with job satisfaction. The results suggested that three dimensions of impact, meaning, and self-determination were positive and significant about job satisfaction. However, the dimension of competence was found insignificant in relationship to job satisfaction.

Psychological empowerment dimensions are related to job satisfaction even in bureaucratic organizational structures. It is also interesting to note that lower and middle-level managers have the self-belief to contribute despite influencing the strategies. The banking industry is challenging in terms of high-stress levels, long working hours, retention of employees and lack of empowerment. Similarly, the financial sector is booming and tackling the personal and commercial needs of the customers. Therefore, there is a need for a psychologically empowered workforce. The results indicated that a conducive environment where employees perceive the fit between the job demand and their self-beliefs about identity, performance,

task meaningfulness, autonomy, and value contribution is vital for job satisfaction. The perception of psychological empowerment led to job satisfaction. The study results propose some implications for future research, practice, and policymaking. From the practical perspective, the study provides insights to the policymakers and administrators to create a healthy working environment in the context of employees' perception of psychological empowerment. The dimension of impact, for instance, lower and middle-level managers must be trained and develop their skills to participate in the decision making. The banking sector is already structured top to down, and it provides more opportunities for collaborative relationships. However, the self-determination perspective that is significant and positive with job satisfaction can only provide a limited autonomy in banking operations—though, employees' perception about this dimension is fundamental to perceive psychological empowerment. The reason behind high self-determination is the confidence in technical skills, expertise to handle operations, and task accomplishment. However, the lower and middle-level managers

have a certain level of autonomy to handle the operations and a choice to perform the task.

Future research for psychological empowerment and job satisfaction in the banking sector can be undertaken based on public and private banks—how these constructs provide different results for these sectors. Also, the context is an important aspect of psychological empowerment research. Therefore, the differentiating of banks based on geographies, states, or countries can provide interesting insights. Future studies can incorporate other constructs to check for mediation, such as intrinsic motivation. This study has several limitations. First, the population of the study only represents the banks in two cities of Libya. It did not consider the bank branches in other cities. The study did not differentiate the private and public banks. Second, self-reported measures were used to collect the data and did not provide any other ended questions or comment boxes for further explanation.

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WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE SUCCESS IN HONG KONG

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Abstract

International migration occurs because population growth does not match the job opportunities and availability. This issue has increased labor migration abroad. International migration as a workforce is dominated by female migrant workers or Tenaga Kerja Wanita (TKW). Women in their development want to actualize themselves by having transitional roles as workers who actively earn money for their families. During this time, news and research are still around the protection and problems TKI / TKW has experienced. Only a few studies have focused on the TKI / TKW's success during their work. This research is qualitative using the textual study method by analyzing secondary data from various related literature and former TKW interviews. Empirical data showed that the factors leading to Hong Kong's success were caused by the Hong Kong and Indonesian governments' policies. They protected the workers' rights and support to self-actualize, and female workers began to join the organization. Thus, women had more insight, freedom, and confidence to work in Hong Kong.

Keywords: *Women's Labor Force, Success, Policy, Organization*

Abstrak

Migrasi internasional terjadi karena pertumbuhan penduduk tidak sesuai dengan kesempatan kerja dan ketersediaan. Masalah ini telah meningkatkan migrasi tenaga kerja ke luar negeri. Migrasi internasional sebagai tenaga kerja didominasi oleh pekerja migran perempuan. Perempuan dalam perkembangannya ingin mengaktualisasikan dirinya dengan memiliki peran transisional sebagai pekerja yang aktif mencari nafkah untuk keluarganya. Selama ini pemberitaan dan penelitian masih

seputar perlindungan dan permasalahan yang dialami TKI/TKW. Hanya sedikit penelitian yang berfokus pada keberhasilan TKI/TKW selama bekerja. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode studi tekstual dengan menganalisis data sekunder dari berbagai literatur terkait dan wawancara mantan TKW. Data empiris menunjukkan bahwa faktor keberhasilan Hong Kong disebabkan oleh kebijakan pemerintah Hong Kong dan Indonesia. Mereka melindungi hak-hak pekerja dan dukungan untuk mengaktualisasikan diri, dan pekerja perempuan mulai bergabung dengan organisasi. Dengan demikian, perempuan memiliki lebih banyak wawasan, kebebasan, dan kepercayaan diri untuk bekerja di Hong Kong.

Kata kunci: *Angkatan Kerja Wanita, Keberhasilan, Kebijakan, Organisasi*

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a process that affects every individual with specific economic, educational, social, and demographic characteristics. Population mobility occurs due to spontaneous migration, usually based on economic reasons. A classic theory that is quite familiar with population movements is Everett S. Lee's Push and Pull Theory (1981). It explains the pushing and pulling factors that cause a person to immigrate. The limited job opportunities in a country followed by an overgrowing workforce and demand for labor force in developed countries and labor force availability in developing countries make labor force migration abroad increase the international migration activities. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign

Affairs recorded that more than 3,091,284 Indonesian citizens are currently abroad, and 58.9 percent work as domestic workers. The number of migrants can be estimated to be two to three times higher because most Indonesian citizens do not report to the Immigration Service (Hidayatunnismah, 2013). Some countries, including Indonesia, have immigrated workers as the leading choice for survival, especially for people in rural areas. Overseas migration is another alternative when climate change disrupts agricultural production or an economic crisis occurs. Families in the village can survive by relying on remittances from families working abroad.

During this time, Indonesian Migrant Workers or Tenaga Kerja

Indonesia (TKI), both men and women, are known as foreign exchange heroes. TKI who work abroad is almost 75% working in the informal sector such as household management, baby and toddler caregivers, and elderly (nursing) nurses. TKIs who work in the formal sector such as oil palm plantations, industry and trade services are only around 25%. TKIs who work in the formal sector is relatively low due to their education level related to the domestic labor market structure. Indonesian workers make a significant contribution to Indonesia's balance of payments (NPI). According to 2007 data, national income from migrant workers' remittances nationwide was estimated at 5.9 billion US dollars, equivalent to 27.6% of the total income and current transfers listed in the Indonesian balance of payments. This remittance reached 8.24 billion US dollars, equivalent to 80.24 trillion Rupiahs in 2008 (Supriana *et al.*, 2010). This value does not include remittances that are not recorded because they are sent through friends or taken alone. This remittance can then have a double impact on the economy. Remittances are used to build houses and open businesses for families, and some

are saved for venture capital after the overseas employment contract ends.

Every year, thousands of Indonesian citizens become migrant workers. Most of them are women, estimated at 72% of the total number of Indonesian Migrant Workers (BMI). Of all the Women Migrant Workers (BMP), 92% work as domestic workers. On average, female workers come from various regions in Indonesia, especially from villages. One reason for the increasing number of female workers comes from the patriarchal structure of development, which deprives women of their livelihoods, further strengthening women's impoverishment (Solidaritas Perempuan, 2014).

Rural Indonesian women, especially the lower middle class, are almost entirely involved in economic activities. They will leave their villages to improve their economy. In social construction, women belong to the household domain with tasks or activities related to managing the house, husband and children. Men are in the domain outside of household activities, focusing on the productive economy by earning a living for the family. Most women who work abroad come from the most impoverished areas in Indonesia. Unemployment,

poverty and the limitations of formal education contribute to the increasing number of Indonesian women who migrate, not to mention the opportunity to get relatively high wages compared to their villages.

The dominant representation embedded in the community towards migrant female workers (TKW) is that they are helpless victims. The media often reviews cases regarding women migrant workers who experience abuse, rape and murder by their employers in the recipient country. So far, mass media and online report migrant workers for the government directly, while studies discuss more on the problems experienced by workers. Indonesian labor migration has become a public issue on a national scale since the mid-1980s, seen from a large amount of press coverage and reviews regarding the sad conditions of Indonesian migrant workers, especially female migrant workers (Komnas Perempuan, 2003). Barely any studies focus on discussing the success of migrant workers and migrant workers during work. Their success in actualizing themselves brings about a better chance because their existence has been underestimated, although they are economic cycle actors. Therefore, with their success, they

will undoubtedly make the country proud of them.

Some migrant women have begun to show that they are not helpless victims and can become empowered activists and agents. For example, Eni Lestari, a former migrant worker in Hong Kong, became an activist and was invited on various occasions to speak at the opening of the 2016 UN Summit on Migrants and Refugees. She showed that female workers could succeed in self-development. Another example, a migrant worker who succeeded in Hong Kong was Rina Sari. She came from Brebes and won the gold medal at the Hong Kong Taekwondo Competition Master's Poomsae in 2017 (TribunJogja.com, 2017). By seeing this potential, migrant workers, especially women, are expected to be agents of change. They get money and add some value, as the local government will support migrant workers who organize themselves neatly. This condition is what distinguishes Hong Kong from other countries. The Consul General of the Republic of Indonesia is obliged to maximize this golden opportunity, then the Indonesian Consul General or self-help TKI/TKW in Hong Kong conducts programs for self-development through various training, arts,

cultural, religious and sports organizations, salary management, and providing education on rights and obligations and how to report and deal with problems. This program aims to prepare the future of TKI / TKW to prepare for the future. They are equipped to start a business and live independently (Konjen RI Hong Kong, 2007).

By becoming a female workforce, they participate in the economic sector of the family. However, their choice of working abroad is also accompanied by problems of subordination and oppression. Therefore, it requires extra protection from the government. Knowledge and awareness of rights and obligations as workers and activeness is a self-development into an agent of change. Based on the facts mentioned earlier, the author is interested in studying the factors that make the female workforce successful in Hong Kong.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research approach used was a descriptive qualitative approach. The textual study method analyzed secondary data from various related literature and interviewed some former TKWs using the library research method. This data collection method was a secondary data collection technique where

the data was taken, analyzed, and quoted from various sources. This study used secondary data through scientific books or research results, documents, journals, articles, newspapers and other documents relevant to this research. Then, this study was completed by semi-structured interviews of the primary respondents.

DISCUSSION

1. Driving Force for Female Migrant Workers

Female workers take over family economic responsibilities. Most of them work in the informal sector, such as plantation workers, housemaids, farm laborers, factory workers, scavengers, and migrant workers. The increasing number of Indonesian female migrant workers raises a new phenomenon called the feminization of migration. By looking at the type of work that the average woman is engaged in, feminizing poverty is a systematic process of impoverishing women, where women have to bear more weight because of poverty (TR Wulan, 2010). Migration for women is a phenomenon driven by the compulsion of the conditions experienced. Economic backwardness, low education levels, and the absence of jobs are several reasons women migrate. The multiple

burdens that women must carry to ensure their families' survival have encouraged them to work abroad as domestic workers. It further reinforces the argument that the driving force for women's migration comes from external factors.

Women who become female migrant workers experience an increase in each labor dispatch period. Based on data from the percentage of female workers in 1996, 55.8% of 517,169 Indonesian migrant workers were recorded, until in 2000, the number of female workers was 68.3% of 435,222 Indonesian migrant workers. Although it declined in 2005, in 2007, the number of TKI increased again with 78% of the total TKIs 696,746. Similarly, in the following years, the percentage of female labor was higher than male labor (Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS), 2016).

From this phenomenon, Indonesian labor is increasingly feminized. The feminization of migration shows that the pattern of international migration has been gendered. According to IOM, almost 79% of Indonesian migrant workers were women, while BNP2TKI said lower, with a ratio of 56% for female workers and the remaining 44% to 46% were male workers. The difference between the two sources was that data from BNP2TKI are generally based on official records, while undocumented Indonesian workers were not well recorded (Ali Maksum dan Surwandono, 2017). However, apart from the differences in the two data sources, women who work abroad remain higher than men based on gender-based workers' data distribution presented by BNP2TKI below (Ali Maksum dan Surwandono, 2017).

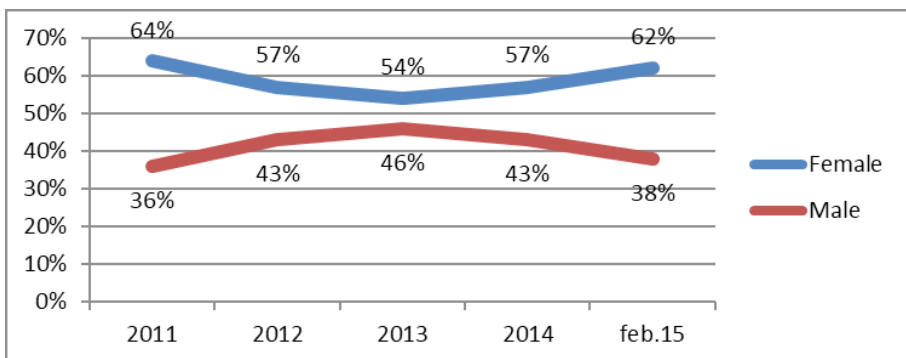


Figure 1: The Distribution of Indonesian Migrant Workers Based on Gender Source: (BNP2TKI, 2015)

From the graph above, the percentage of female workers or migrant workers abroad is higher because opportunities for open employment for women are more significant than men, especially the type of work in the informal sector in households such as domestic workers, babysitters, and caregiver (Raharto, A. *et al.*, 2013).

Women are somehow forced to migrate by those around them due to family economic difficulties, low education levels, and lack of employment. Wijiati is an ex TKW who worked in Hong Kong for seven years, from 2011-2018. In Wijiati case, her decision to leave as a migrant worker was because she had to provide a decent living for her family. Her decision to work abroad is a sacrifice for the people in her life.

2. Becoming Women Workers in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is one destination where Indonesia sends its migrant workers. Based on data from BNP2TKI in 2017, Hong Kong is the third choice country as a place to work, with a presentation of 2,869 people. Working in Hong Kong compared to other countries is relatively safer. Labor issues in Hong Kong are significant only related

to violations of work agreements, and underpayment, unlike other placement countries with various more severe problems.

Working in Hong Kong allows its workers to earn much higher wages and extraordinary freedom in various ways. Hong Kong also upholds human rights and firmness in law enforcement based on direct reports from victims. The type of work offered does not require particular expertise, but with a relatively large salary of around 8 million Rupiah per month, such as housemaid or Asisten Rumah Tangga (ART), babysitter, elderly caregiver, and gardener. Hong Kong is a region in China that has inherited many European cultures where every home needs domestic helpers, while most Chinese people are rarely interested in working in that sector. This condition opens the opportunity for migrant workers to work there. The regulations and policies of the Hong Kong government support the protection of foreign workers in the region. Together with Indonesia, Hong Kong held a Labor Attaché (Atnaker) where its authority protects Indonesian migrant workers (Syaifud Adidharta, 2011).

“The salaries are high. We have time off every week, and the

employer's house is small, so that house chore is easy. I always wanted to travel abroad. For seven years, I had explored Hong Kong and its surroundings (Wijiati, 2019). “

Wijiati, a former TKW, had unique reasons for choosing Hong Kong as a place to work. Low wages in Hong Kong are still higher than wages in Indonesia, which becomes a critical draw factor in the migration process. Moreover, the average female worker comes from the village so that the wages will be noticeable. However, wages are not the only crucial factor. Wijiati also added that she always wanted to travel to developed countries which was another determining factor for choosing Hong Kong. Besides, Hong Kong has explicit rules regarding work time-offs, which employers must obey, unlike other countries that can exploit workers' work time. Those are what distinguishes Hong Kong from the other destination countries for migrant workers.

3. Success Factors of Migrant Workers in Hong Kong

a. Indonesia and Hong Kong Government Policies

- *Indonesian Government Policy*

Legal protection for migrant workers in Hong Kong is currently quite good, and there is still

synchronization between Indonesia and the Hong Kong governments. The protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong is based on good relations between Indonesia and Hong Kong. As a commitment to protecting migrant workers, the Indonesian government has agreed on a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Hong Kong government. The memorandum of understanding was signed by the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi and Hong Kong Secretary for Manpower and Welfare, Stephen Sui and witnessed by President Jokowi and Hong Kong Chief Executive Leung Chun Ying on May 1, 2017. The memorandum contains the two governments' continued commitment to cooperate, improve communication and information sharing, and promote awareness of migrant workers' rights to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong (Larasati, 2018). In terms of institutions, the Indonesian government authorizes the Indonesian representative office in Hong Kong, called the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Hong Kong, to protect Indonesian citizens in Hong Kong, including Indonesian migrant workers.

The Indonesian Consulate provides education to Indonesian migrant workers to improve the knowledge and skills of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong. The aim is to smooth the daily tasks as a Foreign Domestic Helper (FDH) and the future provision of migrant workers after finishing their work in Hong Kong. These skills enhancement activities foster labor functions divided into 3 (three) activities, welcoming program, stay and debriefing activities, and exit programs (KJRI, 2015). The training skill above is also prevention carried out by the Consulate General for fulfilling Indonesian migrant workers' rights. Wijati, while working in Hong Kong, often participated in training and workshops held directly by the Indonesian government, represented by the Indonesian Consulate and from organizations or communities. Usually, the Indonesian Government brings experts from Indonesia and the Consulate General.

“We often joined training in self-development bases, like a workshop organized by the government with Pak Ippho Santosa and Dwi Gunawan as the speakers (Wijati, 2019).”

Through a Consulate General program in Hong Kong, which began

in 2007, slowly, the workforce began to understand and realize what their rights and obligations were while working in Hong Kong. Indonesian workers in Hong Kong, especially women, began to participate in the organization, self-supporting organizations or institutions such as the International Migrant Alliance (IMA) and the Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Hong Kong (ATKI-HK), and other communities. Then, TKW began to know their rights as workers, salary mechanism, and how to report when exposed to problems.

With the government's various efforts, it opens opportunities for migrant workers to develop their abilities outside of their primary work, such as by training to sharpen their talents. The training gave birth to competitive migrant workers by participating in various Indonesian and Hong Kong governments. Another successful migrant worker, Rina Sari, won a gold medal at the Hong Kong Taekwondo Competition Master's Poomsae in 2017, and many more stories about other migrant workers. Outside activities are also highly supported, as long as not violating work visa rules. Holidays are utilized for any activity following their respective talents and interests.

- **Hong Kong Government Policy**

The Hong Kong government has good policies related to protecting migrant workers in their country that comprehensive labor policies and systems protect foreign workers. The Hong Kong Ministry of Manpower focuses on the affairs of foreign workers. Migrant workers in Hong Kong have rights, obligations, and standard contracts arranged

in such a way by the government. These provisions are in Employment Ordinance Chapter 57 to manage foreign households or foreign domestic helpers. The regulations made tend to pay more attention to women workers who work in the domestic sector because they are a more problem-prone group. The items in Chapter 57 Employment Ordinance include:



Picture 1: Employment Ordinance Chapter 57(Larasati, 2018)

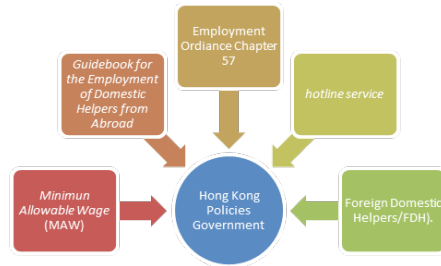
Various issues are regulated from the picture above, such as minimum salary, job description, residence conditions, work accident insurance, one day's week off, 7-day annual leave, meals and transportation, and health insurance. The Hong Kong government also provides access and some free services to workers, including consultation and conciliation. Since 2018, the Hong

Kong government has increased the salaries of Indonesian migrant workers because TKI / TKW is considered helpful given that Hong Kong's demographics are the elderly and good relations between the two governments. The salary rate has increased since September 2018 from 4,410 to 4,520 Hong Kong dollars, and it exacerbates sanctions for agencies that violate the rules in

the amendments to the Employee Ordinance. The government also provides good services by facilitating workers with training first (Larasati, 2018).

The Ministry of Manpower Hong Kong provides a service hotline that is available for 24 hours. The Hong Kong Immigration Department provides a *Guidebook for the Employment of Domestic Helpers from Abroad* for informal foreign workers and standard contract guidelines for workers or prospective employers. The Hong Kong government also applies a minimum wage for foreign migrant workers in the informal sector called Minimum Allowable Wage (MAW) because it is categorized as unskilled labor. Employment contracts for migrant workers are regulated by the Immigration Department of the Hong Kong government. The department only provides one standard employment contract for foreign domestic workers (the Hong Kong Government calls it the Foreign Domestic Helpers / FDH). Prospective employers must fill in the work contract form with code id407, and prospective workers must send a file for filing requirements for foreign domestic workers at the immigration department

(Departemen Tenaga Kerja Hong Kong, 2012).



Picture 2: Hong Kong Policies Government

Looking at the comprehensive Hong Kong Government employment policies and systems in protecting foreign workers, their social rights can be guaranteed, unlike other countries which have not entirely regulated the problem of migrant workers. With guaranteed rights, workers will interact socially. Holidays are used by participating in various Indonesian government activities and from organizations or associations in Hong Kong. The guarantees they get will undoubtedly make it easier to develop their potential with activities that can hone their skills in various fields, including art, sports, religion, and activism.

b. Organizational Awareness

The organization of migrant workers has an essential role in protecting its members. In line with the 1987 International Labor

Organization (ILO) convention, migrant workers have the right to form unions and worker associations of their choice. They are also allowed to join and be represented by trade unions in the recipient countries. An association or organization is needed to voice and advocate for problems or as a place for the self-development of migrant workers. Indonesia certainly has trade unions or trade unions both within the country and abroad, especially the country of workers' destination. The organization of Indonesian Migrant Workers (BMIs) in Hong Kong is developed compared to BMI organizations in other countries.

Then, the rights of trade unions/labor unions are as follows: first, a) make a collective labor agreement with the entrepreneur; b) represent workers/laborers in labor agencies; c) establish institutions or carry out activities related to efforts to improve the welfare of workers/laborers; d) represent work/laborers in resolving industrial disputes; e) conduct other activities in the field of labor that do not conflict with applicable laws and regulations. Secondly, it is the duty of trade unions/labor unions: a) protect and defend members from violating their rights and fighting for their interests; b) fight for improving the welfare of

members and their families; c) be accountable for the organization's activities to its members following the articles of association and by-laws (Zulkarnain, 2016).

Hong Kong has many emerging organizations because it upholds equalities that do not discriminate between humans and their backgrounds. Similarly, the freedom of organization in Hong Kong is guaranteed by the government so that Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong have the freedom to organize according to their wishes. In Hong Kong, there are many organizations and associations established by BMI, including the Indonesian Migrant Worker Union (IMWU), the Indonesian Workers' Association (ATKI), the Hong Kong Indonesian Workers Coalition (KOTHIKO), and many other BMI communities. Many organizations are still engaged in various fields, such as Indonesian migrant workers organizations whose focus is only on cultural and artistic activities, religion (da'wah), writing (Lingkar Pena), sports, investment or business for strengthening the organization's relationship in the association of the Coalition of Indonesian Labor Organizations in Hong Kong (KOTKIHO) (Narsidah & Fika Murdiana R, 2012).



Picture 3: Representative Organization

The picture above represents organizations engaged in various fields, from the law, cultural arts to religion. In 1999, the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union (IMWU) registered with the Hong Kong Government. IMWU became the only BMI union in Hong Kong at that time. IMWU members are Indonesian migrant workers who work as domestic workers from Indonesia in Hong Kong. 7 BMI organizations founded KOTHIKO in August 2000 based on togetherness, solidarity and shared feelings. The seven organizations are IMWU, the Mu'minat Caring for People's Communication Forum (FKMPU), Yogya International Club (YIC), Sanggar Budaya, Amanah, and Majelis Taklim and the Da'wah Victoria Association (PDV). In 2008, Al Mubarakah and Mar'atush Sholihah joined KOTKIHO, so that currently, KOTKIHO members are nine organizations (Associated Press

in Hong Kong, 2015). The coalition aims to provide a unifying forum for existing BMI organizations and conduct social work by establishing training centers for Indonesian migrant workers, providing advocacy services for troubled BMIs, and establishing shelter houses for problematic BMIs. In addition to carrying out that social work, KOTHIKO's essential task is to build cooperation and communication with migrant worker organizations from other countries.

So far, well-working unions are in Hong Kong, known as the Indonesian Migrant Workers Association in Hong Kong (ABMI-HK) or ATKI (Indonesian Workers' Association). The destination country for migrant workers who have a trade union must first have a memorandum of understanding (MoU) regarding these two matters. Therefore, not all countries that use Indonesian migrant workers have trade unions. For Southeast Asia itself, only the Philippines is a sending country with trade unions throughout its partner countries, cooperation or the country of employment. The destination country for Indonesian migrant workers who have a trade union must first have a memorandum of understanding (MoU) regarding

these two matters (Sitti Nurtina, 2018).

According to Wijiati, several organizations are directly managed by the government, namely the Consulate General and independent organizations managed in groups from the personal funds of each migrant worker. Through the organization, they learn many skills and can show their potential. The associations are a makeup studio, dance studio, or several study groups in mosques. Particular organizations accommodate computer courses, sewing courses, English language courses, arts, and sports. Usually, every holiday Saturday or Sunday has held a meeting and training. Wijiati participated in several associations, one of which was Gemar Membaca.

“Yes, I joined the GEMAR reading association, the activity coordinated the mobile library. We brought books that were put in wooden suitcases, we opened them in the parks, and we rented them (Wijiati, 2019).”

Other migrant workers who want to read are given one week to borrow books. The association provides various books but in limited numbers because they only carry the books only with wooden suitcases. They move from the park to another park because many migrant workers

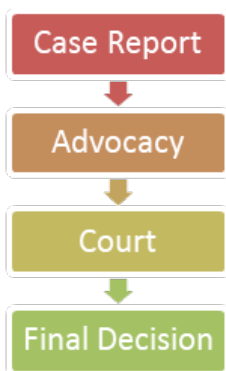
gather there. Funds for providing books come from personal funds and from supporting proposals for funding to the government. The government contributes books and funds to facilitate The Joy of Reading. This association aims to educate migrants to read fluently or increase knowledge because migrants usually have a low educational background.

Since joining the ATKI (The Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Indonesia) organization in Hong Kong, Wijiati has only begun to understand what rights should be obtained as migrant workers. In Hong Kong, it has a role in advocating for the rights and protection of migrant workers, providing information on Indonesian migrant workers, and participating in providing socialization regarding the legal placement in Hong Kong. Therefore, when she returned to Indonesia, Wijiati was directly involved in the organization by helping migrant workers demand their rights and prevent injustices against Indonesian migrant workers. Wijiati sees that injustice can be resisted and dealt with together by building an organization for migrant workers in Indonesia. The absence of a law that can protect the rights of migrant workers makes Wijiati motivated to

build organizations that can provide knowledge about the process of migration and empowerment of former migrant domestic workers and their families.

“When I returned to Indonesia, I tried to help the ATKI organization and make it a forum for the empowerment of migrants, especially migrant domestic workers and their families (Wijiati, 2019).”

The following is an example of how activists help resolve migrant workers who experience problems through organizational assistance. In 2013, ATKI received a report of torture cases that happened to Erwiana, who suffered torture and exploitation by her employer for eight months. Since the report, Indah, an activist from ATKI, was determined to help Erwiana get justice.



Picture 4: The flow of settlement of migrant problematic

Erwiana’s family reported her case. Complaints of problems were conveyed directly to the ATKI organization. As a Beautiful activist, he also advocated for this case by assisting Erwiana since treatment in Sragen, Central Java. With the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) and the ATKI network, the Erwiana case was success sexy tried in Hong Kong. When Erwiana’s case entered a Hong Kong trial, her former employer named Law Wantung was arrested. During the six weeks of the trial process, Erwiana’s employer was found guilty and sentenced to prison for six years. Erwiana’s employer was proven to have committed 18 of the 20 charges given against her. Indah felt that she could obtain justice by advocating for the rights of migrant workers and becoming a person who had empowerment for her destiny by carrying out these activism activities (Wahyudi, 2020). Based on Anik Maslikah’s experience, she said that Hong Kong’s law is quite fair.

“Hong Kong has a fair law and does not take sides on native Hong Kong citizens. If someone reports with direct evidence, the laws will drag the perpetrators to prison (Muslimah, 2020). “

From the experiences of migrant workers above, being

activists makes them more aware of their fundamental rights as workers and helps other workers when experiencing the same problems and fight the injustices. They also strive

to help female migrant workers and former migrants use their organizations to advocate for rights violations and empower themselves when returning home.

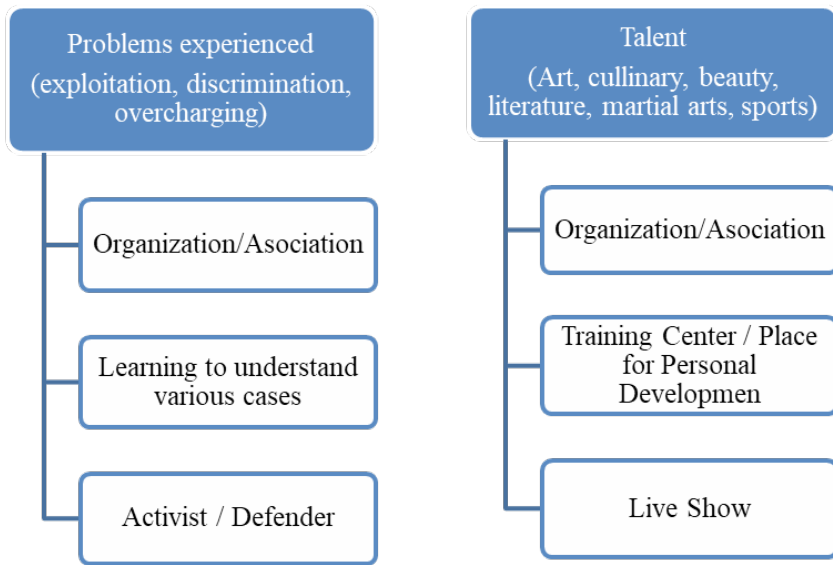


Figure 5: TKW Social Change and Success Process

The figure above explains the social change of migrant workers to become successful based on the two factors. The first flow shows that being successful begins with being a victim of exploitation, discrimination, overcharging, and so forth. Then, they decide to gain more knowledge about the case and how to handle it, be aware of the law, and know their rights as women workers because their ignorance will make them vulnerable to discrimination.

The organization works as a bridge for them to be more reflective and efficient.

Furthermore, those who want to become reliable organizers must learn more to understand various cases and speak publicly. Finally, to be an activist or advocate, when coworkers get discrimination problems, they have to find out the root, provide solutions and help, and provide advocacy as Erwiana experienced, departing from her

case and becoming an influential person.

The second flow shows that being successful begins with TKW, who have talents in art, food, beauty, literature, and sports. Female workers who already have expertise in a field will have a greater chance of developing themselves. They will join an organization or association specifically to teach like a Cultural Studio. Furthermore, TKW, with the potential of sufficient talent to occupy them, will be provided with a training center/place for self-development to train their talents to participate in a competition or live show. The training venue is usually in a better place with more professional trainers. For example, TKW will train at Oriental Martial Arts in Hong Kong and do Taekwondo at the Nunchaku Association for Kungfu. Then, they will join competitions once ready, like Anik Maslikah, who participated in several Wushu competitions, and Rina Sari in the Taekwondo competition. Anik Maslikah has inspired others to follow in her footsteps (Maslikah, 2020).

The more organizations and associations of migrant workers, the more success chance of migrant workers. Organizations in value can provide knowledge or as a place to

develop the potential of a migrant. Organizational awareness gives birth to new, more insightful individuals with different and competitive mindsets than those who have not joined the organization. They took part in changing their role as agents of change and agents of development. They can have this ability because there is a role for institutions in organizations or movements in advocating for migrant workers' rights (especially the rights of women migrant FDH). Becoming activists in their organizations can realize the strength of women's agencies through their efforts to fight for their rights, either by reporting their cases or by demonstrating to claim their rights and their struggle to negotiate their positions. Negotiating their position is an attempt by female migrant workers to no longer have subordinate or marginal positions. By negotiating positions through activism, several women have managed to revive themselves and become more empowered.

CONCLUSION

The Indonesian government has begun to give greater attention to Indonesia's foreign exchange heroes actively. The Indonesian Consulate General in Hong Kong as a representative of the Indonesian

Government in Hong Kong has provided training to Indonesian migrant workers to support good Indonesian migrant workers' performance. The Indonesian government also cooperates with a network of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong to guard against the problems of Indonesian migrant workers. The Indonesian government and the Hong Kong Government's various policies and efforts make it easier for workers to get the access they want, including in developing potential. It is also supported by the awareness of organizing to change the mindset of migrant workers, especially women who are initially limited to domestic work. Organizations add their insights regarding their fundamental rights at work, like maternity leave. With the training held by the Indonesian Consulate and social security from the Hong Kong government, the success of migrant workers can be determined because they are freed to actualize themselves to become competitive individuals.

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Indonesian Female Police Officer's Deployment as International Police Officers in United Nations – African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) (2016-2018)

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Abstract

The main purpose is to analyze the role of Indonesian female police deployed as Individual Police Officers in the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Darfur from 2016 to 2018. This research was designed as a qualitative case study that triangulated data from previously published researches, institutional documents, and semi-structured qualitative interviews. Previous scholarly publications were used to observe gender deficit – which is the lack of female personnel in UN peacekeeping missions. Institutional documents, particularly ex-Indonesian female police reports, were analyzed to contribute to data enrichment in this research. Lastly, the authors conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews with some ex-female police who have completed their deployment in UNAMID (2016-2018). Concerning the gender equality and counterinsurgency concepts, this research figured out that Indonesian female police could demonstrate their strategic role to provide skill-building activities, trust-building with refugees, and human rights advocacy. The numbers of Indonesian female police in this mission remained higher than other Southeast Asian contributing countries, but the Indonesian female police were also functional in line with the UN gendering peace and security agenda.

Keywords: *gender, peace, international peacekeeping, international police*

Abstrak

Tujuan utama dari tulisan ini adalah untuk menganalisis peran polisi wanita Indonesia yang ditempatkan sebagai Individual Police Officers dalam operasi perdamaian Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa di Darfur dari tahun 2016 hingga 2018. Penelitian ini dirancang sebagai studi kasus kualitatif yang melakukan triangulasi data dari penelitian yang dipublikasikan sebelumnya, kelembagaan, dokumen, dan wawancara kualitatif semi-terstruktur. Publikasi ilmiah sebelumnya digunakan untuk mengamati masalah defisit gender saat ini - yaitu kurangnya personel wanita dalam misi penjaga perdamaian PBB. Dokumen kelembagaan khususnya laporan eks Polri dianalisis untuk membantu pengayaan data dalam penelitian ini. Terakhir, para analis melakukan wawancara kualitatif semi terstruktur dengan beberapa mantan polisi wanita yang telah menyelesaikan penempatannya di UNAMID (2016-2018). Dengan mengacu pada kesetaraan gender dan konsep kontra-pemberontakan, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa polisi wanita Indonesia mampu menunjukkan peran strategis mereka dalam memberikan kegiatan peningkatan keterampilan, membangun kepercayaan dengan pengungsi, dan advokasi hak asasi manusia. Meskipun jumlah polisi wanita Indonesia dalam misi ini masih terbilang kurang signifikan, tetapi polisi wanita Indonesia telah berperan sesuai dengan agenda perdamaian dan keamanan berbasis kesetaraan gender PBB.

Keywords: *gender, perdamaian, penjagaan perdamaian internasional, polisi internasional*

INTRODUCTION

Maintaining public safety and security and ensuring law enforcement is part of police's minimum essential tasks when a normal situation is met. However, the task performed by the police in conflict areas remains more

complicated. It is primarily addressed to guarantee security and prevent the perpetuation of conflict and improve the social foundation in society to reach reconciliation and reconstruction. In the realm of a post-conflict society, social cohesiveness is likely the key

to attaining productivity after suffering from the deficit of trust towards government accountability. Therefore, the police hold, *prima facie*, a legitimate task to ensure civilians' security in the conflict areas (Loh, 2010).

Given the strategic position the police employ, United Nations peacekeeping missions prioritize this sector as one of the main components in UN peacekeeping operations worldwide. United Nations Police is assigned in areas where UN missions are carried out, in which the police are given tasks to assist the government in maintaining public security and increasing local police capacity. The United Nations Police is divided into three sections, namely Professional Post (P-Post) or Specialized Police Team, Formed Police Unit (FPU), and Individual Police Officer (IPO). Each of the units equally shares the same goal to complete the UN peacekeeping missions. In such deployments, personnel from various backgrounds and diverse professional ranks and experiences are being challenged to face a wide-ranging mandated responsibility. The Individual Police Officer, for instance, which also becomes the main focus of this research, covers a complete range of policing tasks,

such as developing community police camps for refugees or internally displaced persons, mentoring and training national police officers, providing specialization in different types of investigations and helping law enforcement officers to deal with transnational crimes happened in some countries (United Nations, 2017).

Speaking of which United Nations peacekeeping operations that seek to fulfill some golden goals, among other things, maintaining international peace and security based on respect for the principle of equal human rights and self-determination of peoples; helping the member states to earn friendly relations through multilateral cooperation coping with global social, cultural, economic and humanities challenges. Such normative assertions may not always be retained. In the context of equal human rights in international security, the UN police seem to demonstrate its commitment to adopting the gender equality policy as an operational standard to be held throughout its missions as to fulfilling a variety of needs of women, men, girls, and boys emerged in the field. It is supposedly able to "... increase the number of women in the composition of military and police

contingents in UN peacekeeping...” to internally gendering the institutions and aiming for “...equal representations of women within the UN operation...” (Dharmapuri, 2013). Accelerating number of women police in UN missions enables the global efforts to the pursuit of women empowerment in enhancing law enforcement, public leadership, crisis management and investigations, capacity-building for local police, and community-oriented policy realization and raising awareness of gender equality for the local community (United Nations Police, 2016).

Besides, since early 2000, initiatives to incorporate women into the decision-making process at any level in peace processes have been intensified in the UN Security Council report progress. From late October 2000, through its 4213th meeting, the UN eventually disqualified masculine superiority, adding that Beijing's Commitment to gender mainstreaming was encapsulated in UN Resolution 1325. This resolution became a stepping stone for the member states to be keen on gender mainstreaming in the security sector domestically and internationally. To continue the commitment, the UNSC has adopted Resolution 1820 in 2008,

Resolution 1888 and 1889 in 2009, Resolution 1960 in 2010, Resolution 2106 and 2122 in 2013. These resolutions intended to strengthen the commitment of member states to adopt the women, peace, and security (WPS) agenda in international and national security.

Such UNSC's agenda galvanizes member states to strengthen their military and police capacity by equipping their personnel with principles of gender equality. The international community witnesses the presence of UN peacekeepers in times of militarization and war is presumably exclusive and gender-neutral. However, it turns out ironic that the peacekeepers who are taught to be non-gender biased are involved in a series of complaints. The blue helmet units are deployed in conflict zones to continue demilitarization and peaceful reconciliation by mostly resembling male-centric authority. This condition subsequently generates a classic image of what 'militarization' can be a symbolic and powerful cultural tool imposed by the government to further its aggressive goals. This masculine concept of peacekeeping operation led women into the least proportion of military and civilian police personnel, where 16 percent of civilian police composed less than

five percent of female police in UN peacekeeping operations. Although statistically improvement has been viewed from the mid-1990s, women personnel, however, have been authorized for "...non-professional civilian positions" (Mazurana, 2003)

Hence, the gender equality policy in UN peacekeeping operations should gain more supports from the international community. The purpose is to encourage more female personnel to get involved in "...*the building and preserving peace...*" as the presence of female peacekeeping personnel remains as "...*one of the preconditions for...*" emergence of "...sustainable peace and stability in the conflict zones" (Odanovic, 2010). The gendering security agenda also continuously sounds in the international police deployment in a series of UN peacekeeping operations to empower female police personnel at the frontline of peacekeeping missions by accelerating their leadership capacities in crisis management.

One of the UN Peacekeeping missions that attract scholarly debates upon the arrival of female police personnel in this operation is the UN peacekeeping operations in collaboration with African Union within the so-called United Nations –

African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID, 2017). This case remains worth scholar discussion and rigorous investigation to examine the relevance of female personnel towards attaining effective post-conflict civilian reconciliation. The civil war that emerged in Darfur involved two confronting parties between the Sudanese government and armed rebel groups – led by the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the separate Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) that has existed since 2003. These two rebels started attacking North Khartoum due to its indifference with the Sudanese government by arguing that the people of Darfur have long been ethnically and politically marginalized. In response, the government formed the so-called Janjaweed, the Arab's militias. This decision worsened the situation in Darfur and made the conflict one of the worst humanitarian conflicts in the region.

Consequently, it has resulted in 300,000 deaths, 2.5 million displaced people, and increased crime rates (UNAMID, 2017). Violence against vulnerable women and children cannot be separated from conflicts or wars, in which civil wars in Darfur are not excluded. The violation ranges from rape, sexual abuse,

sexual exploitation, and murder. Women and children in Darfur are targeted because Janjaweed accused them of supporting the armed rebel groups (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Violence toward women and children is the most destructive strategy in war and conflicts (United Nations Police, 2016).

In this vein, the conflict demanded intervention from external parties to end the casualties or minimize power abuse performed by the conflicting parties. Although Darfur Peace Agreements were attained, the conflict was rather prolonged. The government and the armed rebel group declared war to pursue military gains, targeting civilians (Netabay, 2009). The innocent civilians have suffered a wide range of mistreatments, such as harassment, sexual abuse, rape, beatings, and murder (U.S. Department of State, 2017). Hence, the United Nations protected them by sending approximately 31,042 personnel to Darfur (19,555 soldiers, 3,772 police advisers, and 5,105 civilians) (United Nations, 2007). The mission named UNAMID came into force through the UN Security Council Resolution 1769 that was adopted on July 31, 2007 (United Nations, 2007).

The Indonesian government has participated in the United Nations - African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). Indonesia is one country that has assigned its national police to participate in the UN Peacekeeping mission. Indonesia's participation in the mission is in line with one of the country's national goals, which is to participate in carrying out world order based on independence, peace, and social justice as mentioned in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, 1945). Indonesian Law No. 2 of 2002 Article 41 paragraph 3 also emphasizes the importance of the national police's participation in peacekeeping missions, which stated that the Indonesian National Police actively assisted the task of maintaining world peace (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 2 Tahun 2002 Tentang Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2002).

In its contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations in Darfur, Indonesia has shown consistent, albeit quantitatively lower, performance. Albeit Indonesian peacekeeping personnel was absent in the first commencement of UNAMID in 2007, the government of Indonesia has continuously been

active in supporting the gendering peace process by sending higher numbers of police personnel.

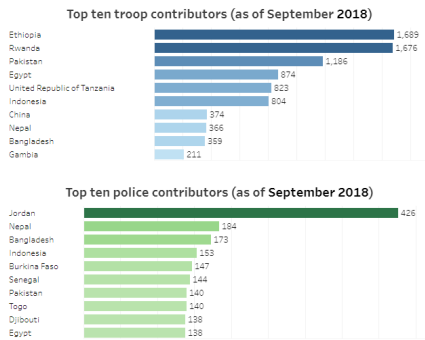


Figure 1. List of top ten troops and police-contributing countries in September 2018

(Source: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>)

Based on Figure 1, the quantity of Indonesian police remains lower than in Jordan, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Also, the Indonesian government seems to prioritize the deployment of military personnel over the police since the number of police was still below the military troops, with 168 police personnel and 804 military personnel in 2018. However, before the deployment in any UN Peacekeeping operations, military personnel would have been granted multiple protections in the wider context, making monitoring over disciplining personnel affordable. The military contributors

would sign the MOU with the United Nations, ensuring that each military unit could be protected from national military codes of justice. The UN code of conduct would also guide its minimum essential task.

On the contrary, the police unit in UN peacekeeping operations does not earn such protective circumstances since the protection for police is solely the responsibility of the contributing country. Consequently, the numbers of police contributions in UN peacekeeping operations remain slower than the numbers of military personnel. Besides, due to alarming power abuse and weak discipline demonstrated by UN police personnel in UN peacekeeping operations leads the credibility of UN police is underrated (Durch & Ker, 2013).

The government of Indonesia should have been able to increase the numbers of its national police deployed in UN peacekeeping missions. It has been suggested and mandated by several legal decisions that supervise the participation of the Indonesian National Police in the peacekeeping mission in Darfur. The first legal base is Regulation of the Chief of the Indonesian National Police Number 01 of

2013 and Regulation of the Chief of the Indonesian National Police Number 13 of 2014 concerning the assignment of Indonesian police officers outside the organizational structure of the national police (Wibisono, 2018). The second legal basis is Order Letter from the Chief of the Indonesian National Police Number: Spring/301/II/2017 dated February 8, 2017, which concerns orders to carry out assignments as Individual Police Advisor to the United Nations mission area NAMID-Darfur (Wibisono, 2018). Last but not least, another legal basis is Facsimile (Fax) from Head of International Relations Division of the Indonesian National Police Number: Divhubinter/Fax/2271/XII/2014 dated December 10, 2014, concerning Making Reports on IPO Assignment in the United Nations Mission Area (Wibisono, 2018).

Given such information, this research asked how the Indonesian female police could contribute to the peacekeeping operations underneath the UNAMID authority in Darfur. Although quantitatively numbers of Indonesian national police remain lower than other developing countries, it is worth asking whether or not Indonesian female police could perform quality international policing when on the

international mission; whether or not Indonesian female police deployed in this mission was conscious of how significant their contribution toward peace establishment for local people in Darfur and career development for their future career. This research specifically portrayed the gender dimension of Indonesian police personnel in UNAMID to justify that the Indonesian government under the Indonesian national police unit is likely progressive to welcoming the gender perspective in its commitment to be proactive in the international peace and security arena. Specifically, this research focused on Individual Police Officers (IPO) that consisted of police or other law enforcement staff/personnel of different ranks and experience assigned by UN member states for deployment (United Nations, 2017). IPO covers a complete range of policing tasks, such as developing community police camps for refugees or internally displaced persons, mentoring and training national police officers, providing specialization in different types of investigations, and helping law enforcement officers deal with transnational crimes in some countries (United Nations, 2017). The personnel selected to be a member of IPO must be ready to

be placed anywhere by the UN (Wibisono, 2018).

Previous researches attempted to build a positive correlation between the UN police and UN peacekeeping operations. The scholarly analysis provided by Bayley and Perito in 2010 investigated the dilemma of establishing legitimate and effective indigenous police forces amid insurgent violence. They focused on police-building in stability operations, intending to create a legitimate and effective government that can provide important services, including the rule of law. As a result of the experience in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. military has recently developed a new counterinsurgency doctrine (COIN) to address the kind of violence encountered in stabilization missions, with the ultimate goal of establishing an effective, sustainable local government (Bayley & Perito, 2010). In this study, the greater importance of local police presence was also found since there was a huge gap between the local community of Darfur and the local police. The civilians remained lacking in trust toward the police credibility. It was also unveiled that the victims of sexual abuse were hindered from reporting the violence

simply because they distrusted the institution.

A study by Fitri Bintang Timur published in 2016 focused on studying the urgency of female peacekeepers on a comparative basis with selecting three Asian countries, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and India. Comparing the performance of female military personnel deployed in UN peacekeeping missions, this research found that although Indonesia's contribution in terms of security personnel deployed in UN peacekeeping missions remained the highest contributor in Southeast Asia, the number of female personnel deployed remained the lowest. Concerning the statistical data from UN PKO from 2009 to 2014, this research figured out that one to two out of a hundred peacekeepers deployed were female. The study concluded that female peacekeepers' recruitment mechanisms remained half-hearted, which caused the low performance in numbers and qualities (Timur, 2016).

Therefore, the analyst found the urgency to evaluate the contribution of Indonesian female police to UN peacekeeping missions, with specific attention being paid to the case of Indonesia's contribution to UNAMID. By doing so, it is expected

to unveil the direction of Indonesian female police performance by exploring whether or not their contribution fulfilled the gendering peace and security agenda and the method of counterinsurgency that emphasizes the urgency of the human security dimension in UN peacekeeping operations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHOD

To achieve the goal, the analyst employed some concepts and theories as mentioned below:

a. Gender Equality

Gender not only corresponds to biological identity but is primarily a product of socialization, or cultural, political, and social structure of the masculinity and feminist as the identity of a social character (Arsenijevic & Flessenkamper, 2013). Gender can also be seen to structure power relations and define power relations in society to determine what is expected, allowed, and valued in a given context for women or men (Guehenno, 2006). However, it is well-known that violent conflict affects women and girls in gender inequalities and discrimination (United Nations, 2015).

Gender equality itself refers to women's and men's equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities and implies that the interests, needs, and priorities of both men and women are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of men and women (Guéhenno, 2006). On the contrary, gender inequality means that women's and men's rights, responsibilities, opportunities, and priorities are not equal.

The gender equality concept provides a relevant background of why female police are part of UN strategic units in this research. United Nations has strived to emphasize and incorporate gender equality into its policies and programs. One of the policies applied by the UN is the United Nations Security Management System (UNSMS). The UNSMS policy on Gender Considerations in Security Management was developed to raise awareness and guide security decision-makers in assessing and addressing security-related threats, risks, and vulnerabilities of all United Nations personnel, especially those most vulnerable (United Nations, 2016). Formed Police Unit and Individual Police Officer can be said as parts of UN program which is United Nations Police concerned

with gender equality in the security sector. This program is open for all genders to maintain public security in some areas known as war-zone areas. To be part of the Formed Police Unit and Individual Police Officer, every personnel must pass some criteria and tests. After that, the person can become part of the United Nations Police that are ready to be placed anywhere regarding the areas that need UN Police and have approval from the local government.

a. Counter Insurgency Doctrine

COIN doctrine emphasizes the need to protect civilians, eliminate insurgent leaders and infrastructure, and help establish a legitimate and accountable host nation government capable of delivering essential human services (Eikenberry, 2013). According to a book titled *“The Police in War: Fighting Insurgency, Terrorism, and Violent Crime”* by David H. Bayley and Robert M. Perito, they shared their thoughts about the role of the police and military commander who are responsible for making decisions immediately to secure peace and human security. In this book, Bayley and Perito stated that “Military victory in war is easier to achieve than peace, although it is equally important that’s why the presence of actors in the field of

military security, police security and human security is crucial” (Bayley & Perito, 2010).

This research used qualitative descriptive, which is largely descriptive and analytical, by interpreting the official government’s document as the primary data. The analyst triangulated data to check for data validity by combining information from various secondary and primary sources to validate the data gathered in this research. The data triangulation technique demonstrated in this research covered reviewing previous scholarly reports, text analysis of official documents, and individual interviews through semi-structured qualitative interviews with the female police who accomplished their one-year (2017-2018) mission in Darfur.

At the first stage, the researcher identified the problems that emerged to justify why it remains necessary to question the relevance of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping missions. In this process, data was required. The variables of sexual abuse victimized women and children, lacking the discipline of UN police and military personnel, and masculine militaristic approach in conflict areas, especially in Darfur. In the next stage, to ensure data

richness, the researcher subsequently analyzed the text of official documents, including (1) Reports from the personnel who have been deployed to the mission area; (2) and United Nations Security Council Resolution. The last stage of this data gathering process was retrieved from theoretical propositions that have been explained in previous paragraphs. To check for its validity, through interviewing ex-female peacekeepers (police unit), the authors found relevant data about some variables, which were the realization of gender equality in UNAMID, the outcome of a female police officer deployment, and the experience of a female police officer facing the challenges resulting from such a crisis zone. This data articulation is relevant to the grand theme brought by this research which was to build a comprehensive conversation on the role and contribution of Indonesian female police as Individual police officers under the United Nations – African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur, since 2017 - 2018, especially in the protection of women and children from the humanitarian crisis because of Darfur Conflict.

However, when contacting the informants to gain primary data, the researcher should admit the

lack of time to conduct individual interviews. The time constraint vastly pushed the researcher to not handle the interview directly but through email correspondence. This circumstance, however, reduced the probability of enriching primary data from the informants. Therefore, the analysis generation process most depended on the written interaction through texts and replies via email

RESULT AND EXPLANATION

According to NCB-Interpol Indonesia, Indonesian police personnel deployed in UN mission can be categorized into three forms, Professional Post (P. Post), Individual Police Officer (IPO), and Formed Police Unit (FPU) that have the same goal which is to complete UN's Peacekeeping missions (NCB-Interpol Indonesia, 2017). Individual police officers (IPOs) are police officers or other law enforcement personnel of various ranks and experience assigned to serve with the United Nations by governments of the Member States which have the main task of the Physical Protection of Civilian and the Creation of Protective Environment (United Nations, 2017). Especially for female police, other main duties are to protect women and children, function as community

policing, building interaction with local women and children (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2018). United Nations ensures gender-sensitive policing throughout the work of United Nations Police as an operational necessity to overcome the differentiated security needs of women, men, girls, and boys (United Nations Police, 2016). The participation of women police is important in United Nations Police activities, such as the promotion of the rule of law, intelligence, planning, leadership, investigations, and public order management, capacity-building of host-State police, community-oriented policing, gender awareness-raising, and engaging communities (United Nations Police, 2016).

In addition, women police act as role models for gender equality and inspire women to encourage their rights and pursue careers in law enforcement also to provide a greater sense of security to women and children and improve access and support from law enforcement agencies to local women (United Nations Police, 2016). Women Police also help the United Nations address and respond to sexual exploitation and abuse (United Nations Police, 2016). Such participation of women police was emphasized through

Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security 1325 (2000), 1769 (2007), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), and 2242 (2015) which talked about the important roles of women in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peace-building and for their equal participation and full involvement at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and maintenance and promotion of international peace and security (United Nations Police, 2016).

Given such global normative procedures, it becomes pertinent to ask how the Indonesian female police perceive their presence in Darfur as delegated by Indonesian National Police to adopt gender mainstreaming policy. According to the data gained from one of the interviewees, the Indonesian government's policy in international security has gradually reflected the gender mainstreaming agenda. In the case of Indonesian peacekeepers deployed in the UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur, from 2017 to 2018, 9 out of 15 Indonesian police personnel deployed in UNAMID were female (Astuti, 2017).

Furthermore, those nine female police personnel demonstrated their position as Individual Police Officer

in various types of contributions. Some were appointed to manage strategic roles as patrol officers, administrative officers, and team leaders in sub-unit at UNAMID main headquarters. Yunik Dwi Astuti herself managed every Individual Police Officers who departed from many other countries who eventually accomplished their deployment. Some soft skills were determinant to the successful accomplishment. Facing the pressure from the culturally different local community and handling complaints from other female personnel due to financial miscalculation of their Monthly Substantial Allowance (MSA) were other responsibilities facing AKBP Yunik Dwi Astuti during her deployment in UNAMID.

The other Indonesian women police was Kompol Rusdiani, SIK, MSi. Getting assigned as Internal Investigation Officer, Kompol Rusdiani was responsible for investigating various cases in that area, such as harassment, stealing, etc. (Syam et al., 2017). The Indonesian female police should investigate the roots of the problem and provide traumatic healing for the victims of sexual harassment. Another Indonesian female police who strategically performed a crucial role in UNAMID was Iptu

Wastini, assigned to a training officer who had to train all Individual Police Officers from other countries such as Tanzania and Malawi, Rwanda, and South Africa. Before this position, Iptu Warsini became a certified NSAAT Tester and International Trainer from United Nations (AKBP Yunik Dwi Astuti, SIK, MSi, 2017). Besides, Brigadier Fraya Sadewi; AKBP Dr. Imanta Tarigan; Briпка Aprina Pohan; Briпка Anastasia Helena Rompas; Briпка Ni Nyoman Trisna Oktaviani; and Briпка Lucy Veronika were other Indonesian female police assigned as IPO in UNAMID with their unique roles. Brigadier Fraya Sadewi was assigned as Protocol Officer whose duty was to communicate with the representatives or the president of the Sudanese government, the UNAMID Officials, and the delegates who came to visit the mission area. AKBP Dr. Imanta Tarigan was assigned as Welfare Officer in the South Sector and responsible for handling stress management. Briпка Aprina Pohan was assigned as a Planning Officer in the South Sector, which must plan the strength of personnel in this sector and the on-Site team to support the territorial patrol. Briпка Anastasia Helena Rompas

and Bripka Ni Nyoman Trisna Oktaviani were appointed as Admin Officer. However, Bripka Anastasia Helena was assigned in the South Sector, and Ni Nyoman Trisna Oktaviani was differently assigned in the West Sector and responsible for managing given information about the administrative movement to all personnel in their Sector, Site Team, and Main Headquarter. Last but not least, Bripka Lucy Veronika, who was assigned as Joint Operations Center (JOC) Officer in Central Sector which had the duty to prepare, collate and disseminate JOC products promptly, including regularly scheduled daily and weekly mission situation reports and ad-hoc reports such as special incident reports (Syam et al., 2017).

With the specific role as a patrol officer, the personnel had opportunities to interact with local people in refugee camps to maintain public security. Direct engagement with local villagers could help the person build trust with the people and track the safety of the people in Darfur. Patrol officers also monitored the crime potentials in that area, including the cases of sexual gender-based violence, by collecting and analyzing information about the dynamism of the crimes. Next, the personnel identified the

crime-prone areas and warned local people to stay away from the dangerous area (AKBP Muhammad Nur Syam, S.I.K.; AKBP dr. Sn Imanta Taringan, SpPK; Bripka Lusy Veronika, S.Pd., 2017). Adding to that, this female IPO also performed other roles: (1) provide several skills-building activities such as teaching about self-security, personal health and the environment, ways of breastfeeding, and children's education; (2) enhance the local policewomen capacity to take a leading responsibility in providing support to local communities; and (3) ensure the safety of refugees from criminal acts that will happen around mission area (NCB-Interpol Indonesia, 2017); (4) provide counseling and capacity building at refugee camps; (5) and community policing, human rights education and health.

Based on the UNAMID mandates, which are to (1) protect civilians, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan; (2) facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and ensure the safety of humanitarian personnel; (3) mediate between the Government of Sudan and non-signatory armed movements based on the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur; and (4) support the

mediation of community conflict, including through measures to address its root causes (UNAMID, 2014), Indonesian women police as IPO have made significant progress in particular indicators relating to the mandates such as peace, health and education (United Nations, 2015). This significant progress can be seen in Figure 2.

Mandates	Problems	Activities
To protect civilians; without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan	Rape; Violations of the Rights to Life; Violations of the Rights to Physical Integrity	Doing weekly patrol plan; Monitoring the development of crime in that area including the cases of sexual gender-based violence; Analyzing information about the development of the crime; Warning local people
To facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and ensure the safety of humanitarian personnel	Lack of education about self-security, personal health and the environment, ways of breastfeeding, and children's education; Access to clean water in Darfur is very difficult and force people to experience a long-term drought	Providing skill-building activities, counseling/educating communities; Escorts for 11 logistics convoys of the World Food Program (WFP), which consists of 87 trucks carrying 1,947 tons of food and 46 tons of non-food items; Provide daily escort to humanitarian water, hygiene and sanitation partners, and transporting water from Kube to the Sortony gathering site
Mediate between the Government of Sudan and non-signatory armed movements based on the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur	A prolonged and violent war between Janjaweed and Armed Rebel Groups; Conflict between two communities such as the Berti and the Ma'aliva	Conducted a meditation between the Government of Sudan and Armed Rebel Group to sign a protocol agreement that was finalized at the All Darfur Stakeholders Conference in May 2011, in Doha, Qatar; Conducted a meditation between the Berti and the Ma'aliva in April 2017

Mandates	Problems	Activities
Support the mediation of community conflict, including through measures to address its root causes	Women and Children do not have the right to speak with the government	Mediate the local women to the signing of the Revitalized Agreement with its requirement of 35 percent women in the composition of important transitional and Governmental structures in Darfur, Sudan.

Figure 2. The Progress of Indonesian female IPO
(compiled by the authors)

Through this mission, as shown in Figure 2, Indonesian female Individual Police Officers also protected women and children from the humanitarian crisis in Darfur. They were engaged in advocacies and resilience building for women and children. The advocacy was centered on protecting women and children from sexual abuse and other crimes, empowering women to maintain their physical wellbeing and the growth of their babies by educating proper breastfeeding, outreaching the children by teaching them in classrooms, and teaching them the urgency of protecting the environment. Besides, the Indonesian female IPO also facilitated the local people by providing counseling/educating communities (capacity building) at refugee camps for the local police to maintain security and order, community policing, human

rights, education, and health. The elementary session to socialize the foundation of human rights, for instance, might give incentives for women in Darfur to continue post-conflict reconstruction by liberating their basic rights.

CONCLUSION

According to United Nations Police, Individual Police Officers have duties such as providing skill-building activities, building trust with refugees, and ensuring refugees' safety from criminal acts around the mission area. Besides, Indonesian policewomen also have the other duties which are to complete UNAMID mandates such as to (1) protect civilians, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan; (2) facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and ensure the safety of humanitarian personnel; (3)

mediate between the Government of Sudan and non-signatory armed movements based on the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur; and (4) support the mediation of community conflict, including through measures to address its root causes.

To complete these duties and mandates, Indonesia's government sends women police to the UNAMID for the first time for batch 2017-2018 because Indonesia has begun to realize gender equality. These women police are AKBP Yunik Dwi Astuti, SIK, MSi, Kompol Rusdiani, SIK, MSi, Iptu Wastini, Brigadir Fraya Sadewi, AKBP Dr. Imanta Tarigan, Briпка Aprina Pohan, Briпка Anastasia Helena Rompas, Briпка Ni Nyoman Trisna Oktaviani, and Briпка Lucy Veronika. The deployment of Indonesian female police in UNAMID has shown that the counterinsurgency measurement also signifies the role of police security to accompany the human security concept in peacekeeping and gendering international peace and security can be accelerated.

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Promoting a Better Image through Culture: The Case of Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy towards Indonesia

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Abstract

This study attempts to reveal cultural diplomacy, which Turkey implements towards Indonesia. The 'golden period' of Turkey is from 2007 until 2013. After that, the public diplomacy of Turkey was not effective as before, and it was fallen dramatically. The country's instability caused by the political turmoil within the country also influences the growth of international isolation. With these based on the problem that influences its image, Turkey needs to prove a different and better image to promote itself abroad. Public perceptions can be shaped and controlled by doing cultural diplomacy that acts as soft power. Having one thing in common as a country with a Muslim population as the majority, Turkey has a special place in the hearts of the Indonesian people. Based on the theory of cultural diplomacy by Milton C. Cummings, the authors drew two arguments. First, Turkey's Cultural diplomacy towards Indonesia is done not only by state actors (officially by the government) but also by non-state actors such as individuals and companies. Second, cultural diplomacy carried out by Turkey towards Indonesia is through all aspects of the needs of the Indonesian people, such as films, fashion, news, music, food, and education.

Keywords: *Cultural Diplomacy, Indonesia, Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, Turkey*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mencoba mengungkap diplomasi budaya yang dilakukan Turki terhadap Indonesia. 'Masa emas' Turki adalah dari tahun 2007 hingga 2013, karena setelah itu diplomasi publik Turki tidak efektif seperti sebelumnya dan merosot drastis. Ketidakstabilan negara yang disebabkan oleh gejolak politik di dalam negeri turut mempengaruhi tumbuhnya isolasi internasional. Berdasarkan permasalahan yang mempengaruhi citra negaranya, Turki perlu membuktikan citra yang berbeda dan lebih baik untuk mempromosikan dirinya di luar negeri. Persepsi masyarakat dapat dibentuk dan dikendalikan dengan melakukan diplomasi budaya yang bersifat *soft power* (kekuasaan lunak). Memiliki satu kesamaan sebagai negara yang mayoritas penduduknya beragama Islam, Turki memiliki tempat tersendiri di hati masyarakat Indonesia. Berdasarkan teori diplomasi budaya oleh Milton C. Cummings, penulis menarik dua argumen. Pertama, diplomasi Kebudayaan Turki terhadap Indonesia tidak hanya dilakukan oleh aktor negara (resmi oleh pemerintah) tetapi juga dilakukan oleh aktor non negara seperti individu dan perusahaan. Kedua, diplomasi budaya yang dilakukan Turki terhadap Indonesia melalui segala aspek kebutuhan masyarakat Indonesia. Yakni film, fashion, berita, musik, makanan, dan pendidikan.

Kata Kunci: *Diplomasi Budaya, Diplomasi Publik, Indonesia, Kekuasaan Lunak, Turki*

INTRODUCTION

Turkey, for the first time, established diplomatic relations with Indonesia in 1950. However, if seen from its long history, Turkey has been a strategic partner at the center of the world Islamic Empire since the days of the Ottoman Empire long before the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was formed.

Having one thing in common as a country with a Muslim population as the majority, Turkey has a special place in the hearts of the Indonesian people. Turkey is one of the most popular countries to visit after Saudi Arabia by Muslims in Indonesia. Turkey has a solid historical heritage, special local food, and culture that attracts visitors to Turkey. Turkey and Indonesia are tourist-oriented

countries. In this case, Turkey can share with Indonesia its phenomenal experience in this industry. Turkey carries out its cultural diplomacy well, including with Indonesia. In 2018, based on data from the World Tourism Organization, Turkey became the top 6 most visited countries globally, with a total number of visitors reaching 46 million that year (World Tourism Organization, 2019).

Turkey also has experience regarding health care tourism that can be shared with Indonesia. Based on the data, in 2013, Turkey had about 47 Joint Commission International (JCI) accredited hospitals, and it is known as “one of the highest-ranking countries

in terms of the number of JCI-accredited healthcare facilities” (Precidency of the Republic Turkey Investment Office, 2013).

Turkey and Indonesia can give benefit each other in terms of geography and trade. Given Indonesia’s geostrategic position, Turkey can use Indonesia’s position to reach better relation to the Pacific region. In turn, Indonesia can use Turkey as its gateway to promote its exports to countries in the Middle East and Europe.

Based on the background above, the research problem discussed in this journal is: ‘How does Turkey’s Implementation of its Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia?’



Figure 1. Map of Asia (<https://www.mapsofworld.com/asia/>)

RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the authors used the descriptive method by explaining how things happen or accurately describing existing data. In this study, the authors will explain the theory of cultural diplomacy and how Turkey implements cultural diplomacy towards Indonesia. The data source used was secondary data. These materials were collected from a literature study obtained from online and printed documents related to the cultural diplomacy of Turkey towards Indonesia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In conducting research based on a literature study, the authors used previous research that discussed the implementation of Turkish public diplomacy in Indonesia because the previous studies could support the authors' data. Therefore, the authors chose three academic journals and theses to discuss the same issue.

The first literature used by the authors was *Turkish Gastro diplomacy by Zahra Turkish Ice Cream in Indonesia, in Indonesian Perspective*, volume 4, number 1, published in 2019, by Anastasia Claudia Sinaga and Rudi Sukandar. They explained how public diplomacy is not only carried out by state actors, but at this time, it can

be carried out by non-state actors. Anastasia and Rudi focus on the case of Zahra Turkish Ice Cream, a Turkish company that promotes Turkish ice cream. Anastasia and Rudi categorized food promotion from one country to another as part of cultural promotion. Gastro diplomacy or culinary diplomacy is one type of cultural diplomacy and a subset of public diplomacy (Anastasia Claudia Sinaga & Rudi Sukandar, 2019).

In a postgraduate thesis entitled *PASIAD as Turkish Soft Power in Indonesia*, published in 2015, Novian Uticha Sally and Dr. Samsu Rizal Panggabean, M.Sc from the Department of International Relations, Gadjah Mada University, explained that PASIAD, as a foreign private school from Turkey, could develop rapidly in Indonesia and its role in Indonesian Turkish relations. Although not an official institution from the Turkish government, PASIAD, as a private organization, can implement its educational curriculum by incorporating many Turkish values and cultures (Novian Uticha Sally & Dr. Samsu Rizal Panggabean, 2015). The role of PASIAD in various dimensions had created a connection and bondage that had made cooperation between Indonesia and Turkey stable, until

before the Turkish government dissolved this organization and designated it as a banned organization in 2016.

In 2016, an undergraduate thesis was written by Tisna Sulegar, from the International Relations study program, Padjajaran University, also examined the same theme, PASIAD Public Diplomacy as a form of Turkish Soft Power in Indonesia. Tisna explained that even though PASIAD is a private organization, as an organization born from Turkish activists with a Turkish cultural background, PASIAD certainly has thick roots (Tisna Sulegar, 2016).

The two theses and a journal above have contributed to explaining Turkish cultural diplomacy's implementation towards Indonesia. Thus, it can be said that the three works of literature of this study discuss education and food as cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, and Turkish soft power. However, the authors found that cultural diplomacy is not only through education and food in this study. Also through the Turkish series, radio and music, online media, and fashion. Therefore, this research is expected to provide new perspectives and broader insights by analyzing the implementation

of Turkish cultural diplomacy in Indonesia.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cultural Diplomacy Theory

According to Milton C. Cummings, an American political scientist and author, cultural diplomacy is exchanging ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their people to foster mutual understanding (Cummings, 2009).

Cultural diplomacy generally can be seen from its concept and practice as the action of a country when its culture supports its foreign policy goals. In recent years, foreign policy development by using a country's culture has become an interesting trend. It is considered an effective way to increase mutual understanding between countries, combat stereotypes, and improve reputation and relationships (Mark, 2009). Rather than the political level, performing arts and visuals have more power to engage the citizens personally (Grincheva, U.S. Arts and Cultural Diplomacy: Post-Cold War Decline and the Twenty-First Century Debate, 2010).

The term of cultural diplomacy often confused with public diplomacy and soft power. According to Joseph S. Nye, an American

Political Scientist, the three main resources of a country's soft power can be explained: first, culture (where the culture in the places can attract other people's interest). Second, political values (the values should be widely accepted and implemented by people). Third, foreign policies (the policies should be seen as legitimate and having moral authority) (Nye, 2008).

Among many of the emerging powers, Turkey is one of the countries that use public diplomacy. The 'golden period' of Turkey is from 2007 until 2013. After that, the public diplomacy of Turkey was not effective as before, and it was fallen dramatically. The domestic problem affects the global image that Turkey has. The country's instability caused by the political turmoil within the country also influences the growth of international isolation. With these based on the problem that influences its image, Turkey needs to prove a different and better image to promote itself abroad. Turkey's old image as a model of democracy in a Muslim state should be shifted more to focus on the Turkish lifestyle, cultural appeal, and worldview. The cultural diplomacy that accentuates popular culture and focuses on entertaining, Turkey uses the television broadcast to project and promote its movies to

foreign publics. These are not only to entertain, but with the movie itself, Turkey can promote its language, food, culture, music, fashion and build the image of the citizens and the country (SETA Foundation, 2019).

DISCUSSION

• *Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia through Turkish Series*

Based on the data in 2014, Turkish TV was taking over the world. The United States was the first highest-ranking, following Turkey as the second-highest ranking of television drama in 2014. The export revenue of Turkish television drama in 2014 was estimated at \$200 million. In the same year, the viewers of the Turkish series worldwide combined approximately reached 400 million viewers. The viewers are in the Middle East and across North Africa, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Scandinavia, and Latin America as new markets of the Turkish series (SETA Foundation, 2019).

In 2014, the Turkish series also already reached Indonesia and became one of people's favorite series. There are many reasons why Turkish dramas were in great demand in Indonesia. First, from a visual point of view, actors and actresses from

Turkey seem to have a combination of European, Asian and Middle Eastern faces. Second, Turkey also has several traditions that are similar to Indonesia. Perhaps one reason is that Indonesia and Turkey also have a majority Muslim population, so the element of closeness in Turkish drama can be a special attraction for Indonesian people. Third, even though it has hundreds to thousands of episodes, Turkish dramas are still not boring to watch. Each episode presents a sense of curiosity about the continuation of the episode. Fourth, Turkish dramas have many unpredictable storylines (brilio.net, 2019).

One Turkish series that aired in Indonesia in 2015 was *Shehrazat 1001 Malam* (English: 1001 Nights - Turkish: Binbir Gece). Turkish Exporters Assembly (TIM) head, Mehmet Büyükekşi, said that Turkey plans to reach \$2 billion from exporting cultural products by 2023 (hurriyetdailynews.com, 2014).



Figure 2. Poster of *Shehrazat 1001 Malam*, Turkish series that aired in Indonesia (<https://www.fimela.com/news-entertainment/read/2616767/5-serial-turki-paling-fenomenal-di-indonesia>)

According to Dr. Arzu Ozturkmen, who teaches oral history at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkish people are very much against their series called soap operas. Turkey series are not soap operas, telenovelas, or period dramas. Turkey series are *Dizi*. *Dizi* means “genre in progress” with a unique storyline, supporting music and space (theguardian.com, 2019).

Table 1. List of Turkish series broadcasted on television stations in Indonesia from 2015 – 2017

No	Title in English	Title in Turkish	Television Channel	Year
1	Resurrection: Ertuğrul	Diriliş: Ertuğrul	Trans7	2015
2	Elif	Elif	SCTV	2015
3	Magnificent Century	Muhtesem Yüzyil	ANTV	2015
4	1001 Nights	Binbir Gece	ANTV	2015

No	Title in English	Title in Turkish	Television Channel	Year
5	Cherry Season	Kiraz Mevsimi	Trans TV	2015
6	Playing Nanny	Hayatimin Rolu	RCTI	2015
7	Black Money Love	Kara Para Aşk	ANTV	2015
8	Peace Street	Huzur Sokağı	RCTI	2015
9	Child Bride	Küçük Gelin	SCTV	2015
10	What is the Fatmagul's Fault?	Fatmagül'ün Suçu Ne?	ANTV	2016
11	Relationship Status: Complicated	İlişki Durumu: Karışık	SCTV	2016
12	Never Let Go	Asla Vazgeçme	ANTV	2016
13	Broken Pieces	Paramparça	ANTV	2016
14	That is My Life	O Hayat Benim	ANTV	2016
15	A Part of Me	Kaderimin Yazıldığı Gün	ANTV	2016
16	Orphan Flowers	Kırgın Çiçekler	ANTV	2016
17	Magnificent Century	Muhteşem Yüzyıl	SCTV	2016
18	Never Let Go (Season 2)	Asla Vazgeçme (Season 2)	TV ONE	2017
19	That is My Life (Season 2)	O Hayat Benim (Season 2)	TV ONE	2017
20	Orphan Flowers (Season 2)	Kırgın Çiçekler (Season 2)	TV ONE	2017
21	Torn Apart	Eve Donus	TV ONE	2017
22	Winter Sun	Kis Gunesi	TV ONE	2017
23	Queen of The Night	Gecenin Kralicesi	TV ONE	2017
24	Endless Love	Kara Sevda	TV ONE	2017
25	North South	Kuzey Guney	Fmn	2017
26	Lady Dila	Dila Hanim	Fmn	2017
27	Secrets	Kayip	Fmn	2017

(source: Indonesian Turkish Friends, 2017)

In 2020, because the global pandemic COVID-19 forces people to stay indoors, online platforms have become one way to kill boredom at home. As reported by Anadolu Agency, Indonesians were hooking for Turkish movies as their preference to accompany their stay at home. *Fetih 1453* and *Sultan Abdul Hamid II* are examples of Turkish movies and TV series that people watch (Idrus, 2020).

- **Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia through Radio and Music**

One of the biggest radio corporations in Turkey is The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT). It plays a central role in cultural diplomacy, with its international broadcasting as an effective tool to deliver messages. TRT world launched in 2015 to reach broader scope by using the English language for its news platform. Providing this platform helps Turkey promote its image to the world without a language barrier (SETA Foundation, 2019). In addition, domestic and global citizens can access the website of a National Voice Radio in Turkey that shares Turkish music. The ease of enjoying Turkish music is also a great strategy for promoting

the country's language and culture (Köselerli, 2017).

According to the former Turkish Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia, Zekeriya Akçam said that the first performance of Turkish musicians in Indonesia was in 2013. The groups are the best of the best in Turkey and perform high-quality Turkish music in Jakarta. *Allegra*, which represents modern Turkish music, and *Gul Isigi*, which represents traditional Turkish music (Aira, 2013).

- **Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia through Online Media**

To follow the development of the modern era, Turkey has a big news agency that has an office in more than 45 countries worldwide and publishes news in many languages. One of them is the Indonesian language.

The Turkish news agency, Anadolu Agency, is expanding its international wing by inaugurating an Indonesian-language news service in Jakarta in 2017. Since its establishment in 1920, the Anadolu Agency has been present in various languages. Anadolu Agency is the only international news agency broadcast in Indonesia.

Deputy Director-General Mustafa Ozkaya said journalism has the power to build public opinion and bring about change. Indonesia is Anadolu Agency's priority country. With more than 260 million, Indonesia has an important position in the Asia Pacific (Nupus, 2017).

In 2007, the Turkish government established a worldwide non-profit organization to promote the Turkish language and culture worldwide named the Yunus Emre Institute (YEE). Yunus Emre Institute (YEE) promotes Turkey through its history and arts, creates informational documents on cultural issues, and builds bridges between Turkey and other countries through intercultural exchange. The information can be found in its entire social media platform (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube channel, Google) (Köselerli, 2017).

- **Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia through Education**

The next strategic step taken by the Turkish government was in 2012 to combine all higher education scholarships from various state institutions into one scholarship mechanism under the name Türkiye Scholarship (Turkish: Türkiye Bursları, www.turkiyeburslari.gov.

tr). YTB , through the Türkiye Scholarship, seeks to attract international students to continue their studies in Turkey and introduce Turkish culture and language to them (Abhimanyu, 2020).

On March 31, 2020, the Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to Turkey, Lalu Muhammad Iqbal, shared a post on his Instagram account. He made a Skype Call with Abdullah Eren, President of YTB. Lalu Muhammad Iqbal explained his concern about the fate of the 2700 Indonesian students during the pandemic in Turkey. Abdullah Eren said that he would treat students from Indonesia who have received YTB like his own compatriots.

The Turkish government said it would increase the scholarship quota for Indonesian students in 2021. Türkiye Bursları Scholarship Advisor, Enes Efendioğlu, said that 1000 Indonesian students had received YTB scholarships. Meanwhile, at this time, around 243 students are still actively studying. Efendioğlu said that in 2021 the plan is to open a scholarship quota for 300 Indonesian students (Pızaro Gozalı Idrus, 2020).

- **Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia through Food**

Besides Turkish ice cream, Turkish culinary that are famous throughout the world are kebabs and baklava. Kebab is a typical Turkish food containing thin slices of beef and several vegetables wrapped in tortilla skin (Alinda Putri, 2019). Baklava is a snack in the Turkish region and areas where the former Ottoman Empire was ruled. This snack consists of walnuts or pistachios chopped and sweetened (sugar or honey) wrapped in thin bread dough (Mardin Baklava, 2019).

Cultural diplomacy can be implemented officially by the government and a private company in this current era. Istanbul Kebab Turki, a kebab shop in Jakarta owned by Muhammad Mustafa, a Turkish, presents an authentic Turkish kebab with native Turkish spices. 19.9 thousand followers followed this shop on Instagram with username @istanbulkebabturki, and the video uploaded by Indonesian food vlogger Kubiler about this kebab, watched by 7.3 million people on YouTube. In addition to kebab shops established by Turkish in Indonesia, many kebab shop branches are established by Indonesian citizens

themselves. Such as Kebab Turki Baba Rafi. By relying on a kebab with a distinctive taste, Kebab Turki Baba Rafi is the largest franchise business in the world with 1300 outlets in 10 countries within 15 years of development (PT BABA RAFI ENTERPRISE, 2019). The founders of this franchise are Hendy Setiono and Nilam Sari, and they are Indonesian businesspeople.

The baklava's store with authentic Turkish flavors also can be found in Jakarta. Mardin Baklava, who claims to be the first baklava patisserie in Indonesia, followed by around 47.8 thousand followers on their Instagram account with username @mardinbaklava until January 2021. The Indonesian public's interest in Turkish culinary seems quite high. Even though the owner is not Turkish, Abdulrahman Suud, an Arab, confirms that a person should have special skills and a certificate to make baklava, so the baklava chefs in Mardin Baklava are Turkish.

Turkish culinary has become a business idea in Indonesia even though the company owner may not be Turkish. It proves that Turkish culinary has great value and opportunity for business people because Turkish cuisine can be accepted in the Indonesian tongue.

- **Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia through Fashion**

Turkish fashion is slowly entering Indonesia, promoted by one of the biggest fashion companies in Turkey, called LC Waikiki. Currently, LC Waikiki already has four branches in Indonesia. The locations are Gandaria City and Lippo Mall Puri, Jakarta. As well as at Pakuwon Mall and Tunjungan Plaza, Surabaya. Even though it was founded in France, after becoming a Turkish-owned company, LC Waikiki certainly also represents the materials and clothing styles favored by the Turkish people (rintek, 2019).

Turkey is also famous for its carpets, rugs, and hijabs. One of Indonesia's most complete Turkish hijab shops is JAKIST (from Jakarta-Istanbul) in Jakarta, with followers of around 17.5 thousand people with username @hijabturki.jakist on Instagram. Turkish hijab has its special characteristics on the fabric and the motives which have attracted Indonesians to buy it. Around 400 Turkish people live in Indonesia for study, business, and mixed marriage. JAKIST is a Turkish fashion store owned by a Turkish-Indonesian couple.

Fashion consultant Franka Soeria said that Indonesian designers in modest clothes need to reflect on the best countries at selling hijab or modest clothes. The country she refers to is Turkey. Franka explained that Turkey has good sales in exporting modest clothes to various countries (Arina Yulistara, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Indonesia and Turkey are far from a geographical point of view. However, in the sense of unity, both countries have extraordinary closeness. Several Turkish cultures have entered Indonesia through cultural diplomacy, one of which is the screening of Turkish films that have won the hearts of Indonesians. By touching viewers' hearts through Turkey's culture, cultural developments in Indonesia can receive and provide audiovisual education. The public also understands that there are many similarities in terms of humanity, ways of thinking, and getting an education in dress and manners outside of local culture. Economic conditions also determine and assist the course of cultural diplomacy. Indonesia and Turkey have similarities in culture and religion and do not forget the side of social

status, which in fact, not all levels of society can travel to experience and learn about the cultural differences of each country. Student exchange can also be interpreted as a state-sponsored trip to strengthen relations and provide opportunities for all levels of society from two countries with the potential and adequate knowledge.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The practice that Turkey has carried out in carrying out its cultural diplomacy to Indonesia has been good. Through films and visual cultural broadcasts, Turkey has introduced its ethnic groups that the Turks are Turks. Not Arabs or Europeans. Besides, the Turkish Ambassador's introduction of Turkish music in Indonesia effectively made the Indonesian people more familiar with Turkish music, both traditional and modern. However, the Turkish embassy in Indonesia as an important bridge to connect Turkey and Indonesia still not maximum to carry out its duty. Therefore, the recommendation of this research are:
2. The Turkish embassy's practice of cultural diplomacy in

Indonesia should be further enhanced by conducting an annual event.

A Visa-free is needed for Indonesian tourists to visit Turkey.

The bilateral relations between Turkey and Indonesia, strengthened by cultural diplomacy, are expected to attract Indonesian citizens to come to Turkey to study, travel, or work. Furthermore, it is hoped that visa-free Indonesian tourists who want to come to Turkey can exist long-term. Like the Turkish citizens who have a 30-day visa-free when visiting Indonesia. However, a visa is one of the important requirements and can also be an obstacle for a tourist. With the closer relationship between Turkey and Indonesia, it is hoped that there will be more convenience and openness of facilities and access for the two countries.

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Recruitment And Use Of Child Soldiers In Afghanistan: Cultural Traits As Pivotal Factor

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Abstract

This paper explores the cultural values that prevailed in Afghanistan to understand the recruitment and use of underage soldiers in the long-lasting armed conflict while comparing the existing domestic and international law. The study analyzed the effect of the traditions of Afghans on child soldiering. The method was doctrinal, and therefore, the collected and analyzed data was qualitative. The analysis was thematic, where each related idea was subjected to review and evaluation. The research found that since time immemorial, the Afghan culture traditions were conducive to underage soldiering for various reasons, including peace and justice where male and female child warriors are treated as heroes, perhaps more than any other member of the Afghan society. Due to the stated reasonings, the study established that more underage soldiers were used and recruited during the period of the British Empire, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the civil war that caused the Taliban and Northern Alliance to resume control and in the post 9/11 phase of armed conflict in Afghanistan irrespective of domestic and international law that prohibited the recruitment and use of underage soldiers as it violated their basic fundamental rights of childhood.

Keywords: *Recruitment of Child Soldiers, Use of Child Soldiers, Afghan Culture, Honour, Hospitality, Revenge.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengeksplorasi nilai-nilai budaya yang berlaku di Afghanistan untuk memahami perekrutan dan penggunaan tentara di bawah umur dalam konflik bersenjata yang berlangsung lama sambil membandingkan hukum domestik dan internasional yang ada. Studi ini menganalisis pengaruh tradisi Afghanistan pada tentara anak. Metodenya bersifat doktrinal, sehingga data yang dikumpulkan dan dianalisis bersifat kualitatif. Analisisnya bersifat tematis, di mana setiap gagasan yang terkait menjadi sasaran tinjauan dan evaluasi. Penelitian tersebut menemukan bahwa sejak dahulu kala, tradisi budaya Afghanistan kondusif untuk tentara di bawah umur karena berbagai alasan, termasuk perdamaian dan keadilan di mana pejuang anak laki-laki dan perempuan diperlakukan sebagai pahlawan, mungkin lebih dari anggota masyarakat Afghanistan lainnya. Karena alasan yang disebutkan, penelitian ini menetapkan bahwa lebih banyak tentara di bawah umur digunakan dan direkrut selama periode Kerajaan Inggris, invasi Soviet ke Afghanistan, dan perang saudara yang menyebabkan Taliban dan Aliansi Utara untuk melanjutkan kontrol dan di pos 9/ 11 fase konflik bersenjata di Afghanistan terlepas dari hukum domestik dan internasional yang melarang perekrutan dan penggunaan tentara di bawah umur karena melanggar hak-hak dasar dasar mereka di masa kanak-kanak.

Kata kunci: *Rekrutmen Prajurit Anak, Penggunaan Prajurit Anak, Budaya Afghanistan, Kehormatan, Keramahan, Balas Dendam.*

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on and addresses the recruitment and use of child soldiers in Afghan culture. The research on child recruitment suggests that scrutiny of the Afghan culture provides a satisfactory answer without reference to the

implementation process, country's history, culture, and custom (Norway: Landinfo, 2017). The modern Afghan history of struggle against powerful foreign invaders has undoubtedly contributed to the readiness of Afghan people to take to arms and fight for their dignity

and freedom (Saikal, 2004). The heroic struggle of the Afghan people and victories against the British Imperial Army (M., 2015)¹ and the Soviets have been recorded in the memory of every living Afghan and on paper by the Afghan intellectuals. They have been shared with the new generation orally and are being passed out to them through books in institutions of formal learning (Dowling, 2015). Both of these sources, the orally-transmitted epics, and scholarly-penned historical accounts have contributed to the image of undefeated and undefeatable Afghan hero, ever ready to rise against oppression, tyranny, and assault on its dignity and honor, to defend its corpus from anyone who might dare to threaten these values and opt to go down the spiral of the armed conflict (Hassan, 2006). These circumstances ought to be considered to grasp the discrepancy between the legal ideal's mechanisms against child soldiering and realities on the ground. Hence, seen from the perspective of culture,

1 Towards the end of the 19th century, the British army had a regulation that boys as young as fourteen could enlist into the army. Thus, during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880) and the Boer Wars (1880-1881; 1899-1902), there were around 3,000 boys serving in the British army.

child soldiering is not considered a violation of norm and custom, and as such, it is not deemed a reprehensible practice. The issue is, however, not innocuous in other fields of knowledge, such as law. Within the perspective of law, both national (Qanet & Jan, 2019) and international (Qanet1 & Jan1, 2019); (Steinl, 2017); (Ann, Robinson, & I'Anson, 2018); (Jha, 2018); (Vautravers, 2008) child soldiering is studied to the extent it violates legal standards and particular laws (Christine, 2007).

Child soldiers, their recruitment and use are complex. Similarly, the interrelated cluster of terms requires a closer investigation as separate terms and expressions when used together. When international treaties and local legal laws of Afghanistan and practice are considered, no uniform, universally accepted definition of a child is observed (Elisabeth & Elbert, 2010). The Afghan culture does have a clear view of what a child is, but when this view is placed in the socio-historical context, the clarity becomes somewhat diluted. The terms recruitment and use of child soldiers are perhaps less complex, particularly if seen from the perspective of recent international treaties and documents (Qanet1 &

Jan1, 2019). Child soldiers are used in multiple capacities (Steinl, 2017), including as on high-ranking armed group soldiers, but their capacity or service do not affect their status (Achvarina & Reich, 2006), since the latest treaties of international law and opinions of legal experts have clarified that all recruited child serving in the armed force or armed group in any capacity are uniformly treated as child soldiers (Qanet1 & Jan1, 2019).

The problem of child combatant conscription and use in armed struggle in Afghanistan calls for consideration of two features relevant to the subject. The first feature is the position of Afghan culture and the second position of the domestic legal framework on the subject. The research has implied descriptive, comparative, analytical, and synthetic methods, including field techniques and archival research methods. The descriptive approach proved useful in analyzing numerous definitions of the key terms found in culture and Afghan national legal references. The comparative approach was necessary to compare the views of various cultural factors and juxtapose them with national sources, laws, and practices. The entire discussion has been made in four subtopics; the

first offers a detailed perception and custom of recruitment and use of child soldiers in Afghan culture, secondly presents the understanding of adulthood and its responsibility in Afghan culture, thirdly deliberates factors that allowed and accepted child soldering in Afghanistan and lastly, it concludes the research.

Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers under Afghan Culture

Any attempt at finding a conclusive link between a particular culture and violence, or more specifically, the propensity of underage persons to enlist as child soldiers, requires a great deal of research because the term culture comprises many aspects of a community. Yet, Afghanistan's recent past and the notion of masculinity prevalent among the Afghans are filled with violence and ever-readiness to protect one's dignity and sovereignty (Zyck, 2011; Fog, 2017). Afghanistan's long and eventful history has been a replete heroic struggle of its people for survival and self-determination (Zyck, 2011). In modern times, the Afghans had to fight against several powerful foreign invaders, i.e., mighty British, the Soviet 'Red Army' etc., where they emerged victorious, though with huge

casualties (Angelo, 2005; Hassan, 2006; Fog, 2017).

The history of struggle against foreign invaders has certainly contributed to the readiness of Afghan people to take to arms and fight for their dignity and freedom (William, 2010; William B., 2012; Greenberg Research, Inc., 1999). All these turmoils have left an indelible mark on nearly two generations of the youth who have not seen a peaceful country, as the author puts it forward: “Today, Afghanistan is faced with the consequences of decades of violence, mass exodus, and displacements: it is insecure, intolerant of diversity of views, and home to nearly two generations that have grown up surrounded by conflict and war. Violent and aggressive behavior—particularly from young men—has become an accepted norm of Afghan society” (Ahmadi & Stanikzai, 2018). The ideas summarized in the above quotation indicate the effects of long-lasting armed conflict on youth in Afghanistan. The underlying problem operates in a vicious circle, where protracted violence generates more negative traits and intolerance towards others (Ahmadi & Stanikzai, 2018). This feature alone explains why there is a tendency towards violence in a country whose

population is largely young or below the age limit for soldiering seen as an adult. To recap, an extended period of armed conflict triggers more dissatisfaction and serves as a cause of renewed armed conflict among the Afghan population (Ahmadi & Stanikzai, 2018).

Perception of Adulthood in Afghan Society

The definition of a child or the period of childhood as opposed to the stages of adulthood in the major treaties of international law overemphasizes the chronological aspect of humanity without giving much room for other factors such as culture, religion, and a host of other aspects that shape our individual and social self (Dupree, 1980; Ewan & Hatch, 1990; Aisling, 2013). This definition is based on premises relevant to the Western countries and societies where most young persons can comfortably live and rely on their parents and state welfare to satisfy their needs (Dupree, 1980). In contrast, an Afghan child from rural areas enters the adult world where great duties and responsibilities are associated with him directly from pre-adolescent years (Ahmadi W., 2008). A renowned Western scholar into the history and culture of Afghanistan observed that “Sub teen boys begin to assist their fathers

in the fields, or, if nomadic, learn to ride, shoot, and herd. They can no longer play freely with their female counterparts. Childhood is over; adulthood begins. One major feature of child socialization in the Afghan non-urban society is that children have no adolescence, no transitional, educational period among their contemporaries away from their families to prepare them for the world they enter as adults. The young Afghan boy from 10 to 12 (or even younger) moves directly into an adult world” (Dupree, 1980) and is expected to assume the full responsibility as adults do (Andvig & Gates, 2010).

Chronic persistence of war and the availability of combat weapons within most, if not all, families in Afghanistan have certainly affected the course of the childhood of at least two generations. Even before the beginning of the armed conflicts starting with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, many Afghans had the habit of carrying arms in some areas (Brett & Specht, 2004).² According to Dupree, when an average Western

child would get his first toy gun present by his father in Afghanistan, the child receives training in handling a real gun. This contrast, too, aids in understanding the gap between a child’s perception within society and the time when they have presented toys or real weapons (Dupree, 1980).

Due to loyalty to family and concern for its survival, Afghan children and adolescents are also, in many instances, expected to aid in the financial needs of a household. This aspect has come about not only because of society’s cultural norms and customs but also due to the synergic effect of long-lasting armed conflict, a devastated economy, and scarcity of funds, whether in the form of aid or investment. Thus, much before their eighteenth birthday, young boys can be seen as street sellers, artisans involved in carpet weaving and pursuing other traditional crafts that can be a source of income (Lee, 2009). The stated circumstances combined, cultural, economic, and political ones, force the Afghan boys to skip the stage of adolescence and leap into adulthood directly from childhood (Lee, 2009).

2 All Afghani families have always had guns. From a long time before the recent wars, Afghans carried guns with themselves. Because Afghanistan has never been secure,

people had to be armed to keep and defend themselves.

Factors Contributing to Normalize Child Soldiering in Afghan Culture

Being situated in the strategically important crossroads wedged between large nations, Afghanistan has long been the battleground of military campaigns and various efforts to assimilate its people and win their hearts and minds. Three major campaigns mentioned before in the modern history of Afghanistan have greatly impacted the culture and character of the Afghans (Monsutti, 2013). Apart from being the object of military campaigns and resultant battles for self-defense and protection of their sovereignty, some traditional customs of the Afghans also contributed to ever-readiness to fight and defend their dignity and cultural identity. Two of these features that researchers and scholars have recognized in the history and culture of Afghanistan are honor and hospitality (Poulton, 2003).

The paramount importance of honor for the Afghans and how it can be brought into connection with the recruitment of the young and old to fight against alien forces is well illustrated by Poulton in an account that goes back to the mid-15th century (Poulton, 2003). According to the author, when

Sultan Muhammad Shah from Delhi tried to conquer one of the villages in Afghanistan, his forces met with ferocious resistance. Ultimately, the Sultan conquered the place and took an old and frail man named Malik Feroz as a prisoner. The Sultan and his guards then asked him to recognize the heads of the slain villagers who had been decapitated upon the conquest (Poulton, 2003). The older adult recognized all of them except one, whom he initially pretended not to know. When one of the Sultan's officers said that the unrecognized head was of the soldier who had fought bravely until his last breath and killed a dozen of Sultan's soldiers, the captive Malik Feroz proudly admitted that the head was of his young son. He was initially hesitant to recognize the soldier as he was unsure if he had fought bravely or not. The account attests that the older adult's honor is preponderant over his son's fatherly love and emotion (Poulton, 2003). Poulton further adds similar accounts where brothers are told and reminded by their sisters to fulfill their duty to fight against foreign attempts that encroach Afghan's honor and cultural identity (Poulton, 2003).

A traditional culture that devotes a great deal of importance

to the aspect of honor is also bound to cherish revenge or vendetta against intentional killing and what is perceived as an insult or dishonorable act against an individual, family, or clan (Anders, 2010). The vendetta or *Badal* (retaliation) in the Pashto language is applied in the following: "... from intrigue over women, murder of one of the family members or their *hamsayas* (close neighbors), violation of *Badragga* (peace delegation), slight personal injury or insult or damage to property. The urge for *Badal* does not mean that he is savage, bloodthirsty, or devoid of humane qualities. He is kind, affectionate, friendly, and magnanimous and forgives anyone who kills his relatives by mistake, but he will not allow any deliberate murder to go unavenged" (Noorzai, 1998; Khan, 1998).

Another cultural trait of the Afghans that is revered and safeguarded is hospitality and the perceived duty to provide the best possible treatment to a guest. This feature played a major role in the refusal of the Taliban leadership to surrender Osama Bin Laden after he was declared one of the most wanted terrorists following the claim of responsibility for the 9/11 attacks (Jonathan, 2009). To

clarify the reason why none of the Taliban soldiers dared to betray Bin Laden and accept the reward of \$25 million, a Pakistani Army Colonel Muhammad Effendi commented that the high reward money was considered far inferior to the possibility of disgrace that would certainly be earned by anyone who could have betrayed Bin Laden. The life of the possible traitor, and the lives of people from family, clan, and tribe, as Colonel Effendi concluded, "...wouldn't be worth an onion" (Jonathan, 2009).

A similar attitude towards *jihad* resurfaced in Afghanistan. It was exercised successfully to end the Anglo-Afghan wars (Nawid, 1997) and the Soviet invasion, which attempted to establish a Marxist-socialist state with the help of a weak central government (Cohn & Goodwin-Gill, 1994). *Jihad* was used throughout the resistance against the Soviets, mobilizing adults and many underage soldiers, particularly those who found refuge in the neighboring countries (Greenberg Research, Inc., 1999). Greenberg Research mentions that the phenomenon of child combatants – teenagers, to be exact – has been a feature of the Afghan war from the moment the Soviet invasion began. They were recruited with promises of glory for

their role in the *jihad*.” (Greenberg Research, Inc., 1999).

Once the Soviets were defeated, the *mujaheddin* soon split into several factions, bitterly fighting among themselves for power. One of the factions that turned to prevail over others is the Taliban, which also rallied support for their authority under the guise of *jihad* (Shaista & Youngerman, 2007). The Taliban intentionally recruited younger and underage persons to advance their cause because older fighters who had taken part in the resistance against the Soviets could not get easily convinced that this phase of the fratricidal armed conflict, an armed conflict between Muslims, could be justified as *jihad*. Thus, the Taliban claimed they were fighting for the true version of Islamic teaching over the corrupt and infidel groups (Barfield, 2010).

Similar to the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance has been reported to use underage fighters both; voluntarily and apathetically by beating them or destroying homes and property (Rohde, 2001; Fonseka, 2001; HRW, 2008; Arai-Takahashi, 2009) to take revenge against the Taliban who had assassinated or severely victimized their family members before and for a host of other causes (Kona,

2007; Takahashi, 2009). According to a survey conducted by M. Bhatia on 237 respondents, the proportion of child fighters under eighteen was 59%, while 49% of them took part in battles earlier than sixteen (Bhatia, 2008). The United Nations sources also reported that the Northern Alliance had no document or rule that forbids its enlistment and use of juvenile combatants, though the allegations of such practice were faithfully refuted by the then Afghan representative in the United Nations, who was loyal to the Northern Alliance (UNSC, 1999). The Northern Alliance continued to enlist and use children for battle throughout their armed struggle against the Taliban until the collapse of the Taliban regime in late 2001 (www.child-soldiers.org, 2002).

Underage fighters with more extensive combat experience and military prowess have been in elite units with higher recognition among their adult counterparts and civilians. When asked by the reporters and journalists as to the causes for their conscription, the bulk of child soldiers mentioned the lack of economic and education opportunities in the state that had been in armed conflict by then for twenty years (Rohde, 2001). Another factor connected with the

conscription of children for combat has been the juxtaposition of the non-state actors to dwellings, towns, and towns where the children were recruited (Stohl, 2002; Chrobok, 2005).

The Taliban have used the same Jihadi strategy for justification of the Taliban insurgency. It was easier after the 9/11 attacks as the newly-formed government of Afghanistan has worked together with some non-Muslim countries to rebuild the country (Arai-Takahashi, 2009). The Taliban controlled certain provinces and districts, particularly religious schools to recruit underage soldiers for their anti-government struggle. As testified by many parents, only in the district of Chadarhara in Kunduz province in 2015, the Taliban recruited one hundred children whom they could easily convince to risk their lives and fight in *jihad* against infidels what the Taliban consider foreign forces and local aides who betrayed the religion and culture of the Afghans (Arai-Takahashi, 2009). Patricia Gossman state: "Farhad joined the Taliban over his father's objections. He is currently a fighter in Commander B's group. His parents and local elders went to the Taliban several times and asked another commander in the group, Commander C, to free

Qari [an honorific title bestowed on someone who has learned to read the Quran] Farhad. Commander C then asked Farhad if he wanted to go back to his family, but as Qari Farhad wanted to stay, Commander C told his parents and other local elders that "your sons are better Muslims than yourselves. They don't leave jihad" (Gossman, 2016).

The Taliban have repeatedly invoked *jihad* as their mobilization calls for their supporters to take arms against foreign soldiers in Afghanistan (Weigand, 2017). One of the websites that serve as the mouthpiece of the Taliban renewed calls for *jihad* against foreign troops and their local supporters who were likened to the pro-communist Soviet supporters during the Soviet-Afghan war in July 2018, stating that *Jihad* against American invaders in Afghanistan is a defensive struggle similar to the invasion of infidels that is obligatory as far as Islamic view is concerned. All books of *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) agree upon *jihad* against the invasion of infidels becomes obligatory on every man and woman. It is a clear command of Allah Almighty, and it is a faith of every believer. Those who support American invaders in Afghanistan fight against their religion, country,

and national values (Mohmand, 2018; Marit & Sodal, 2018).

CONCLUSION

The Afghan and the International legal framework both have prohibited enlistment and use in combat of any person younger than eighteen, but the Afghan culture has not always been adopted the 'straight-eighteen' position. Therefore, it can be concluded, however, from the legal perspective, there has not been a permissive stance on persons younger than eighteen to participate in armed struggle. On the other hand, despite the clear position of law on child soldiers in Afghanistan, this conspicuous stance has been continually scorned by the presence of a large number of child soldiers under the Afghan culture, many of whom well below the age of fifteen, in the ranks of various state actors and non-state actors from the outset of the armed struggle to the present day.

As aforesaid, the law, particularly the national one, has always been firmly against child soldiers. However, the severity of the punishment and the enforcement or implementation of the Afghan culture and law have never been executed adequately to keep children away from active participation in

combat. Undoubtedly, the discussed cultural factors, including honor, hospitality, and porous unstable institutions, have contributed to the participation of child combatants in Afghan battlegrounds. This only calls for a set of precise recommendations and remedies that would target the root causes to do away with the vile cultural perspective.

The fact is people are not well aware of the legal perspective of Afghanistan on child soldiers as well as they lack a true understanding of Islam as it also prohibits child soldiering. Afghan intellectuals and scholars have to craft some strategy to reach, teach and convince them that child soldiering is an illegal, unacceptable, and intolerable crime whether one looks at it from the perspective of national laws, international legal instruments, or Islamic teaching. The children soldiering must not be considered a matter of ethnic honor and pride as it has disastrous effects on them and society. Consequently, people whose influence stems from culture and relies on culture urgently need to realize these effects and stop the practice of glorifying child soldiers as heroes and thus should break this vicious circle and the multitude of negative effects that it carries with itself.

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International Network, Social Capital and the Role of Muhammadiyah During The 2006 Yogyakarta Earthquake

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Abstract

This article aims to investigate the impact of the international network and social capital on the effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's emergency response in the 2006 Bantul earthquake. Despite paying more attention to religious and spiritual issues, Muhammadiyah, an Islamic-based social movement, plays a significant role in humanitarian issues. The 2006 earthquake in Bantul devastated public amenities, claimed thousands of people, and caused economic loss. The local government and private sectors of Bantul could not cope with the disaster. The most disaster-affected districts in Bantul Regency were Pundong, Bambanglipuro, and Jetis. Then, Muhammadiyah made an immediate emergency response to help those affected districts. In collaboration with overseas counterparts, Muhammadiyah collected humanitarian assistance. Muhammadiyah might not complete its humanitarian mission without the support of existing local Muhammadiyah in those districts. In other words, Muhammadiyah's social capital is influential for humanitarian missions. This paper utilized two concepts to elaborate on the effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's emergency response, namely transnational advocacy networks (TANs) and social capital. Then, this article argues that the higher level of TANs and social capital Muhammadiyah has, the more emergency response it can complete effectively. This paper discovered that three districts had different levels of TANs and social capital. In Pundong, the level of leverage politics (TANs) was higher than social capital. However, both Bambanglipuro and Jetis had a high level of social capital, whereas their leverage politics were low.

Keywords: *Muhammadiyah, Social Capital, 2006 Earthquake, Transnational Network, Disaster*

Abstrak

Artikel ini menganalisis hubungan antara jejaring internasional dan modal sosial yang dimiliki oleh Muhammadiyah sebagai organisasi non-pemerintah berbasis agama dengan efektivitas respon kedaruratan bencana yang dilakukan oleh organisasi dimaksud. Meskipun perhatian utama organisasi keagamaan tertuju pada pengembangan aspek spritualitas, organisasi keagamaan juga mengambil peran penting dalam penyelesaian masalah-masalah kemanusiaan. Pada tahun 2006, gempa bumi yang terjadi di Yogyakarta mengakibatkan kerusakan fisik, termasuk korban jiwa dan luka-luka, yang lebih besar daripada gempa-gempa sebelumnya. Wilayah yang paling terdampak dari gempa tersebut adalah Kabupaten Bantul. Pemerintah lokal ketika itu tidak siap merespon kedaruratan gempa. Oleh karena itu, kapasitas organisasi non-pemerintah yang sanggup melakukan respon kedaruratan bencana secara efektif sangat diperlukan. Muhammadiyah segera membentuk satuan tugas khusus untuk membantu pemerintah daerah memberikan bantuan pada wilayah-wilayah terdampak di Bantul yaitu, Pundong, Bambanglipuro, dan Jetis. Selama ini, studi tentang keberhasilan dan efektifitas Muhammadiyah dalam penanggulangan bencana hanya ditinjau dari salah satu sudut pandang yaitu, modal sosial atau jejaring internasional. Namun, artikel ini melihat efektifitas tersebut dengan memadukan dua sudut pandang sekaligus baik jejaring internasional dan modal sosial. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara pada informan dan hasilnya dianalisis dengan pendekatan tematik. Temuan artikel ini menyatakan bahwa semakin tinggi derajat modal sosial dan *leverage politics* (jejaring internasional), maka semakin efektif aksi tanggap darurat Muhammadiyah. Namun, semakin rendah derajat modal sosial dan semakin tinggi derajat *leverage politics*, maka aksi tanggap darurat Muhammadiyah hanya efektif secara sektoral, tidak masif dan divergen.

Keywords: *Muhammadiyah, Modal Sosial, Gempa Yogyakarta 2006, Jejaring Internasional, Bencana.*

INTRODUCTION

On May 27, 2006, a tectonic earthquake measuring 6.2 on the Richter scale rocked Yogyakarta Special Region for approximately 57 seconds. Even though it lasted briefly, the earthquake with the epicenter in Bantul caused many casualties and considerable material damage. A tectonic earthquake of such magnitude has never happened before in Yogyakarta. Most of the earthquakes were caused by the volcanic activity of Mount Merapi. Moreover, two weeks before the earthquake, Mount Merapi's alert status was raised to four. It caused health facilities and disaster mitigation to focus on anticipating the eruption of Merapi (Purnama, 2017).

Tectonic earthquake events not previously calculated caused problems in disaster emergency response. Local government capacity was limited to respond quickly to disaster emergencies. In addition, the damage to infrastructure also prevented the government from assisting. The private sector suffered similar damage. The majority of businesspeople in Bantul were paralyzed, causing them to be unable to assist the victims. When the public and private sectors were not functioning due to capacity problems

and damaged infrastructure, the role of civil society organizations in alleviating the burden on disaster victims should be considered.

In the case of the 2006 earthquake, Muhammadiyah's role started from the emergency response to the rehabilitation process. With the support of its hospitals, Muhammadiyah provided care and medical assistance to victims not accommodated in the Bantul regional hospital. Many Muhammadiyah volunteers of organizational activists and sympathizers distributed aid and carried out several post-natural disaster reconstruction activities. Muhammadiyah partnered with foreign agencies in rehabilitating disaster-affected areas in Bantul (Kedutaan Besar Australia Indonesia, 2006).

Muhammadiyah's partnership with the Australian government that provided humanitarian assistance through AusAid had succeeded in building temporary shelters that met health standards. Besides the foreign government, Muhammadiyah trusted foreign non-governmental organizations providing humanitarian aid, such as World Vision International, World Islamic Call Society, Won Buddhism, and Direct Relief International.

Apart from partnerships, emergency response and rehabilitation activities received full support from the organizational structure at the regional, sub-regional, branch, and sub-branch levels in Bantul. Moreover, Muhammadiyah's branch organizations, such as Aisyiyah, Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, Pemuda Muhammadiyah, and its business charities, also played an active role (Barori, personal communication, December 26, 2018).

A variety of activities have proven the involvement of business charities in disaster rehabilitation activities. Muhammadiyah educational institutions mobilized students, volunteers, and consultants to carry out trauma healing. Muhammadiyah hospitals delegated medical personnel to provide health services. The Aisyiyah organization provided an economic empowerment program for mothers to help the family economy through entrepreneurship training. Then, the Angkatan Muda Muhammadiyah or Muhammadiyah Youth Force (AMM) carried out the physical reconstruction in collaboration with local sympathizers (Haikal, personal communication, January 10, 2019).

This article looks explicitly at and elaborates on the factors causing the emergency response carried out

by Muhammadiyah through the concept of transnational advocacy networks (TANs) and social capital.

Transnational Advocacy Networks

Disaster emergency response carried out by community groups covers three primary stages of activity. The first stage is several disaster preparedness activities routinely performed by expert groups, including training and simulation, emergency action planning, and risk level assessment. The second stage is emergency response activities for specific disaster events, such as rescue operations and coordinating the agencies involved. The third stage deals with recovery activities conducted sometime after the disaster, such as providing temporary housing, distribution of necessities and medicines (Kasper et al., 2018).

The effectiveness of disaster emergency response can be realized in two ways: the precise distribution of responsibilities of the parties involved in assisting disaster victims and the intensity of communication and collaboration. Communication management, collaboration, and resource distribution in disaster emergency response missions are crucial issues (Krista S. Langeland, David Manheim, 2016). Initially, the humanitarian task of NGOs in the

West, including in Australia, was to assist in situations of armed conflict. However, this humanitarian task has continued for other events outside of war that cause numerous suffering to humans (Kilby, 2015).

In Piper and Uhlin (Piper & Uhlin, 2002), Keck and Sikkink stated that transnational advocacy networks (TANs) are networks between activists based on fundamental ideas and values. Activist actors included in TAN are highly diverse, comprising local NGOs, media, foundations, churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, academics, divisions in intergovernmental organizations, and parts of the executive or legislative bodies (Piper & Uhlin, 2002). The strength of these networks is their ability to mobilize information strategically to create new issues and categories to gain more decisive influence from other countries or organizations. The mission of advocacy is to use information strategically to reduce relationship gaps in a global context (Piper & Uhlin, 2002, p. 179).

1) According to Keck & Sikkink (1999), TANs use strategies by utilizing the information to influence other large countries or organizations. These strategies include:

- 2) Information politics, the ability to move information quickly and credibly to the places that will be most affected
- 3) Symbolic politics, the ability to use symbols, actions, or stories that will make a situation make sense for the audience who are often far away
- 4) Leverage politics, the ability to summon strong actors to have an impact on a situation that weaker network members cannot perform

Accountability politics, an effort to give responsibility to stronger actors to act through policies or principles that these strong actors formally support (Keck & Sikkink, 1999)

Social capital gives birth to differences in group behavior based on internal and external perspectives. Internally oriented behavior produces what Putnam called bonding (Häuberer, 2010), which focuses on strengthening the homogeneity of group bonds as seen in ethnic and religious groups. On the other hand, the perspective on external groups creates behavior that Putnam termed bridging, which mediates the relationship between group members of different social classes (Häuberer, 2010, p. 50). The Putnam concept was added

by Pfefferbaum, who introduced the term linking social capital (Pfefferbaum et al., 2015). Social capital, referred to most recently, is the relationship between one group or network and another group or network with more power, influence, authority, and control (Pfefferbaum et al., 2015).

Regarding the disaster response by Muhammadiyah, several experts have conducted research. Al-Akbar studied the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC) role in responding to the eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010. Al-Akbar concluded that a strong internal network assisted the success of MDMC. Al-Akbar also discovered that the role of disaster literacy was in line with the preaching of Muhammadiyah, which emphasizes the purification of tauhid. Society is kept away from the mythology of disasters that destroy monotheism (Akbar, 2012). Akbar's research was strengthened by Mulyasari and Shaw, who argued that Muhammadiyah's role in campaigning for disaster awareness within the organization or externally was undeniable (Mulyasari et al., 2015).

Bush explained that since 2005, the disaster response carried out by Muhammadiyah had covered three primary

functions. First, Muhammadiyah's function is to rescue victims by distributing humanitarian aid and evacuating disaster victims. Second, Muhammadiyah manages international networks by selecting foreign partners who can cooperate with Muhammadiyah. Third, Muhammadiyah's function is to become a facilitator that connects aid providers from foreign agencies and recipients in disaster-affected areas (Bush, 2014a).

This article argues that the effectiveness of disaster emergency response carried out by Muhammadiyah is based on its ability to manage communication with foreign partners. In the theoretical context, this ability is termed TANs with leverage politics. Besides communicating with foreign partners, Muhammadiyah can also coordinate its internal organizational structures to support emergency response and rehabilitation programs. This capacity for internal organizational coordination became known in the concept of social capital as bonding. Previous literature discussing the effectiveness of Muhammadiyah in disaster management solely looked at the aspects of international networks or social capital. However, this study combines the two because

international networks distributing social assistance to the affected areas cannot be carried out effectively without strong social capital.

This study employed a qualitative research method with a case study approach to the 2006 Bantul earthquake. Bantul was selected as the object of research because first: the earthquake's epicenter was in Bantul Regency, precisely in Pundong District, second: several districts in Bantul were the worst affected areas from the 2006 earthquake. This research focused on the three affected districts of Pundong, Bambanglipuro, and Jetis.

This study utilized both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with several informants, comprising members of the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC), former organization managers, and activists at the branch level in Bambanglipuro, Pundong, and Jetis Districts, as well as representatives of the local government and activists of the Desa Tangguh Bencana or Disaster Resilient Village in Jetis and Bambanglipuro. Secondary data were gathered from written documents such as reports, scientific papers, and relevant news.

The data were then classified and analyzed using two approaches, descriptive approach and thematic analysis. A descriptive approach was used in describing Muhammadiyah's initiatives in collaborating with foreign partners. Then, thematic analysis was applied to determine humanitarian activities that worked collaboratively with foreign partners to embody leverage politics in TANs. Furthermore, the thematic analysis also looked at the social capital (bonding) of internal Muhammadiyah members through social cohesiveness in disaster emergency response and post-disaster rehabilitation. Scoring or assessing political leverage and social capital was obtained from calculating the content analysis of informants' statements.

This article looked explicitly at and elaborated on the factors causing the disaster emergency response by Muhammadiyah through the concept of TANs and social capital to determine the impact of international networks and social capital on its emergency response in the 2006 Bantul earthquake. Advocacy networks and social capital were proven through thematic analysis of primary data obtained from in-depth interviews

and secondary data from literature studies.

Following the content analysis obtained, the authors argued that the emergency response carried out by Muhammadiyah would be widely felt if Muhammadiyah's social capital in the affected areas was strong to distribute humanitarian assistance as a result of international networks evenly. Conversely, Muhammadiyah's emergency response program would not be effective in the affected areas with weak social capital even though Muhammadiyah's international network was quite good. The effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's role in areas affected by natural disasters can be seen in the table scoring the degree of leverage politics and Muhammadiyah social capital in Pundong, Bantul, and Jetis.

DISCUSSION

Potential for Natural Disasters in the Province of Yogyakarta Special Region

The Province of Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY) has an area of 3,185.80 km (Humas DIY, 2010b). Cities in Central Java border DIY: Klaten Regency in the northeast, Wonogiri Regency in the southeast,

Purworejo Regency in the west, and Magelang Regency in the northwest (Humas DIY, 2014).



Figure 1. Map of the Special Region of Yogyakarta

Source: (SejarahNegara.com, 2020)

Yogyakarta Province consists of four regencies and one municipality: Yogyakarta City, Bantul, Kulon Progo, Sleman, and Gunung Kidul Regencies. Compared to four other regencies, Yogyakarta City has the smallest area of around 32.5 km². Meanwhile, Gunung Kidul is the largest regency with approximately 1,485.36 km² (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Gunungkidul, 2015). Topographically, Gunungkidul and Kulon Progo Regencies are similar because they both have upland areas. Bantul and Sleman's topographical conditions are relatively flat, although they have a few hilly areas. Meanwhile, Yogyakarta City is lowland. Physiographically, the potential for natural disasters can be divided into three central potentials as follows:

1) Natural disasters caused by volcanic activity

DIY has an active volcano called Mount Merapi. This mountain is located between Central Java and DIY. The south side of Mount Merapi is located in Sleman Regency in DIY, while the other side is in Central Java. As one of the active volcanoes in Indonesia, the activities of Mount Merapi continue to be monitored due to the large number of people living around the mountain slopes.

Active volcanoes have the potential to experience eruptions or eruptions accompanied by other natural disasters. Volcanic eruptions can cause direct and indirect natural disasters. Natural disasters that occur directly when an eruption occurs can take the form of melting lava, hot clouds, ash rain, hot lava, or the emergence of toxic volcanic gases. Meanwhile, natural disasters after the volcano erupts can form cold lava, flash floods, and volcanic avalanches (Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral Republik Indonesia, 2015).

In historical records, Mount Merapi has experienced dozens of eruptions that caused many losses and threatened human life around it. The worst eruption of Mount Merapi occurred in 2010 and was accompanied by hot clouds flowing

from the top of the mountain toward the Gendol River. After the hot clouds, the remnants of the eruption also caused cold lava as much as 150 million m³ (Badan Geologi Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, 2014).

Based on data from the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB), the eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010 resulted in 347 fatalities, with 246 people coming from Sleman Regency. In addition, BNPB revealed data on refugees from the 2010 eruption of Mount Merapi, totaling 410,388 people (Badan Geologi Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, 2014). This eruption also caused other losses in the death of livestock belonging to residents around the mountain, as many as 1,548 livestock, and damage to houses of 2,271 residents (Aco, 2020).

After the eruption in 2010, Mount Merapi has erupted several times on a small scale but did not pose a danger that threatens the safety of the surrounding population. Until now, Mount Merapi's activities are continuously monitored by the Geological Disaster Research and Technology Development Center as a form of volcano disaster mitigation.

2) Landslides and erosion

These disasters usually threaten DIY during the rainy season. Areas that can experience landslides and erosion have sloping topologies, such as Kulonprogo and Gunungkidul Regencies. In addition, factors of high rainfall and land use can cause landslides and erosion.

Every year, the DIY Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) conducts a mapping of DIY areas prone to landslides and erosion. The four regencies in DIY can experience landslides and erosion, but the highest potential occurs in Gunungkidul and Kulonprogo. Several regencies included in areas prone to landslides and erosion are Kalibawang, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, Kokap, Semin, Gedangsari, Ngawen and Patuk (Wardhani, 2020).

BPBD DIY continues to disseminate information to the public regarding landslides and erosion as part of disaster mitigation. BPBD has also installed an Early Warning System in various disaster-prone areas to determine the potential for landslides and rainfall data. Moreover, alert and observation posts were also established as preparedness to deal with landslides and erosion.

3) Floods

One of the natural disasters that often occurs in DIY is the flood. It usually occurs during the rainy season when the weather or rainfall experiences a drastic increase. It also has the greatest potential in the southern part of DIY, such as in Kulonprogo and Bantul Regencies (Humas DIY, 2010a).

The frequent floods of these two areas are not merely caused by extreme weather but also by geographical conditions, including lowland areas and large rivers. The floods that hit DIY caused property losses because residents' houses were submerged and forced to flee. In addition, floods also cause damage to public facilities and disrupt economic activities.

In addition to the three central potentials above, DIY also has the potential for natural disasters for tectonic earthquakes. Before the 2006 earthquake centered in Bantul, DIY had experienced several earthquakes. In historical records, DIY was shaken by an earthquake in 1867, resulting in many fatalities and injuries. The earthquake also caused extensive damage to infrastructure and buildings. The next earthquake occurring in DIY and its surrounding areas was in 1943. The 1943 earthquake claimed

213 casualties, 31 of which were from DIY. An earthquake then occurred again in 1981. However, it did not cause many casualties and severe damage to buildings (Kelompok Keahlian Geodesi ITB, 2007).

Based on the recurring earthquake cycle mechanism or earthquake cycle (Kelompok Keahlian Geodesi ITB, 2007), DIY, which has experienced several earthquakes, should mitigate disasters properly as a form of preparation in minimizing losses and damage if an earthquake occurs again. Unfortunately, the number of casualties and damage to physical facilities during the 2006 earthquake indicates an unprepared emergency response.

The 2006 Bantul Earthquake

DIY Province is one of the areas prone to earthquakes. On May 27, 2006, an earthquake occurred approximately 20 km southeast of Yogyakarta with a shallow depth of 10 kilometers. The mainland (inland) earthquake measured 6.3 Mw. This situation resulted in severe damage to buildings and other infrastructure in several DIY areas (Kelompok Keahlian Geodesi ITB, 2007).

The 2006 earthquake caused damage to almost all DIY areas,

but the most affected area was Bantul Regency. The death toll from the earthquake reached more than 4,500 people. Based on data from Yogyakarta Media Center, the majority of victims came from Bantul, approximately 4,121 people. The rest came from Sleman with 240 people, Yogyakarta City with 195 people, Gunung Kidul with 81 people, and Kulon Progo with 22 people. In addition, the number of injuries from the disaster reached 19,401 people (BAPPENAS, 2006).

Table 1. Number of Fatalities and Injuries Due to the 2006 Earthquake

Regency/City	Fatality	Injury
Bantul	4,121	12,026
Sleman	240	3.792
Kota Yogyakarta	195	318
Gunung Kidul	81	1,086
Kulon Progo	22	2,179
Total	4,659	19,401

Source: Yogyakarta Media Center in Preliminary Damage and Loss Assessment of Natural Disasters in Yogyakarta and Central Java (Bappenas, 2006)

Apart from fatalities and injuries, the earthquake also caused damage to buildings and infrastructure. The data revealed

that the damage to facilities and infrastructure caused by the 2006 earthquake was much more severe than the previous earthquakes. The earthquake had caused damage to residents by destroying 88,249 house units and seriously damaged houses by 98,342 units. In addition, public facilities were also affected by the earthquake, such as the Adi Sutjipto Airport, railroad tracks, places of worship, and roads, especially in Bantul and Sleman Regencies. (BAPPENAS, 2006).

The 2006 earthquake resulted in a substantial financial loss for either DIY or Central Java. These two provinces suffered a loss of Rp. 29.1 trillion. The amount of damage reached Rp. 22.75 trillion, and the total economic loss reached Rp. 6.40 trillion. Bantul Regency had the most prominent financial loss. Compared with regional income and expenditure, the financial loss of Bantul Regency was 246% (BAPPENAS, 2006).

The financial loss suffered by DIY, especially Bantul Regency, resulted in the local government's disaster emergency response capacity diminishing. Therefore, the local government required assistance from external parties. The central government has allocated Rp 5 trillion in funds. Apart from

allocating central government funds, foreign organizations provided humanitarian assistance, such as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and agencies at the United Nations (BAPPENAS, 2006). Meanwhile, religious-based community organizations collaborated with foreign partners in carrying out disaster emergency responses in Bantul Regency.

Muhammadiyah's Experience in Disaster Management

Muhammadiyah contributed significantly to the development of Indonesian society. Its role is not only to focus on aspects of purification and renewal of Islam in Indonesia but also to improve the social conditions of the society based on the implementation of Surah Al-Ma'un. The consequence of improving community conditions has encouraged Muhammadiyah to play an active role in humanitarian activities. The institutionalization of health services and disaster management originated from the involvement of Muhammadiyah in providing humanitarian assistance to the eruption of Mount Kelud and other major disasters, such as a tsunami.

1) History of PKU and Mount Kelud Eruption

Muhammadiyah's main foundation in humanitarian assistance refers to the Surah Al-Ma'un, which teaches about the urgency of helping fellow creatures of Allah SWT. Based on this foundation, Muhammadiyah has succeeded in developing diversification of social services in the community, including educational institutions and orphanages. In subsequent developments, Muhammadiyah has been involved in the health and humanitarian fields.

Muhammadiyah's movement in the health sector began with establishing the Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem or Oemoem Miserable Helper (PKO). The establishment of PKO was an initiative of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan's student named K.H. Sudjak. Initially, PKO was intended to provide services and social assistance to difficulties, including assisting disaster victims.

The PKO's role in the disaster emergency response movement began when Mount Kelud in East Java erupted in 1919. Mount Kelud's eruption on 19 and 20 May 1919 was accompanied by a rain of ash, rain of rocks and gravel, and hot lava. The eruption claimed 5,160

lives (BBC News, 2014). Not only causing casualties, but it also caused losses to residents. As many as 104 villages occupied by residents were severely damaged, 1,571 animals died, and several lands belonging to residents, such as rice fields and plantations, were damaged (Badan Geologi Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, 2014).

The impact of the destructive eruption of Mount Kelud in 1919 led various parties to take the initiative to assist. PKO, in collaboration with the Steun Comite Keloed, conducted assistance for residents affected by the eruption. The assistance collected was in the form of funds, logistics, and health services. In the case of the Mount Kelud disaster, the assistance initiated by PKO was surplus after being distributed to victims; thus, PKO distributed a portion of the aid to help the community in DIY. PKO developed into a Pembina Kesejahteraan Umum or Public Welfare Development (PKU), which has expanded its services to empower marginalized groups, including farmers, laborers, and people with disabilities. However, PKU focuses more on the health sector, while marginalized groups are the work area of the Community Empowerment Council developed by Muhammadiyah (Syifaal, 2019).

After health and empowerment services, Muhammadiyah saw the need to create a particular institution related to humanitarian missions, especially since Indonesia is geographically positioned in the ring of fire. In 2005, the Muhammadiyah Congress in Malang decided to establish a Lembaga Penanggulangan Bencana or Disaster Management Institute (LPB), later termed the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC). The decision of the Muhammadiyah Congress to establish LPB was based on the experience of Muhammadiyah exponents in handling the 2004 Aceh Tsunami (Makhasi, 2020).

2) 2004 Aceh Earthquake and Tsunami

Before the 2006 Yogyakarta Earthquake, Aceh was hit by an earthquake measuring 9.1-9.3 on the Richter scale, accompanied by a tsunami on December 26, 2004. It was a tremendous earthquake because it was felt in Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Myanmar, India, and Sri Lanka. (Syamsidik et al., 2019). The height of the tsunami waves reached up to 30 meters (Yudhicara, 2014) which hit the land three times.

The death toll from the earthquake and tsunami in Aceh was 226,308 people. Of the total casualties, 173 thousand were indigenous people. Meanwhile, other casualties came from Sri Lanka with 35 thousand, India with 16 thousand, and Thailand with 8 thousand. This natural disaster displaced 1,849,827 survivors, and 394,539 refugees lived around Aceh (Syamsidik et al., 2019).

Apart from the casualties, facilities and infrastructure in Aceh were severely damaged, including government and private buildings, residential houses, and road access, which in turn crippled the economic activities of residents. Damage to public facilities has resulted in 150,000 students being unable to attend school because 1,488 school buildings were not functioning. Health services were also disrupted because approximately 26 health centers were damaged. Plantation areas of 11,000 hectares in Aceh were also damaged (Syamsidik et al., 2019).

To ease the burden on the Acehese people, Muhammadiyah then sent humanitarian missions through the Komite Muhammadiyah Pemulihan Aceh or Aceh Recovery Muhammadiyah Committee (KMPA). Humanitarian missions

were carried out by distributing funds, logistics, and health services. Moreover, Muhammadiyah volunteers were tasked with burying the bodies and providing health services for tsunami casualties (detikNews, 2006).

Apart from short-term disaster response programs, Muhammadiyah has also prepared five-year long-term rehabilitation programs. The rehabilitation programs initiated by Muhammadiyah are highly diverse, including the physical arrangement of the city, providing educational facilities, providing protection for children and women after the disaster, and ensuring no trafficking of children (Liputan6, 2005).

Muhammadiyah's humanitarian missions have received sympathy from various international organizations, both state and non-state-based. Muhammadiyah's state-actor-based partners were AusAID (Australia), USAID (United States), and Saudi Arabia. Then, some international organizations working with Muhammadiyah in disaster management in Aceh were IOM, UNICEF (Bush, 2014a). Other foreign agencies based on social organizations collaborated with Muhammadiyah, such as Save the Children, Asia Foundation, and

the Catholic Relief Service (Bush, 2014a).

Effectiveness of Disaster Management in Bantul

Muhammadiyah's emergency response missions in partnership with international organizations positively impacted improving people's lives after a disaster. In looking at the effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's emergency response, this section focuses on the degree of partnership associated with the concept of transnational advocacy networks (TANs) and cohesiveness associated with social capital in implementing emergency response programs in three districts in Bantul, namely, Pundong, Bambanglipuro, and Jetis.

1) Pundong

Pundong is a district in the southeastern region of Bantul Regency. One of the hamlets in Pundong, namely Potrobayan, is believed to be one of the epicenters of the 2006 Bantul earthquake (Tribunjogja.com, 2016). It was due to the Opak fault plate crossing Pundong, Imogiri, Pleret, and Piyungan Districts. The interview with Jawawi, one of the government representatives in Pundong District, revealed that the impact of the 2006 Bantul earthquake had paralyzed

Pundong. Jawawi stated that the earthquake had a psychological impact on the Pundong community, as they were deeply traumatized.

The Pundong community received assistance from various institutions originating from within the country or abroad. The forms of assistance varied, from food to health services. However, local government services were disrupted due to the earthquake emergency, causing incomplete earthquake aid administration records. Jawawi was unable to identify with certainty the foreign aid coordinated by community organizations. Jawawi believed in the role of domestic institutions as mediators for foreign agencies performing humanitarian missions in the Pundong District.

Jawawi did not explain in more detail the names of non-governmental organizations that acted as mediators of foreign aid, without exception Muhammadiyah. Since its inception, Muhammadiyah has allocated aid in the worst affected areas, including Pundong District. Even though Muhammadiyah had social capital in Pundong, the officials at the branch and sub-branch levels and their families were primarily victims, so they

were not much involved in the broader distribution of aid.

Therefore, admitted by Jawawi, victims of natural disasters in Pundong who lived far from road access had difficulty getting assistance. Jawawi emphasized that some Pundong residents, including Jawawi and his neighbors, easily accessed foreign assistance due to the position of their houses close to the road access. In Pundong District, Muhammadiyah's high political leverage was evidenced by foreign partnerships in distributing humanitarian aid. However, social capital was low because most management prioritized their families' safety and internal recovery. Therefore, the distribution of foreign aid could not be expanded and could only reach areas of which the radius was close to the aid center. The degree of leverage politics and social capital of Muhammadiyah in Pundong District can be described in the following figure.

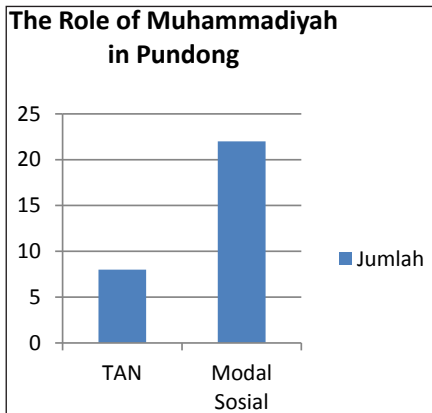


Figure 2. The Degree of Leverage Politics and Muhammadiyah Social Capital in Pundong (processed by the authors from the interview)

Figure 2 comes from a thematic analysis, illustrating that the degree of leverage of Muhammadiyah politics is very high due to partnerships with foreign institutions in collecting foreign aid in Pundong. In contrast, Muhammadiyah's social capital is low. The involvement of the Muhammadiyah structure in the Pundong District in the distribution of aid was not too high. Hence, access to assistance was felt more by residents whose radius of residence was close.

Jawawi confirmed the low social capital of Muhammadiyah during the formation of the Disaster Resilient Village (Destana). The formation of Destana was intended to make Pundong District residents better prepared for possible natural

disasters. Destana is inclusive, and membership comes from representatives of villagers and community leaders. According to Jawawi, Muhammadiyah did not officially place its representatives in Destana, but rather the personal awareness of Muhammadiyah members or sympathizers to join it.

2) Bambanglipuro

Bambanglipuro is a district bordering on the east with Pundong District. Although not in the path of the Opak fault plate, the damage in Bambanglipuro due to the 2006 earthquake was exceptionally severe (Okezone, 2016). Based on interviews with Barjilan, the representative of Destana in Mulyodadi Village, Bambanglipuro, the 2006 earthquake had paralyzed the activities of the Bambanglipuro community, including those of the village administration. Moreover, the distribution of local government assistance to Mulyodadi Village in Bambanglipuro was very slow.

Initially, the local community carried out cooperation to ease the burden on other residents. Furthermore, the community received assistance from foreign agencies. Barjilan said the first aid came from Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations

(NGOs), followed by Australia, which distributed foods.

Apart from basic foodstuffs, medical supplies and medical equipment were provided to the community from PKU Muhammadiyah in synergy with Australia. In Bambanglipuro District, Muhammadiyah established a post called People Kampong Organized (PKO). The command post coordinated the aid distributed to the community. In addition to physical needs, PKO also provided trauma healing because many survivors experienced psychological problems. Some residents lost loved family members, livelihoods, and possessions accumulated over the years. Their children faced the same problems because they lost their parents and the opportunity to go to school.

The effectiveness and success of the emergency response and Muhammadiyah rehabilitation programs are inseparable from the existence of Muhammadiyah in Bambanglipuro since 1962. According to Sumardi, a former Pimpinan Cabang Muhammadiyah or Branch Manager of Muhammadiyah (PCM) of Bambanglipuro, most of the mosques in Bambanglipuro were founded by Muhammadiyah. The residents felt

the involvement of Muhammadiyah administrators and sympathizers in the emergency response. Moreover, Din Syamsuddin, a former Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, once visited Bambanglipuro District to ensure that humanitarian aid had been distributed to affected communities.

In Bambanglipuro District, Muhammadiyah's social capital was quite strong. This social capital was an essential element in carrying out post-disaster rehabilitation programs. Community and Muhammadiyah members in Bambanglipuro succeeded in building an emergency school with the help of an emergency tent from the Muhammadiyah Provincial Leadership of DIY. After that, the school building renovation could be conducted ideally in cooperation between Muhammadiyah and Japan, known as SD Muhammadiyah Nderman. In addition to infrastructure renovations, Muhammadiyah also held disaster preparedness training at the Komando Kesiapsiagaan Angkatan Muda Muhammadiyah or Muhammadiyah Youth Force Preparedness Command (KOKAM).

The success of Muhammadiyah's humanitarian mission in the Bambanglipuro District was

primarily determined by the degree of cohesiveness of Muhammadiyah members rather than leverage politics (TANs). Although the number of foreign partners helping in Bambanglipuro was not as many as in other affected areas, Muhammadiyah's high degree of social capital contributed to the achievement of Muhammadiyah's humanitarian mission targets. The following is an overview of the comparison of the degree of leverage politics with social capital.

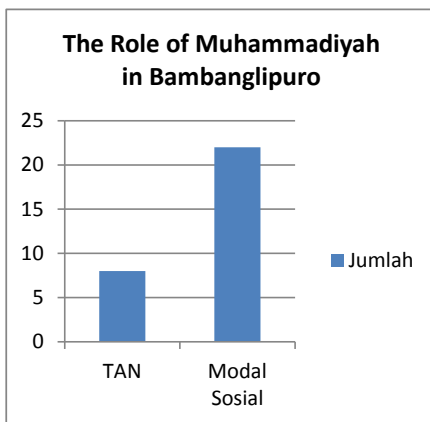


Figure 3. The Degree of Leverage Politics (TANs) and Social Capital in Bambanglipuro District (processed by the authors from the interview)

Barjilan reiterated that the contribution of residents with Muhammadiyah backgrounds in the distribution of disaster relief was enormous. Sumardi added, Muhammadiyah played a role in the

socialization of Destana by inviting school heads in Bambanglipuro District, administrators of Muhammadiyah Branches (PCM) and 'Aisyiyah (PCA) Branch Managers, as well as community representatives, to support the Destana program. In this context, the local government synergized with Muhammadiyah to implement the Destana program.

3) Jetis

As in Pundong, Jetis District, located in the southeast of Bantul Regency, is included in the Opak fault plate's area (Liputan6, 2016). Therefore, the damage to physical buildings and infrastructure in Jetis was massive and severe, such as schools and residential areas. The earthquake caused tremendous anxiety among the people living in this district, especially when they encountered a tsunami.

In an uncertain psychological condition, because most communities suffered property losses and even lives, Muhammadiyah immediately took an emergency response in Jetis. Haikal, a teacher at SD Muhammadiyah Blawong and a Muhammadiyah activist, admitted that the fastest assistance to Jetis came from Muhammadiyah. The first aid was the establishment of

refugee barracks and a command post. After the command post was established, Muhammadiyah was immediately assessed by collecting data on the number of victims. Injured victims received immediate medical attention. In addition to the evacuation barracks, Muhammadiyah also established a public kitchen assisted by the Angkatan Muda Muhammadiyah or Muhammadiyah Youth Force (AMM) in Jetis District.

The existence of Muhammadiyah and AMM administrators in Blawong Village was an advantage for Jetis District. All foreign aid collected by Muhammadiyah was first concentrated in Blawong before being distributed by the Muhammadiyah Blawong board to other villages in the vicinity. The initial assistance was logistics in the form of food. Then, Muhammadiyah, in collaboration with AusAid, established a temporary hospital to facilitate health services. Like Bambanglipuro, Muhammadiyah founded the PKO. Through PKO, Muhammadiyah built emergency schools and assistance to vulnerable groups, namely children and pregnant women. Moreover, Muhammadiyah worked on trauma healing, especially for children, through cheerful school facilities.

Haikal emphasized that the percentage of assistance attempted and distributed by Muhammadiyah exceeded the government. Muhammadiyah could bridge between foreign donor agencies and the needs of the community. Muhammadiyah's strong social capital in Blawong Village was beneficial in assisting and implementing post-disaster rehabilitation programs, resulting in more residents receiving the assistance because it was well coordinated. The effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's humanitarian mission in Blawong Village was related to the degree of social capital owned by Muhammadiyah. The degree of social capital and leverage politics (TANs) of Muhammadiyah can be illustrated in the following figure.

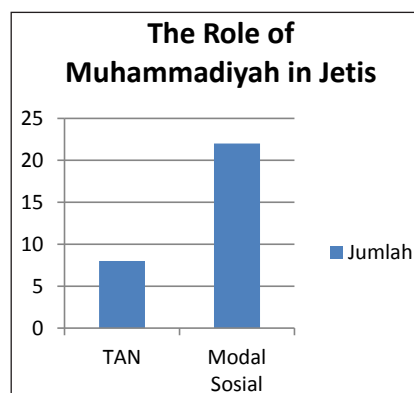


Figure 4. The Degree of Leverage Politics (TANs) and Social Capital

in Jetis District (processed by the authors from the interview)

The experience of the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake in Blawong Village raised the awareness of Muhammadiyah residents to increase their capacity to face the possibility of a similar disaster or other disasters. Therefore, Muhammadiyah Youth has regularly conducted disaster training to KOKAM and SAR. In addition, school children have been provided disaster simulations through the disaster-resilient school program. All disaster mitigation programs were part of the PKO program developed by Muhammadiyah administrators in Blawong Village.

CONCLUSIONS

Since its inception, Muhammadiyah has shown concern for vulnerable groups through charity movements based on Islamic teachings. Muhammadiyah's involvement in handling earthquakes and other natural disasters is understood as a manifestation of the implementation of Islamic teachings.

The 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake caused the most casualties and damage to infrastructure than other similar disasters in the previous period. The most affected area

was the Bantul Regency, especially Pundong District, which was the epicenter of the tectonic earthquake, followed by Bantul and Jetis Districts.

The emergency response efforts undertaken by the local government have not been fully optimized for several reasons. First, local government infrastructure was damaged by the earthquake. Second, the local government did not prepare earthquake disaster mitigation scenarios. Due to the earthquake's impact, private groups also could not help much in the emergency response. Therefore, Muhammadiyah immediately coordinated with third parties or foreign partners to conduct emergency response and post-earthquake rehabilitation in Bantul Regency.

Several foreign partners who collaborated with Muhammadiyah in responding to natural disasters included Australia, Japan, Libya, and Korea. Humanitarian aid from foreign partners distributed to the three most affected areas in Bantul—Pundong, Bantul, and Jetis Districts became the focus of Muhammadiyah's emergency response. The aid would not be distributed effectively without coordination with the

Muhammadiyah board, members, or sympathizers in the three districts. Therefore, the effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's emergency response was primarily determined by the degree of social capital (cohesiveness) and leverage politics (transnational advocacy networks or TANs).

However, the degree of social capital and leverage politics in the three districts differed, impacting the effectiveness of aid distribution. In Pundong District, the degree of Muhammadiyah social capital was low, but its political leverage degree was high. Thus, the distribution of Muhammadiyah aid was only effective in helping residents whose homes were close to road access. Furthermore, in Bembanglipuro, the degree of social capital was high, in contrast to the degree of leverage politics, which was low. Consequently, assistance was well distributed, and the post-disaster programs were running as targeted by Muhammadiyah.

Similarly, in Jetis District, social capital was high, but the leverage politics was low. As a result, Muhammadiyah activists or sympathizers in Blawong Village in Jetis District became the vanguard for distributing humanitarian aid in other areas. Moreover, the

village succeeded in forming a disaster management task force from Muhammadiyah circles, as in Bembanglipuro District.

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Humanitarian Crisis and the Arduous Path to Principled Pluralism: A Politico-Theological Analysis on Indian and Turkish Foreign Policies (2014-2019)

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the influence of political theology in the foreign policy of Indian and Turkish from 2014 to 2019. India and Turkey used political theology as one of the essential considerations for the conduct of foreign policies during the humanitarian crisis. Both countries were trying to conduct “politics of salvation” to protect their fellow faithful from the oppression in the neighboring regions. While conducting its politics of salvation in their foreign policies, India and Turkey were trying to protect their fellow faithful from the oppression from the constructed others. This research argues that the politics of salvation in its foreign policy will influence both countries’ religious freedom and secularism. This research would like to utilize the concept of “politics of principled pluralism” that Robert Joustra developed. In its analysis, this research engages with several articles from news outlets and research journals to construct arguments on the conduct of the foreign policy of India and Turkey in times of humanitarian crisis. This research found that India and Turkey had tried to implement their version of “politics of salvation” that deteriorate religious freedom and inclusive democracy.

Keywords: *humanitarian crisis, India, Turkey, political theology in international relations, politics of principled pluralism*

Abstrak

Riset ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji pengaruh pemahaman teologi politik pada politik luar negeri India dan Turki. India dan Turki telah dipilih sebagai studi kasus dalam riset ini karena kedua negara telah mengalami sekularisme dalam waktu yang cukup lama. Proses sekularisme itu diikuti oleh adanya kebangkitan politik keagamaan sebagai sebuah upaya untuk melawan sekularisasi. India dan Turki menggunakan pemahaman teologi politik sebagai salah satu pertimbangan esensial dalam menjalankan politik luar negeri, terutama saat menghadapi krisis kemanusiaan. Kedua negara menjalankan apa yang disebut sebagai 'politik penyelamatan' untuk melindungi sesama pemeluk agama dari tindakan opresif para "liyan" di kawasan sekitar. Saat menerapkan 'politik penyelamatan' tersebut, India dan Turki mencoba untuk melindungi sesama pemeluk agamanya dari kezaliman liyan yang dikonstruksi oleh India dan Turki. Riset ini berargumen bahwa praktik politik penyelamatan di dalam politik luar negeri India dan Turki akan mempengaruhi posisi kedua negara dalam isu kebebasan agama serta sekularisme. Riset ini akan menggunakan konsep politik pluralisme berprinsip yang dikembangkan oleh Robert Joustra. Riset ini menemukan bahwa India dan Turki telah mencoba untuk menerapkan politik penyelamatan sesuai dengan versi masing-masing, namun penerapan politik penyelamatan tersebut berdampak buruk terhadap kebebasan beragama dan demokrasi inklusif.

Kata Kunci: *krisis kemanusiaan, India, Turki, teologi politik dalam hubungan internasional, politik pluralisme berprinsip*

INTRODUCTION

Haynes argued at least two types of interactions between religion and foreign policy (Haynes, 2014). The first interaction which Haynes identified is that religious values could consistently drive foreign policy. This interaction could be seen mostly in countries

established under particular religious values or principles. The second interaction is the recurrent centrality of religious concerns in the foreign policies of several countries. With the categorization explained above, this paper would like to discuss the foreign policies of two separate countries, India and

Turkey, in the humanitarian crisis and how it would have affected the effort of both countries to construct principled pluralism.

India and Turkey were used as case studies in this paper because both countries are well-known for their adherence to the secular political system. While Turkey has seen the ascent of the AK Party in Turkey contribute to the resurgence of conservative ideas amid neoliberal authoritarianism, India witnessed the rise of BJP in India, eventually leading to a re-interpretation and re-reading of the principle of secularism that was already enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of India since 1976. While developing their new narratives on secularism, both countries are also trying to strengthen their self-identity. This effort to strengthen self-identity influenced the foreign policies of both India and Turkey. India and Turkey used religious pretexts and principles to strengthen their self-identity when faced with a humanitarian crisis.

In the case of Turkey, Turkey is facing a hostile engagement with its closest neighbor, Syria. During the implementation of an open-door policy to welcome refugees and political oppositions from Syria. During the Syrian Civil War,

by accepting the pro-democratic Sunni Muslim refugees, Turkey is trying to build a straightforward narrative to become a savior for (pro-democratic) Sunni Muslims in Syria and the Middle East (Kloos, 2016, p. 551). In the case of India, India seeks to protect the persecuted Hindu, Buddha, Sikh, Parsi and Christian adherents from the discriminatory policies implemented by the governments and societies of Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan (Khan, 2020, p.3). In this paper, the case of Turkish and Indian involvement in the humanitarian crisis will be discussed and compared in detail. This research aims to find the connection between the foreign policies of India and Turkey with pretexts and justifications based upon religious values and texts to respond toward imminent dangers of the humanitarian crisis that would affect coreligionists' lives in neighboring countries regions. Looking at how both countries tried to show themselves as the protector of refugees, Turkey and India try to conduct their "politics of salvation".

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHOD

Robert Joustra, in his monumental work on religion and

foreign policy, tried to elaborate on the importance of positioning political theology correctly in contemporary international politics. Joustra clarified that it is essential to settle the definition of political theology before further analyzing the relations between political theology and foreign policy. According to Joustra, political theology is an understanding and practice that

political actors have about the meaning of and the relationship between the religious and the secular and what constitutes legitimate political authority. Referring to his definition of political theology, Joustra made the following table to explain the differing interpretation of the relations between religion and secular affairs in public affairs (Joustra, 2018).

Table 1 Rival versions of the religious and the secular in public affairs

Versions	Political theology understanding			
	Understanding and practice of the religious	Understanding and practice of the secular	Relationship between religious and secular	What constitutes legitimate political authority?
Principled Secularism/ Principled Pluralism	Essentially contested	Mutual resonance, overlapping consensus (limited by “constitutive values of liberal democracy.”	Like other reasoning, principled pluralism should be part of the rationale by which political actors agree on secular policy (mutual resonance). The state does not monopolize the logic by which actors arrive at a consensus.	Legitimate political authority is constituted by secular principles that emerge in overlapping consensus from political actors, not by rationale by which actors arrive at them

Adopted from Joustra with several adjustments (2018, pp. xiii-xiv)

Joustra considered principled pluralism to be a practical framework that could reflect upon the role of foreign affairs in a post-secular global order. Joustra also argued that principled pluralism needed to be based upon the advancement of strong public principles that should not be followed by monopolizing public logic. Therefore, there is a need for both secular and religious actors to establish their position and 'full rationales' to pursue a politics of non-conflictual coexistence, diversity and mutual understanding, especially between groups with opposing worldviews. Joustra emphasized the importance of compromise between two extreme choices of ontological exclusivism (as strived by right-wing extremists) and cosmopolitan paralysis (as pursued by liberals) (Joustra, 2018, p.86).

This paper would engage with Joustra's construction on political pluralism to see whether the humanitarian crisis in India and Turkey could strengthen the idea of principled pluralism or otherwise. India and Turkey are currently experiencing the conservative turn and strong homogenization of their society. This paper will also analyze the development of secularism in both countries, how it

eventually transformed, and how the transformation would affect public affairs, including the foreign policies of both countries in responding to the humanitarian crisis.

This research used two case studies separately in Turkey and India to better understand the usage of religious pretexts in global politics. This research also methodologically referred to the qualitative research method. During the analysis process, only data from research journals and news articles were used. The data gathered during the literature research was analyzed with conceptual frameworks that had been thoroughly elaborated in the above paragraphs. The theory will be used in the analytical phase of this research by first explaining the study cases and then correlating the study cases with one of the categories explained in the table above.

RESULTS AND EXPLANATION

The Roots of Political Theology in Modern India and Turkey

Although India was founded formally as a "secular" state, India founded its political foundation upon the heritage of the Dharmic (Hindu-Buddha) civilization. During the discussions on which flag and the national symbol should

India used, the founding fathers of India did agree that the flag and the national symbol of India would be taken from the symbols of the great Mauryan Dynasty that was ruled by a just king who had united the land of India, Ashoka. The Constituent Assembly of India adopted the *Swaraj* flag used since the era of the independence movement by replacing the *charkha* (spinning wheel) with *Ashoka Chakra* (the wheel of Ashoka). According to Radhakrishnan, the *Ashoka Chakra* represents the commitment of the Indian government to always abide by the eternal law of *dharma* and be able to adapt to peaceful change (MHA Government of India, 2002). The state emblem of India is also adapted from the Lion Capital of Ashoka. Even though India is a nation that consists of many nations and religions, the Hindu-Buddha philosophical value became India's political and moral foundation.

According to Vajpeyi, the political foundations of India are based on six central values. These five values consist of *ahimsa*, *viraha*, *samvega*, *dharma*, *artha* and *duhkha*. These values were reflected by India's founding fathers and prominent spiritual figures, namely Gandhi, the Tagore Brothers (Abanindranath and Rabindranath Tagore), Nehru

and Ambedkar. These philosophical values were being constructed to find a new way of understanding the true Self of India, particularly after India gained its independence. These founding fathers reflected upon the religious texts from the Hindu-Buddha tradition and contextualized that text into the reality of the 20th century. These five values are instrumental to reaching the eventual goal of true *swaraj*, which is self-governance by the Indian people. *Swaraj*, in this context, could not only be defined as a formalized transfer of power and sovereignty from colonizing power to the colonized. Instead, *swaraj* needs to be understood as a condition in which suffering experienced by a human would be transformed and transcended to have the independence to make themselves (Vajpeyi, 2012, p.38).

In her book, Vajpeyi tried to explain each of these philosophical values. *Being promoted by Gandhi*, *Ahimsa* is often being translated equally to the meaning of "doing nothing" or "passivism". Instead of promoting "passivism", Gandhi preached *ahimsa* as an art of resistance by minimizing any potential of violence. According to Vajpeyi, Gandhi's *ahimsa* belief was originated not from the Jain

tradition but instead from Gandhi's interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gita*. On the value of *viraha*, Vajpeyi elaborated the thought of Rabindranath Tagore on the divided Self of India. *Viraha*, defined as a self's longing, became the origin of conflict and suffering in the Indian subcontinent. Tagore argued that *Viraha* is caused by the Western interpretation of nationalism which is not suitable to Indic culture. Abanindranath Tagore had shown his reflection of this struggle of India's Self through his painting and artworks. Mentioning Tagore's well-known artwork on Shah Jahan, Vajpeyi saw that Tagore described India's divided Self through *samvega* – a shock that enables someone to rediscover itself. As a symbol of convergence between Hindu and Muslim identity, Shah Jahan was portrayed by Tagore to describe a unity of divergent identities (Vajpeyi, 2012 pp. 130-134).

Vajpeyi also reminded the importance of Nehru's thought on Indian moral philosophy. It is important to note that Nehru's thought is often related to the idea of secularism. However, this credential did not prevent Nehru from reflecting upon the legacies of Indian ancient philosophical works written by Kautilya. The value of

dharma (self-aspiration) and artha (self-purpose) eventually inspired Nehru to discover his version of India's Self. His exploration of these two values also became why he chose to adopt the symbols of the Ashokan Empire. The meditation and reflection of Ambedkar on the teaching of Buddha drive Ambedkar to believe that the essence of political activism in India is to ensure that people's suffering (*duhkha*) can be alleviated. Thus, as one of the principal drafters of the Indian Constitution, Ambedkar elaborated many principles that provide positive discriminations toward those who have been suffering all their lives, such as religious minorities, backward castes, and backward tribal communities. All these values, according to Vajpeyi, have been instrumental in creating modern India. Many political groups from various ideologies in India still take these values as principal values in their political conduct (Vajpeyi, 2012).

The discovery of the Indian Self has been an arduous and uneasy journey. What constitutes Self of India is still being discussed continuously by various political ideologies in India. Several politicians and political groups, such as Indian National Congress,

are still asserting their commitments to the secular credentials. However, many political parties and groups that are affiliating themselves to the idea of Hindutva are criticizing secular values. According to Clarke (2002), the idea of Hindutva seeks to strengthen the political ground of Hindu nationalists in India by employing two tactics: first, persuading minorities (particularly Christians) as targets to be included as part of the united Hindu community and second, applying coercive means to pressurize people who are resisting against movements for the pan-Hindu identity (Clarke, 2002, p.207).

Hindutva gained more popularity from the Indian populace by promoting Integral Humanism, which was inspired by the principle of Sarvarkar's and Golwalkar's Hindu Nationalism and the strong tendency of a corporatist social-political philosophy. As a founder of Integral Humanism, Deendayal Upadhyaya (an RSS member and the founder of Jana Sangh) argued that India should construct its social order as an organic unity organized under the greater principle of *dharma*. The *dharma* will guide people to obtain their needs of *artha* (political and economic need) and *kama* (bodily desire) and to finally

reach *moksha* (liberation of the soul from the body) (Bhatt & Mukta, 2000, p.420). According to Upadhyaya, a *dharmic* society is essential for creating an Indian society free of conflict and contradiction (Sharma & Nain, 2018, p. 18). Consequently, Hindu nationalists argue that Non-Hindu minorities must undergo a process of assimilation to the Hindu way of life. Golwalkar, also known as Guruji, even emphasized the importance of adopting and assimilating the Hindu culture and language by foreign races in India. Golwalkar further argued that the original identities of these "foreign races" must be subordinated to the grander idea of the Hindu nation (Golwalkar, 1939, pp. 104-105).

From the elaboration above, the understanding of the true Indian Self heavily relies on how the Indian politicians see the diverse and divergent nature of the Indian Self. The tragic episodes of the Hindu-Muslim conflicts, such as the 1947 Great Partition and the Aligarh riots in India, had made the Indian Self-understood as an exclusivist idea that could only be claimed by those who are willing to adopt the Hinduness. The true Self of India, according to Hindu nationalists, could only be explored by Hindus. Thus, according to this interpretation, it could be

concluded that those who are not willing to understand the true Self of India through the reading of Hindu philosophy would not be able to claim themselves as a true Indian.

Similar to the context of Indian politics, the political history of modern Turkey has been marked by a never-ending quest to find the true Turkish Self, which is trapped between two distinct identities of West and East. The early quest to find the true Turkish Self in the modern era has begun in *II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi* (Second Constitutional Era), when Ottoman Turkey was facing several episodes of political crisis. Some Ottoman Turks who were educated with Western curriculum tried to re-evaluate the meaning of being a Turk and thus tried to create a new conception of Turkey (Weiker, 1968). After the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, the modernization efforts continued and brought significant change to Turkey's understanding of religious life. According to Çelik (2018), Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to implement the *laiklik* (laicism a la Turkey) does not entirely separate the secular from the religion. Atatürk understood that most Turkish people at that time considered religion as something dear to their life. Instead of imposing a total

separation of religion from the daily life of Turkish people, Atatürk seeks to control the religious life in Turkey and reduce the presence of religion in the Turkish public sphere. It is under the Atatürk regime that Sunni Islam was controlled under the authority of *Diyanet İşleri Reisliği* (The Presidency of Religious Affairs, now also known by the name of *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*).

The logic of political theology of Atatürk's secularism is based on the intention of Atatürk to modernize the teaching and understanding of Islam in Turkish society. In this context, Turkish secularism could be defined as an effort to change Western assumptions about Turkish Muslims radically and to suit the portrayal of Turkish Muslims to the standard of a modern Western citizen. Another essential aspect that needs to be looked upon in the process of secularisation in Turkey is the rationalization and Turkification of Islam (Azak, 2008, pp. 166-169). Atatürk mentioned that Islam should be a rational religion that the general public could easily understand. He also emphasized the importance of indigenizing the religion to ensure that the religion is suitable to the nation-building agenda in Turkey. Therefore, several policies, such as changing the liturgical language

from Arabic to Turkish was pursued by Atatürk's government. It is argued that the indigenization of Islam was a project that eventually would help Islam be re-interpreted according to the need of modern Turkish society (Altunışık, 2005 p. 47). Thus, it would help Turkish people hold firmly to religion while at the same time progressing economically and politically.

Several parties have initiated the effort to bring religion back to the political stage, but Said Nursi initiated the effort to rejuvenate religious life in secularised and modernized Turkey. Said Nursi challenged the idea of top-down secularisation enacted by Atatürk's government. Nursi thought that Islam could and should guide the populace in facing the modern world. The key to facing the modern world, according to Nursi, is to have a balanced understanding of secular and religious science (Kuru & Kuru, 2008). Another wave of critics towards secularism also came from various religious and conservative political figures, such as Nurettin Topçu, Zahid Kotku and Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, argued that there should be a renewal in the Turkish politics and society by returning to the cultural and civilizational heritage of Turkey (Guida, 2014; Mardin,

2005, p. 155). Although Topçu and Kısakürek were mainly educated in a Western and secular educational system, they were the ones who drove a new movement of political Islam and conservatism that tried to evaluate and even to challenge the dominance of secularism itself. With regards to Kotku, as a religious cleric, he emphasized how to provide religious education to the students of the secular institutions so that these religiously educated students would become ranking politicians and change the course of Turkish politics (Alam, 2009). These thinkers would inspire a new stream of political Islamism and change Turkey's thought stream of political theology.

Under the regime of AK Parti, the understanding of political theology was envisioned in a new way, but not by totally forsaking the conception of Turkish secularism. According to Öztürk (2019) the Turkish state and the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP, AK Parti had made ethnoreligious desires and power-based conflicts ever more dominant in Turkey. As a result, Öztürk argued that Turkey has transformed into a country with inclusionary and hegemonic-authoritarian political characters. This transformation

has allowed Sunni Islam to take one of the regime's critical focal points. Öztürk's argument was also confirmed by Tepe (2016), who said that the existence of *Diyanet* as a distinct product of Turkish secularism had opened channels for debates and discourse on the understanding of religious and political theology in Turkey. At the same time, *Diyanet* in recent times also strengthened the hegemony of AK Parti. Kaya also brought another argument, Robert & Tecmen (2020), who argued that populism in Turkey under AK Parti (as well as in the case of National Front in France) had defended the superiority of nativism by reviving the Ottoman Turkish identity, the suspicions toward the value of multiculturalism, and the skepticism toward the European Union.

The Conduct of Politics of Salvation in India and Turkey

In 2019, the Indian government started a new debate to amend the existing Citizenship Act. As stipulated in the Citizenship Amendment Bill, the Bill would provide a fast-lane citizenship application process for Hindu, Buddha, Jain, Sikh, Parsi, and Christian refugees from neighboring Muslim countries in South Asia. Narendra Modi argued that the Bill

was being proposed to fulfill Nehru's wishes to amend existing legislation regarding the acceptance of religious minorities from neighboring countries (Scroll. in, 2020). This Bill aimed to provide more protection to religious minorities persecuted for years in Muslim-majority countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan who shared direct borders with India. The ruling BJP government also repeated the argument that in the early years after the Partition, the leaders of India and Pakistan had signed the Liaquat-Nehru Pact (also known as the Delhi Pact). Liaquat-Nehru Pact had agreed-upon rules on the rights of returning refugees and their rights to their property being left during the Partition years. Liaquat-Nehru Pact also emphasized the role of the government of India and Pakistan to oversee the protection of religious minorities against any persecution and discrimination. Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India, Amit Shah also criticized the lack of protection towards the religious minorities by Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh that causes 20 percent decline in religious minorities in these countries, which eventually propelled the BJP government to expedite the process

of providing citizenship status (ANI, 2020).

The Citizenship Amendment Bill was also accompanied by implementing the stricter National Registry of Citizenship (NRC) policy. This new stricter rule will include preparing a new list of National Population Registry (NPR) projects. Based on the new database created under the new NPR, the government of India will be able to indicate the legal status of every people living in India. While the CAA allows religious minorities to find shelter in India, NPR and NRC could consider several communities in India which did not possess any legal status as “illegal”. Consequently, these “illegal communities” will be deported back to their “place of origins”. The acceptance of the Bill and its subsequent enactment as an Act has caused many negative consequences, especially in making Muslims ‘other’ and ‘second-class citizens’ in a quasi-secular India (Bhat, 2019). The high-ranking politicians from BJP defended that the Act would not deliberately discriminate against the rights of Indian Muslims, as it will only affect those with legal complications related to their residential status (Hindustan Times, 2020; Venkataramakrishnan, 2020). This

claim was then contested by various political oppositions, human rights organizations and experts saying that the CAA is intended to exclude Indian Muslims from public life, especially those who had migrated to India decades before but did not able to acquire legal status due to several administrative obstacles (Human Rights Watch, 2020). These ‘to-be’ expelled Muslims would be replaced by ‘potentially loyal’ adherents of Indic religions.

The underlying motives behind the policy of the Indian government to expedite the citizenship process for the religious minorities from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh could be seen as an effort to strengthen its true ‘Self’ against the potential ‘Other’ who might be able to disturb the integrity of the ‘Self’. In the perspective of Hindu Nationalists, a Dharma-based stable social order could only be achieved through the realization of *viraha* (longing of the Divided Self) and *duhkha* (suffering of the Self) as a by-product of the Partition. The Partition had broken the vision of *Akhand Bharat*, of an India united in terms of religious belief and culture. In the perspective of Hindu nationalists, the Indian Self is suffering from longing to unite with the fellow believers of Indic religions

who are also experiencing *dukkha* as religious minorities in Muslim majority countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The BJP government is following this logic of Hindu political theology to legitimize their policy and action towards religiously persecuted minorities, even in the price of possibly sacrificing the rights of “illegal” Indian Muslim minorities. Unfortunately, the BJP government is still yet to find its moment of *samvega* (discovery of the Self through duality shock), enabling them to empathize and alleviate the sufferings of not only the adherents of Indic religions but also of persecuted Muslims. However, in the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)), the Indian government has not made significant progress to expedite the citizenship registration process. Due to legal and administrative complications, many migrants from the adherents of Indic religions still have not acquired legal status.

Therefore, in the case of the, it can be seen that despite the natural diversity that India currently owns, the current BJP government is unwilling to open an honest discussion on ways to construct a more pluralistic conception of Indian citizenship. Instead, the

BJP government opted for the homogenization of the society based on the Hindutva model of an ideal citizen. Consequently, this situation closed many possibilities of further dialogues on the concept of citizenship, and eventually, principled pluralism will need more time to be implemented in India. Continuous resistance from democratic and religious political forces could be the key to achieving the principled pluralism that will determine India’s democratization course.

In contemporary Turkey, as Turkey established, it is new that slightly transformed the boundaries between religion and politics in its homeland, many Arab countries experienced a wave of democratization brought by the Arab Spring. Arab Spring has introduced many Arab countries to the Turkish model of democratization. In this case, Turkey started to show itself as a leader and role model for Arab and Muslim countries. But, when Turkey experienced mass protests during the Gezi Park movement, many questioned Turkish credentials as a democratic country. Eventually, Turkey finds another way to strengthen its own ‘conservative democracy’ narrative in the Middle East by involving the Syrian crisis,

both politically and militarily (Keyman, 2016) Turkish active involvement in Syria was based on not only the security consideration but also political considerations. Turkey wanted to expand and exert its geopolitical influences beyond its border by reinforcing the idea of 'Muslim democracy' throughout the Middle East and the larger Muslim World.

Turkey's 'open door' policy was in line with the Turkish plan to strengthen its leadership amongst Sunni Muslim countries in the Middle East and the World. By invoking the narratives of '*Bizler Ensar, sizler muhacir* (We are the guarantor, and you are the persecuted),' the AK Parti government under Erdogan's leadership is trying to position itself as a guarantor (*ensar*) of the persecuted Arab-Muslim-Sunnite populace (*muhacir*) from the authoritarian Syrian regime (SABAH, 2014). In this context, the Turkish government considered the authoritarian Syrian regime could be considered as similar to the Quraish community in the era of Prophet Muhammad. Even though Syrian (and Iraqi) refugees had various ethnic and religious backgrounds, Korkut (2016) argued that the AK Parti government had maintained

a pragmatic and selective approach to treating the incoming refugees. Preferential treatments were mostly provided to the Arab-Muslim-Sunnite refugee populations, most discriminated against and suffered from Assad's authoritarian regime.

However, as Getmansky, Sınmazdemir, and Zeitzoff (2018) explained, the Turkish public (especially Turkish citizens of Turkic origin) was negatively reacting to a supposedly welcoming attitude of the AK Parti government toward the Syrian refugees. The negative reactions reached their climax when the AK Parti government promised to grant citizenship to the Syrian refugee once they had stayed in the countries for a certain period. Gülmez (2019) showed that several Turkish parties were trying to securitize the Syrian refugee issue either by deploying the issue of Turkic nationalist identity (in the case of right-wing *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* or MHP) and the issue of crime and unemployment (in the case of center-left *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* or CHP). It is also worth noting that even the acceptance of Arab-Muslim-Sunnite refugees could be recognized as partial. Gökarıksel and Secor (2020) noted that Arab-Muslim-Sunnite refugees are still experiencing anxiety and

pain in their daily life as a refugee in Turkey. This finding is also confirmed by Gümüş and Eroğlu (2015) they were subsequently granted the official status of 'temporary protection'. The article also covers efforts to incorporate the Syrians into some areas of Turkish society (the job market, healthcare, citizenship, the housing market, social prominence and marriage relationships, who argued that the incorporation of Syrian in some areas of Turkish society had not been addressed improperly due to the legal complexity over the status of Syrian migrants in Turkey and, subsequently, the domestic political debates in Turkey over the Syrian migrant's legal status/

This phenomenon proves that the AK Parti government is trying to follow its interpretation of Sunni political theology principles based on Muslim unity, which will be realized under the Turkish leadership. The project to rebuild a new conception of Turkish citizenship based on the incorporation of Arab-Muslim-Sunnite refugees could not be called successful, as there are still debates among Turkish society whether the Arab-Muslim-Sunnite Syrian and Iraqi migrants could be accepted as a Turkish citizens. The rise of nativism and lack of multicultural

understanding in Turkish society within the existing construct of the new conception of Turkish citizenship might be the biggest challenge that inhibits Turkey from achieving principled pluralism ideals.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed the influence of political theology on Indian and Turkish foreign policies, especially in the humanitarian crisis. It can be noted that both India and Turkey are two countries that experienced secularisation and modernization, complicating the quest to discover the true Self of both countries. Once populist regimes that subscribed to right-wing political values were brought to power, India and Turkey subsequently constructed a new political understanding that entails the importance of conservatism based on religious values. In the case of India, the Hindutva political vision put forward by the BJP government has become one of the main drives of policy-making. Even though the influence of Hindutva values in the Indian foreign policy is still debated, it is clear that in the case of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and subsequent policies are constructed within a vision to enable

the unity of Hindus in the Indian subcontinent and the domination of Hindu rule. India, under the government BJP, considered itself as a savior for the religiously persecuted minorities. The BJP government also tried to strengthen its true Self by emphasizing the suffering of the religious minorities in neighboring countries. Ironically, the claim for the true Self must sacrifice its commitment to protecting another important part of religious minorities, that is, the Muslim community. India's effort to find its true Self is distracted because of the unwillingness to accept the existence of Muslim refugees in India. The discovery of the true Self of India would be very much dependent on how India would reconcile with its "divided nature" of its Self through honest discussions and public deliberations, which are the backbones of principled pluralism.

In the case of Turkey, the *ancien regime* of Turkish laicism was put under criticism by the AK Parti regime, which claimed to carry the popular will to establish a new regime that respects both democracy and Turkish conservative values. Various research has shown that there is a direct connection between the new orientation of Turkish foreign policy. The influence

of "conservative democracy" and "moral realism" values in Turkish foreign policy could be seen clearly in the Syrian refugee crisis. During the crisis, Turkey has implemented an open-door policy and tried to show itself as a savior for the persecuted people coming from Syria. Turkey decided to implement a policy of favoring Arab-Muslim-Sunni Syrian refugees. Turkey would like to reaffirm its Self as the protector and the leader of the Sunni Muslim world.

Moreover, the AK Parti government was willing to provide Turkish citizenship to the Arab-Muslim-Sunni Syrian refugees as part of their actions to strengthen their credentials as leaders of the global Sunni Muslim community. Nevertheless, many Turkish political parties were opposed to the plans brought by the AK Parti government, citing the issue of rising crime allegedly brought by Syrian refugees and the integrity of Turkish national identity. The effort to achieve the politics of principled pluralism in Turkey during the momentum of the humanitarian crisis will need commitment from the AK Parti itself and the opposition parties.

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Japan's Challenges on *Muslim Friendly Tourism* to Attract Muslim Tourists 2013-2019

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Abstract

Tourism is now a part of the modern lifestyle. Infrastructure, technology, and information are developing, making it easier for individuals to go abroad. When traveling, each individual brings identity and need. In Islam, Muslims have a role in tourism because Islam for Muslims is a lifestyle. Tourism in Islam is called halal tourism, a new phenomenon, and a new business opportunity, targeting Muslim tourists. Japan is a non-Muslim country and is not based on Islamic values. Of course, it will be a challenge for Japan to understand halal tourism. Japan is well known for its services, products, and facilities. Japan has been preparing for halal tourism well, introducing itself as the world's best tourist destination and host for the 2021 Olympics. The authors used qualitative methods, observation, and literature study. The final results of this study are expected to provide awareness of the importance of tourist destinations that are friendly to Muslims and offer new economic opportunities in the tourism sector.

Keywords: *Tourism, Japan, Halal*

Abstrak

Pariwisata sekarang hari adalah bagian dari gaya hidup modern. Dukungan infrastruktur, teknologi, informasi semakin memudahkan mobilitas individu maupun kelompok. Tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa individu atau kelompok ini dalam perjalanannya membawa suatu identitas dan juga kebutuhan. Dalam

agama Islam, Islam memiliki peranan dalam wisata, karena agama Islam bagi umat Muslim adalah sebuah gaya hidup. Pariwisata dalam Islam dikenal juga sebagai pariwisata halal yang merupakan fenomena baru dan peluang bisnis baru dalam dunia pariwisata yang menargetkan wisatawan muslim sebagai pasar. Jepang adalah negara Non-Muslim dan tidak berlandaskan nilai-nilai Islam, tentunya akan menjadi tantangan dan hal yang baru bagi Jepang dalam memahami pariwisata halal. Jepang dikenal baik dalam pelayanan, produk dan fasilitas, tentunya memunculkan pertanyaan apakah Jepang yang merupakan negara Non-Muslim ini mempersiapkan dengan baik pariwisata halal, mengingat Jepang ingin mengenalkan dirinya sebagai destinasi wisata terbaik dunia serta sebagai tuan rumah untuk Olimpiade 2021. Dalam penulisan ini penulis menggunakan metode kualitatif, observasi dan studi pustaka. Hasil akhir dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan kesadaran akan pentingnya destinasi wisata yang ramah bagi umat Islam, serta memberikan peluang dan peluang ekonomi baru di bidang pariwisata.

Kata Kunci: *Pariwisata, Jepang, Halal*

INTRODUCTION

The development of infrastructure in a country, technology, and information is fast to make individuals' or groups' mobility easier. In this digital era, increasing middle-class economic growth and social media also affect different patterns of individuals or groups. One of the most important patterns of change in the field of tourism. Social media not only introduces but also motivates these individuals or groups to travel to these places. According to UNWTO, tourism is a social, cultural, and economic phenomenon that

entails the people's movement to countries or areas outside their usual environment for personal or business / professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents), and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure (Charles R. Goeldner, 2009).

Tourism religious and spiritual motivation has become widespread and popular in recent decades, occupying an essential segment of international tourism substantially in recent years. Religious tourism

is one of the less-studied topics in tourism research (Dallen J. Timothy, 2006). Timothy and Olsen explained that an increase in tourists with religious motivations attracted academia, government, and tourism agencies to develop tourism. This religious travel is associated with the place inside the Holy Quran (Namin, 2013), the Bible, and other sacred texts.

Tourism itself is one of seven sectors in the Islamic economy with a significant role other than halal culinary, fashion, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, entertainment, insurance, and Islamic finance (Thomson Reuters, 2016). Halal tourism has recently gained popularity and is now becoming a new phenomenon in the tourism industry. Halal tourism refers to tourism products that provide services with Islamic beliefs and practices.

Tourism is included in the pillars of peace (Peace, 2019). Of course, tourism has a vital role in international relations to show good relations with neighboring countries and political stability. Of course, tourism also has an impact on business, foreign direct investment. Targeting Muslims as a market in tourism is an excellent opportunity for the future and

undoubtedly influenced by several factors, such as the growing Muslim population globally, predicted in 2050 to reach 2.8 billion million people. This population also the growth of Muslim millennials and young adults, with some already transiting into parenthood, are shaping the future of tourism and hospitality with their unique service needs. The economic growth of the middle-class people, such as the Gulf countries, Malaysia and Indonesia, are categorized as developing countries. Increased and easy access to information for Muslim tourists is critical because it is related to the choices of Muslim tourists, whether the destination is Muslim-friendly. The increasing Muslim population also increases availability needs, services, and facilities, making a chance more on business, not only for domestic support but also for export opportunities.

This growth can help Japan to meet its target as a world-class tourist destination. Abenomics is the Japanese economic and investment strategy program targeted in the 2020-2030 period. Tourism is one of the pillars for building the Japanese economy, with plans in 2020 to reach up to 40 million foreign tourists and 2030 is targeted to get 60 million foreign

tourist arrivals. Japan is planning to achieve the target of 8 trillion yen in 2020 and 15 trillion yen in 2030 against the costs incurred by foreign tourists when traveling to Japan, and 70 million tourists per night in 2020, then 130 million tourists by 2030. Twenty-four million foreign tourists who returned to visit Japan (repeat inbound tourists) in 2020 will increase to 36 million tourists in 2030 and recently achieve the target issued by domestic tourists of 21 trillion yen in 2020 and up to 22 trillion yen in 2030. Japan is not a Muslim country, and Muslims are only a minority there. Of course, in carrying out tourism that targets Muslim tourists, Japan will face challenges in running Muslim-friendly tourism. Islam for Muslims is not only a religion but also a lifestyle. Therefore it is necessary to see the basic understanding and real challenges in carrying out friendly tourism with Muslim tourists.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Japan, which is not a Muslim-majority country, has challenges in developing Muslim-friendly tourism. To understand Japan's challenges on Muslim-friendly tourism to attract Muslim tourists, the authors conducted a literature review related to previous studies

about Muslim-friendly tourism. The first journal entitled *Halal Certification and Its Impact on Tourism in Southeast Asia: A Case Study of Halal Tourism in Thailand* by Alfian Nurdiansyah (Nurdiansyah, 2018). The author explored the global era and the advancement of the international trade system, market investors to attract new products. Halal products can become new reference points given the increasing number of Muslim populations in the world. The demand for halal products will also increase significantly along with the people.

Second in the journal entitled *Halal, New Zealand! An Exploratory Study into the halal-friendliness of Accommodation Providers in New Zealand* by Serrin Razzaq, C. Michael Hall, and Girish Prayag (Razzaq, Hall, & Prayag, 2016). The authors revealed that New Zealand had increasingly promoted itself as a Muslim-friendly destination to attract Muslim tourists. New Zealand's long-time exporter of halal beef and goat is now trying to encourage other forms of halal products. However, providing halal tourism and hospitality and tourism is a much more complicated process than providing halal meat. It requires a nuanced understanding of Islamic

consumers and their socio-cultural positions and different demands. Third, Majang Palupi, Rizqi Wahyu Romadhon, and Nur Arifan on a journal entitled *Importance of Optimization of Halal Tourism: A Study of The Development of Halal Tourism in Indonesia* (Palupi, Romadhon, & Arifian, 2017). This research stated that the development of the halal tourism industry in Indonesia is lagging behind other countries. However, there are factors for booming halal tourism in Indonesia, such as halal accommodation, halal food, drinks availability, and human resources. Besides, the government is advised to implement strategic policies, national branding, and human resource investment.

Fourth, Isa Ma on *Halal market in China: Potentials and Challenges* (Ma, 2018). This research explained that China could develop the halal market assuming that the Chinese government is pro-business, encouraging political issues and other factors. The factor that determines the potential of the Halal market is the Muslim population in China. The size of the consumer population is significant. The second factor that determines the potential of the Halal market is the purchasing power. Fifth is

Surwandono, Rizki Dian Nursita, Rashda Diana, and Ade Meiliyana on *The Discoursing on Halal Tourism Policy in Indonesia and its Review in Maqâshid Syari'ah* (Surwandono, Nursita, Diana, & Meiliyana, 2020). Tourism in Indonesia, especially halal tourism, still experiences ambiguity in understanding halal tourism itself. The governance of halal tourism in Indonesia is still not fully following the *maqashid* Sharia because it only follows trends and reactions that distort the basis of tourism. What happened in Indonesia was different from what happened in East Asia, where East Asia considered this phenomenon an economic phenomenon, not an exclusive identity.

METHODOLOGY

The study of this paper used observation and interviews from 2018-2019, browsed information sourced from print, electronic media, tourism literature about the development of tourism in the world, and tourism in Islam, described and interpreted the data. In particular, the study of Muslim-friendly tourism as part of a Muslim religious practice will be described based on tourism.

TOURISM IN RELIGION

The growing tourism industry will undoubtedly bring up new segments for tourists to fulfill specific targets. For example, in religion and tourism, some do not realize this relationship. Religion is still the most common motivation for traveling (Kreiner & Wall, 2015). Religiously motivated tourism remains the oldest and most basic reason for mobility in the world. Even each sacred text or holy book of every religion mentions "tourism" or "tourist destination" as a religious activity. In this case, tourist destinations related to spiritual matters become the main tourist destinations for religious reasons or only tourism (Collins-Kreiner, 2010).

Humans are always interested in new hobbies, and hence the emergence of inventions and developments in various specialties. There is no exception to visiting new areas because places have different norms, values, and cultures. Certain areas are considered sacred or more special to both certain groups and beliefs. It certainly motivates the individual or group to visit the place, for example, in Islam by visiting Mecca and Medina, Christianity and Judaism by visiting Jerusalem, Catholic by visiting the Vatican,

Hinduism with Benares and Tirupati, Buddhism with Bodh Gaya, and Lhasa. Those locations are famous for their believers. This religious tourism affects either local and wide (Kim & King, 2019). Religion can be motivated by people traveling to go out of their environment due to historical, religious benefits, and spiritual reasons. The origins of tourism are rooted in religious activities (Griffin & Raj, 2017). Tourism is now considered a necessity and new in modern society and increases the quality of life and economy. It certainly impacts the needs and behavior of tourists, such as influencing the choice of destination, desired tourism products, and even reaching the point where tourists need special needs to relativity facilities. Thus, religion affects tourism.

Tourism in Islam and the Concept of Muslim Friendly Tourism

Islam practices and advises tourism in the Quran. Religious activities such as Hajj, Umrah belong to tourism in Islam (Edbiz, 2012) even though Qur'an does not mention them as tourism. Still, this activity is part of religious activities to fulfill spirituality or even completed the Five Pillars in Islam. Hajj and Umrah are spiritual tourism where Muslims visit Mecca

and Medina. Mecca and Medina are two cities with a historical and religious appeal for Muslims. Hajj and Umrah, are mentioned in Surah Ali Imron/3: 96-97:

إِنَّ أَوَّلَ بَيْتٍ وُضِعَ لِلنَّاسِ لَلَّذِي بِبَكَّةَ
مُبْرَكًا وَهُدًى لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ٩٦ فِيهِ آيَةٌ
بَيِّنَةٌ مَّقَامُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ هَ وَمَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ
أَمِنًا وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حِجُّ الْبَيْتِ مَنِ
اسْتَطَاعَ إِلَيْهِ سَبِيلًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ
غَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ ٩٧ (آل عمران/٣:
٩٦-٩٧)

96. Indeed, the first House [of worship] established for mankind was that at Makkah - blessed and a guidance for the worlds.

97. In it are clear signs [such as] the standing place of Abraham. And whoever enters it shall be safe. And [due] to Allah from the people is a pilgrimage to the House - for whoever is able to find thereto a way. But whoever disbelieves - then indeed, Allah is free from need of the worlds. (Ali' Imran/3:96-97)

Traveling in Islam is not always about Hajj or Umrah, but can be aimed at leisure or other activities and purpose. The Qur'an says that Islam sees tourism as the greatness of Allah SWT and everything in

the world. These actions are also a reminder and fulfill the spiritual need for Muslims. In Qur'an, Muslims are advised to travel as a form of seeing the greatness of Allah SWT as depicted in Surah Al Ankabut/29:20:

قُلْ سِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَانظُرُوا كَيْفَ
بَدَأَ الْخَلْقَ ثُمَّ اللَّهُ يُنشِئُ النَّشْأَةَ
الْآخِرَةَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ٢٠
(العنكبوت/٢٩: ٢٠)

20. Say, [O Muhammad], "Travel through the land and observe how He began creation. Then Allah will produce the final creation. Indeed Allah, over all things, is competent." (Al-'Ankabut/29:20)

Besides, as a reminder, and to fulfill the spiritual need for Muslims, Surah Fusilat/41:53 states that:

سَنُرِيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ
حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ أَوَلَمْ يَكْفِ
بِرَبِّكَ أَنَّهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَهِيدٌ ٥٣
(فصّلت/١٤: ٥٣)

53. We will show them Our signs in the horizons and within themselves until it becomes clear to them that it is the truth. But is it not sufficient concerning your Lord that He is, over all things, a Witness? (Fussilat/41:53)

Tourism in Islam is unique. The Qur'an as a guide for Muslims indirectly tells Muslims to explore what is on earth as part of worship to Allah SWT. The relationship between tourism, religion, and individuals in Islam also raises new things that primarily fulfill the basic needs. The needs are mentioned as basic needs between the identity from the tourists and availability to meet the needs of tourist destinations. In Islam, all matters have been regulated.

The concept of Muslim-friendly tourism is a complex social activity because it deals with individuals or groups as a whole (Soekadijo, 2000). After all, some individuals or groups will carry their identity and needs. Indeed, this situation will affect the conditions of the local environment. Muslim-friendly tourism is also known as Islamic Tourism, Halal Friendly Tourism Destination, Halal Travel, Muslim-Friendly Travel Destinations (SESRIC, 2017). This name is undoubtedly related to Muslim travelers. According to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Islamic tourism mainly targets Muslims. However, it could also have a universal appeal even for non-Muslims for many reasons like fair pricing, peace and security, family-friendly environment, and hygiene (SESRIC, 2017).

The other definition about Islamic Tourism from The Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation or COMCEC is tourism by following per under Islam, involving people of the Muslim faith interested in keeping with their religious habits while traveling (COMCEC, 2016). From this understanding, a Muslim must fulfill their need for spirituality as a form of obedience to Islam by traveling.

The simply main point of Muslim-friendly tourism destinations is the availability to fulfill the basic needs of Muslim tourists. Muslims are allowed to travel as long as facilities and services based on Islamic values are available. The essential requirement in a friendly Muslim tourism destination is a pleasant hotel with Muslims by providing halal food and prayer.

Tourism in Japan and Muslim Tourist

Japan is perfect for tourism management and also its services. *Omotenashi* focuses on politeness and kindness with relationships with customers or guests by presenting heartwarming service in Japanese

culture. Under the MLIT (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism), Japan has a particular organization to promote and develop Japanese tourism, domestic and worldwide, called Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO). Since its establishment in 1964, JNTO has had 20 offices spread throughout the world.

Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe uses tourism in Abenomics, and this policy their economic policy during the reign of Shinzo Abe. Abenomics targets that in 2020 Japan will have had 40 million tourists coming to Japan to earn an income of 8 trillion yen, and in 2030 will attract 60 million tourists with 15 trillion yen income.

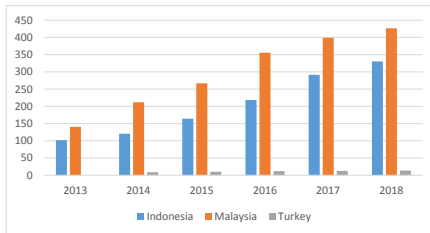


Table 1. Japan visitors with Tourism Purpose (JNTO, 2020)

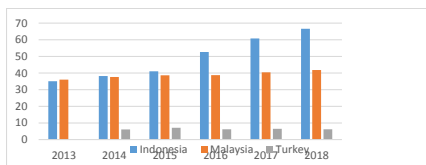


Table 2. Japan visitors with Commercial and Other Purpose (JNTO, 2020)

Japan keeps developing further for service, facilities, and some policies. The Japanese government, since 2013, provides facilities in making visas for tourists who come from Southeast Asia to visit Japan, of course. This step was taken to attract tourists from Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia consists of developing countries with a middle-class economy. This situation does not exclude the possibility for Muslim tourists from Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei, predominantly Muslims, to travel to Japan, especially Indonesia as a country with one of the most populations globally, with 80% of the population Muslim. In 2016, 121 million Muslim tourists were coming to Japan and grew to 156 million by 2020, where the travel expenditure by Muslim tourists is expected to reach USD 220 billion. It is also projected that the total Muslim travel expenditure will reach USD 300 Billion by 2026 (Crescentrating, 2017).

Japan is famous for having good quality products or unique characteristics. The Japanese government is increasing the number of foreign tourists by implementing a tax-free policy for tourists visiting Japan. This tax-free policy will undoubtedly increase the

level of tourists to shop. In this case, it will indeed affect income in the Japanese economy. According to the Japan Muslim Travel Index (JMTI), in 2016, international Muslim tourists visited Japan were 700,000 and increased to 1,400,000 Muslim tourists by 2020.

Muslim-friendly tourism has become a new phenomenon in the world of tourism and brought needs and services. Muslim-friendly tourism depends on Muslim tourists' needs once they are met. The availability of halal food and places to salat is Muslim tourists' basic needs. Muslims only eat halal food as listed in the Qur'an and Hadith. Furthermore, in serving halal food and beverages, cooking utensils must also be separated from non-halal.

Challenges and Case Studies

Food Sign

Being a Muslim when traveling to a non-Muslim country, consuming halal or Muslim-friendly food is an option to avoid illicit food prohibited in Islam. Muslim travelers somehow should adjust according to the conditions. Therefore, information and accessible WIFI services for tourists are undoubtedly beneficial to find restaurants for Muslim travelers.

Giving pictures and the inclusion of cooking ingredients for a Muslim has been helpful in a country with a majority of non-Muslims. It is also beneficial for other tourists even though non-Muslims indirectly learn the dish component or have an allergy. Another issue is language constraint because not all tourists understand Japanese, and not many Japanese people can speak English. It will be helpful when the restaurants have a halal label to avoid communication fails.

Prayer room and wudu, we will stay longer in your places!

Salat is obligatory for Muslims. A prayer room is a place for prayer and an area with educational, social, administrative, and preventative functions. Therefore, it must be clean. Lack of understanding of halal means that worship provided does not have boundaries, and men and women must be separated. Also, another critical aspect closely related to prayer is wudu. It is an activity of purification. Business people in Japan have been aware of halal food and salat for Muslims. Some places have provided prayer rooms, but not wudu space.

Halal Sign

Providing a logo or symbol

related to halal food or product ingredients will certainly be a solution to cover these shortcomings and as a form of additional service. Having a halal sign will also increase the trust of the restaurant between restaurants and customers. A halal sign will attract Muslim tourists, and non-Muslim tourists can also try halal cuisines. It can also affect locals to learn more about Islam. Lack of knowledge of halal products and food may also create problems. The restaurants put self-claimed logos or halal under illegal halal institutions. Hence, socialization related to halal products and food also needs to be a concern.

Language

Japan is a country with a high nationalism, so only a few Japanese can speak foreign languages, especially English. Language in Japan is a fundamental problem. Instructions and information in English are limited. Some tourists may make this a complaint and an obstacle. Little English instructions make it difficult for Muslim tourists to decide whether the food is halal.

CONCLUSION

Travel tourism has been part of people's lives. Accessible information and technology make human mobility faster. Consciously,

each religion has a role in tourism, seen from the pilgrimages. In Islam, traveling has its benefits and purposes for Muslims, as mentioned in Surah Ali Imron/3: 96-97, Al Ankabut/29:20, and Fusilat/41:53. The primary traveling needs are to ensure that each is fulfilled. Travelers should consider carefully how the destinations can fulfill their needs.

Muslim tourists or travelers have the exact needs as other tourists, but more specifically, following Islamic teachings such as having halal food and a prayer room. It would be better if the places also provide wudu space and understand about Ramadan. Non-Muslim tourists can also take benefits from the services if they want to avoid casinos or pubs. Muslim tourists, in general, will significantly appreciate the destinations when they can help meet their needs. It also can be a soft promotion and image branding for tourist destinations. Through SNS, Muslim tourists will help spread and promote halal services and facilities provided to the world.

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Cybernorms: Analysis of International Norms in France's Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace

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Abstract

Cybercrime is a crime involving computers and networks that began to develop after the Cold War. International politics also have developed through computer networks or cyberspace, especially in communication and diplomacy. Many actors who have different interests make the cyber sphere unstable. Several state and non-state actors themselves have collaborated and conventions in the cyber realm. In 2018, France made a high-level declaration called the Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace to maintain stability in cyberspace. Through the Paris Call, France tries to establish an international norm in the cyber domain known as Cybernorms. This norm has been supported by several state and non-state actors. This study seeks to see the importance of the Paris Call that has been made by the French government which aims to remind the general norms of cyber that are not popular or see the formation of international norms in the cyber sphere. This study uses a qualitative method with the process-tracing data analysis method used to explain change and cause-and-effect. This research argues that cyber norms are very important for state or non-state actors in

maintaining the stability of the cyber world.

Key Words : *France, Cybercrime, Cybernorms, Cyber, Cybersecurity, Norms*

Abstrak

Kejahatan Siber (Cybercrime) adalah kejahatan yang melibatkan komputer dan jaringan yang mulai berkembang pasca Perang Dingin. Politik Internasional juga telah berkembang melalui jaringan komputer atau ranah siber (cyberspace) khususnya dalam komunikasi maupun diplomasi. Banyaknya aktor yang mempunyai kepentingan yang berbeda-beda membuat ranah siber tidak stabil. Beberapa aktor negara maupun non-negara sendiri telah melakukan kerjasama dan konvensi atas ranah siber. Pada tahun 2018, Prancis membuat deklarasi tingkat tinggi bernama Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace untuk menjaga kestabilan didalam ranah siber. Melalui Paris Call, Prancis mencoba untuk menetapkan sebuah Norma Internasional dalam ranah siber yang disebut sebagai Cybernorms. Norma ini sendiri telah didukung oleh beberapa aktor negara dan non-negara. Penelitian ini berusaha untuk melihat pentingnya Paris Call yang telah dibuat oleh pemerintah Prancis yang bertujuan untuk mengingatkan kembali norma-norma umum siber yang tidak populer maupun melihat tentang terbentuknya norma Internasional di ranah siber. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan metode analisis data process-tracing yang digunakan untuk menjelaskan perubahan dan sebab-akibat. Penelitian ini berargumen bahwasannya norma siber ini sangat penting bagi aktor-aktor negara maupun non-negara dalam menjaga kestabilan dunia siber.

Kata Kunci : *Prancis, Cybercrime, Cybernorms, Cyber, Cybersecurity, Norma*

INTRODUCTION

In the development of the globalization era, technology is one aspect that is developing rapidly. One of the developments that occurred is the development in the field of internet or cyberspace. Cyberspace

was originally developed for military technology that is used as a distribution network for sending information (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Over time, the internet has begun to be widely used by several countries in the world.

The Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace is a high-level declaration supporting the development of general principles for securing cyberspace and related key principles: the practicality of international law, the responsible behavior of State actors, the specific responsibilities of private stakeholders, especially in terms of preventing security failures and preventing the use of certain practices that could destabilize cyberspace. There are nine principles in the Paris Call, namely: (1) Protecting individuals and infrastructure; (2) Protect the internet; (3) Defend electoral process; (4) Defend intellectual property; (5) Non-proliferation; (6) Lifecycle security; (7) Cyber hygiene; (8) No private hack back; (9) International Norms (Paris Call, 2018). In the Paris Call, the ninth principle, international norms, contains two norms, namely the norms of resilience and trust which was made by French Foreign Minister Jean-Yves le Drian.

The making of the Paris Call took place because of a threat that occurred in the cyber space. Where the attack is carried out by individuals or even supported by a state actor or the influence of a non-state actor. The awareness by France arose in June 2010, as evidenced by

the emergence of Stuxnet at the time, which attacks the systems of uranium enrichment sites. in Natanz, Iran (Baumard, 2017; Falliere, Murchu, & Chien, 2011) such as a gas pipeline or power plant. The ultimate goal of Stuxnet is to sabotage that facility by reprogramming programmable logic controllers (PLCs created by the United States and Israel. Some other examples are the events in Estonia in 2007, where the Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) was carried out by "patriotic hackers" from Russia who were offended by the World War II monument to the Soviets. Something similar happened in 2008 in Georgia, which was hit by DDoS in its information system before the Russian army invaded. The assumption is that the Russian government is in cahoots with hackers, and rejects their links to hacking (Nye, 2018). External interference with elections is also a threat to democracy, as was the case in the country of Mexico in 2018, which was seen from the large number of entrants to voting websites, especially from Russia (Rozak, 2018). Then in 2017, in Kenya there was influences from Cambridge Analytica during the election (Crabtree, 2018). Then the attack on critical infrastructure, such as the attack on the French

TV network TV5 Monde in 2015 (Melvin & Botelho, 2015). These cyber threats to France have made the cyber space unstable and insecure, not only threatening state actors and the industrial sector, but also threats to democracy and human rights.

According to Fabrizio Hochschild as Assistant Secretary General for UN Strategic Coordination, the establishment of a norm is crucial. Norms in this cyber domain are called cybernorms. However, it needs to be seen again that some of the principles made by France are general principles that have existed in several cybersecurity treaties, such as ENISA which focuses on cyberspace in the European Union, and the Budapest International Convention which they have signed. In addition, there are also previous cyber norm creation frameworks such as the Cybersecurity Tech Accord, Charter of Trust, and For the Web. So what differentiates Paris Call from the others?

Paris Call is not the first in wanting to create cybernorms. In its history, there are several documents on cooperation in the cyber realm. ENISA and the Budapest Convention are one of them. The Budapest Convention is the first

international treaty on crimes committed via the Internet and other computer networks, specifically addressing copyright infringement, computer-related fraud, child pornography, hate crimes, and network security breaches. Its main objective is to pursue a common criminal policy to protect the public from cybercrime, particularly by adopting appropriate legislation and encouraging international cooperation (Council of Europe, n.d.). Then, ENISA focuses on dealing with cybersecurity in the European Union. The main objective of ENISA is to strengthen the Cybersecurity Act in the European Union (ENISA, n.d.). Both ENISA and the Budapest Convention have a lot of support including France. However, the problem with the Budapest Convention is that this convention is only a framework to fight cybercrime. This convention does not try to regulate a state actor, but aims to fight and punish individuals who commit cybercrime. Then, ENISA is only trying to improve the Cybersecurity Act in the European Union. According to the authors both agreements are only a framework for cyberspace, and do not try to create a set of norms that try to regulate a country.

The concept of cybernorms also has already been echoed. In April 2018 Microsoft created a “Digital Peace” campaign together with the “Cybersecurity Tech Accord” aimed at the internet and technology industry to better protect the privacy and security of their customers from cyber-attacks. Likewise, Siemens in May 2018 launched a “Charter of Trust” which seeks to develop compliance with security principles and processes, with the aim of developing a “global standard” for cybersecurity. For the Web, focuses on the openness of the Internet to individuals. Even in 2015, the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) recognized that international humanitarian law must also be applied in cyberspace, but met a stalemate in 2017. Likewise, two blocks, one led by the United States and the other is led by China and Russia, which have also achieved a stalemate. Macron sees that there are two types of Internet “we are seeing two types of Internet emerge: as I said earlier, there is a Californian form of Internet, and a Chinese Internet.” The contestation that is taking place in the cyber space can be seen clearly from the many actors who are trying to get the spotlight. It can be explained that the engagement that occurred

also caused the forgetting of norms that should have been common, so that France tried to pave the way and overshadowed many actors in it.

Based on the arguments above, this article will attempt to discuss on how did how France created a new norm and reminded the general norm through the Paris Call. This article will use Constructivism approach regarding the process of making norm and how actors promotes their norm.

The Difference between Paris Call and General Norm

The cooperation carried out by France on cybersecurity such as the ENISA organization and the Budapest Convention is concrete evidence that cybersecurity is urgently needed. The problem of the two organizations is how this collaboration only focuses and aims to deal with cybersecurity within the organization. ENISA, which emerged from the European Union, focuses on Critical Infrastructures in the European Union and especially on establishing appropriate network and information security practices, policies, organizations and capacities. The Budapest Convention has a wider range of actors, this can be seen from several actors who participated in it, such as the United States, Canada, Japan,

and South Africa. Budapest also focuses on dealing with copyright infringement, computer-related fraud, and child pornography and network security breaches. Both of these are more aimed at maintaining national security for each country and protecting cybercrime crimes committed by individuals.

The creation of cybernorms also does not come from state actors alone, non-state actors such as Microsoft created the “Tech Accord” which aims to make the internet and the technology industry better protect the privacy and security of their customers from cyber-attacks. Likewise, the creation of the Siemens Company “Charter of Trust” seeks to establish a cyber-norm that seeks to develop compliance with security

principles and processes, with the aim of developing a “global standard” for cybersecurity. However, France views that cybernorms are too narrow and industry-oriented. Finally, For the Web, which focuses on individual rights to have access to the internet and makes the internet more open.

Making the Paris Call with nine points, especially in the 9th point on international norms. Where Paris wants to set the norm in a new realm. This is different from the two collaborations which only improve cybersecurity and tackle cybercrime. Paris Call aims to bring together all stakeholders, state and non-state, private and public, so that they can play their part in maintaining a safe cyber space.

Charter of Trust	Budapest Convention	ENISA	Paris Call	Name	
✓	✓	✓	✓	1 st principle	Nine principles (1) Protecting individuals and infrastructure; (2) Protect the internet; (3) Defend electoral process; (4) Defend intellectual property; (5) Non-proliferation; (6) Lifecycle security; (7) Cyber hygiene; (8) No private hack back; (9) International Norms
✓	✓	✓	✓	2 nd principle	
X	✓	✓	✓	3 rd principle	
✓	✓	✓	✓	4 th principle	
X	✓	X	✓	5 th principle	
✓	X	✓	✓	6 th principle	
✓	✓	✓	✓	7 th principle	
X	X	X	✓	8 th principle	
✓	X	X	✓	9 th principle	

How Norm is Created and Promoted

Different from realists who explain that norms as an interest, and liberalism which explain that norms as a basis. Constructivism explains how a norm is spread and adopted by the state (Rosyidin, 2020). Finnemore and Sikkink have developed the idea of norms, how norms emerge, are approved, and the adoption in the domestic realm occurs. The extension of the concept of norms has three main forms. First, the concept of the emergence of new norms, namely norm emergence from an issue or problem that occurs in a country internationally or domestically, the emergence of norms comes from norm entrepreneur. Then the second stage is the norm cascade, in which the debate about norms is explained in the political sphere to get mutual agreement. Finally, norm internalization is how the adoption occurs in the domestic sphere in other countries.

To analyze *Paris Call*, the author focuses on the concept of norm emergence. Researchers tend to view norm emergencies as the result of persuasion, without formal characteristics or things that usually happen. However, this norm-making is made on several bases

such as individuals, uncertainties, coincidences, and fortunate events. This norm creation uses process-tracing as a method to find cause and effect of norm creation (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998; Kowert & Legro, 1996).

<i>Norm Emergence</i>
<i>Actors</i> <i>Norm Entrepreneurs with Organizational Platforms</i>
<i>Motives</i> <i>Altruism, empathy, ideational commitment</i>
<i>Dominant Mechanism</i> <i>Persuasion</i>

In the process, there is a “framing” of an issue or problem from the norm entrepreneur (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). Norm entrepreneurs are very important for the emergence of norms because they pay attention to problems or even “create” problems by using language that mentions, interprets, and dramatizes them. To explain norm entrepreneurship, the author uses the concept of “*Transnational moral entrepreneurs*” who are involved in “moral proselytism” from Nadelmann. This group mobilizes popular opinion and political support both at home and abroad; they stimulate and assist the formation of like-minded

organizations in other countries; and they play an important role in advancing their objectives beyond the national interests of their governments (Nadelmann, 1990).

Of course there are many motivations carried out by norm entrepreneurs, but for norm researchers, it will be very difficult to explain norm entrepreneurial motivations without referring to empathy, altruism, and ideational commitment. Empathy arises when actors have the capacity to participate in other people's feelings or ideas. Such empathy can lead to an interdependence of empathy, in which actors "are attracted to the welfare of others for their own sake, even if this has no effect on their own material well-being or security" (Keohane, 2005). Altruism exists when actors actually take "actions designed to benefit others even at the risk of significant harm to the actor's own well-being" (Monroe, 2014). Ideational commitment becomes the main motivation when entrepreneurs put forward norms or ideas because they believe in the ideals and values contained in the norms, although pursuing these norms may have no effect on their well-being (Monroe, 2014).

In their mechanism, norm entrepreneurs do not oppose the

interests of other actors, but they act with a redefined understanding of the interests of other actors (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

Development of Promoting the Norm
Incentives Strong Actors mainly States
Persuasion Encouragement without Coercion
Socialization Inclusivity

The process of a norm that has already occurred, the norm will be disseminated, norms have three main strategic tools to further develop norms: incentives, persuasion, and socialization (Finnemore & Hollis, 2016; Goodman & Jinks, 2014). Incentives come from strong actors, or rather strong states often have enormous resources to spread their preferred norms through various incentives. They can offer positive persuasion; Persuasion, which means causing someone to do or believe something by asking, arguing, or giving reasons. This is primarily a cognitive process of exchanging information and arguments that changes thoughts, opinions, and attitudes about causality and effects without coercion (Ratner, 2011) And, Socialization, which refers to the process in which newcomers

are included or integrated into organized patterns of social interaction (Stryker & Statham, 1977).

The Creation of Paris Call

One of the main focuses of the author's research is the norm entrepreneurial actor who influences the Paris Call. In the process of forming norms, the entrepreneur's norm is an important actor. There are two actors that will be analyzed, domestic actors and transnational moral entrepreneur actors. According to Nadelmann, what explains moral views, especially foreign policy, comes from the political influence of domestic and transnational moral entrepreneurs as well as strong individual support in government. Moreover, in almost every case the relevant moral outlook is "cosmopolitan", not concerned with how states treat one another, but more about how states and individuals treat their fellow human beings (Nadelmann, 1990).

There are three domestic actors who are analyzed in the process of *Paris Call* by the author, French President Emmanuel Macron and French Foreign Minister, Jean Yves-Le Drian and Microsoft President Brad Smith. In a speech made by Macron at IGF 2018, he explained

that the cyber space that is used by us is under threat. He explained that there are three threats, namely the structure itself, as well as the content and services provided, and values. The structural issue explained by Macron, explained that if it does not ensure the stability, trust and security of the cyber system. Then cyberspace security will be questioned. For the second threat, look at the threat to democracy. Which is used for hate speech or the spread of terrorist content than anything else. Finally, values and ideas, Macron explained that the neutral principle of the internet is starting to be questioned, because the content provided tends to be biased (Internet Governance Forum, 2018).

Brad Smith explained that in 2017, there were 1 billion victims of cybercrime worldwide. So that Le Drian, along with Microsoft President Brad Smith, is trying to create an international arena that works towards 'digital peace', this is how the Paris Call initiative emerged. In achieving '*la paix digitale*', Le Drian emphasizes the norms of trust and resilience. He called on both at the national and international levels to strengthen the global belief system. Explaining, both at the national and international levels, to strengthen the global belief system,

whose security is described as “as strong as its weakest link”. Countries must prove that they can apply ‘le droite national’ to cyberspace and at the international level, where entities such as the EU, NATO and the G7 can develop and promote good practices and norms in cyberspace (Paris Peace Forum, 2018).

The individual actors conducted a framing in which they tried to tell how serious the issue of cyber issues was. They are norm entrepreneurs, which encourages Paris Call as a cybernorms. The invitation made by Macron, Le Drian and Brad Smith, was not only for state actors, but non-actor actors.

Regarding Transnational moral entrepreneurs they tend to have moral views. Their efforts are in the form of framing an issue or problem. The creation of cybernorms is not unique, Microsoft itself has approached France for support for the Tech Accord, however, for France, the Tech Accord is industry-oriented (Untersinger, 2018). Transnational moral entrepreneurs have an important role, especially in providing “framed” issues as a problem. These problems, push the issues in the creation of cybernorms. For example, France is working with Microsoft and the Alliance for Securing Democracy which is

building a community of partners to fight election interference, which will bring together representatives from government, industry and civil society to strengthen capacities to prevent malicious interference by foreign actors in the electoral process. Then, Seguros en la red (“Secure on the net”) is the 7th principle effort of cyber hygiene which comes from the Equatorian Cybersecurity Association. This group seeks to teach children about the responsible use of technology and information and its risks. France is trying to create a Paris Call to tackle global issues by involving countries, companies and wider civil society in a bottom-up approach.

According to Sikkink, it was explained that norm relations correlate with human rights violations. Sikkink argues that there is human rights prosecution and a ‘justice cascade’ that can be traced within a norm, which is also supported by an alliance of countries and NGOs that want change (Sikkink, 2011). Motivation for norm entrepreneurs is based on empathy, altruism, and ideational commitment. This motivation could be seen in Macron speech on Paris Peace Forum. The idea of combating illegal content from terrorism to child pornography could be seen

as an empathy; altruistic value could also be seen, which Macron believe that democracy should be upheld. There's no materialistic value for France to help other states in protecting their own general election, which is why this could be seen as altruism of France; Ideational commitments are also on the Paris Call. The principles in the Paris Call are based on the norms of resilience and trust echoed by Le Drian. France believes in this norm, which the Paris Call encourages nationally and internationally. Although there were some actors who didn't follow the Paris Call. This commitment to the idea is what makes France appear ambitious in the creation of cybernorms.

Dominant mechanism that is being used by actors to push the cybernorms is persuasion. The persuasion here is how norm entrepreneur actors see that these issues are an important problem, not only domestically but globally. Persuasion refers to the basic meaning of the term, urging other actors to take action. The European Emergency Number Association (EENA) believes that, for the safety of citizens, it is important to ensure that public safety services remain uninterrupted. To protect critical infrastructure and sensitive

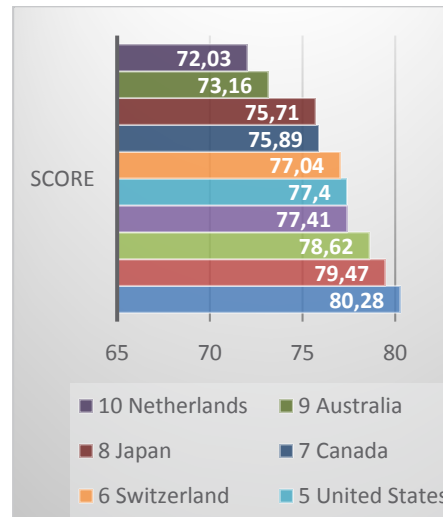
information, services must implement appropriate and effective safeguards. The Transatlantic Commission on Election Integrity (TCEI), strives to share best practices between decision-makers and institutions around the world of democracy, raising public awareness of the risks of disruption while applying it in the field to new models and technologies to empower civil society and governments to defend democracy.

The actors' persuasion is needed, because they see, or have even been affected by, a problem in cyberspace. So that this persuasion, urged actors like France to create cybernorms.

PROMOTING PARIS CALL AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL NORMS

Academics of international law and international relations have studied the mechanisms for the creation and implementation of international norms carefully. Whether emerging from habit or entrepreneurship, there are at least three separate tools for promoting progressive development and norm dissemination: (1) incentives, (2) persuasion, and (3) socialization (Finnemore & Hollis, 2016; Goodman & Jinks, 2014)

Incentives are created based on how strong the actors who carry them are, especially when norm-making is done by strong state actors. Because they can provide positive persuasion, for example trade regulations between actors or arms deals, which allow other countries to like and abide by the norm (Goodman & Jinks, 2014). Incentives by France could be analyzed by their soft power. In 2019, France is one of the strongest countries in the soft power they provide to other countries. Soft power is the ability to encourage collaboration and build networks and relationships, according to Portland Communications, the UK-based public relations agency behind the index. France is in the number 1 position in it (McClory, 2019), this shows the strength of France that believes it can create an international norm in cyberspace.



The diplomacy carried out by France is also related to digital aspects, which they call digital diplomacy. Digital diplomacy is one of the priorities for French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs. Soft power is aimed primarily at promoting the image of France and for the benefit of the French economy, language and culture. For France, in cyberspace, diplomacy is no longer just a matter of state-state relations, but also state-civil society relations. The cyber space serves to promote democracy and freedom of expression. In action, France supports freedom of expression and human rights in all media.

Framing is the most important thing in persuading other actors to follow norms (Finnemore & Hollis, 2016). However, framing in

cyberspace is not a single issue. This is due to the emergence of various contexts by various other actors as well. So that when an actor wants to do framing, it must focus on an issue that occurs. An important aspect in framing an issue is linking. Link a cybersecurity issue to a larger problem or global security problem.

Macron persuades state actors, NGOs, transnational companies, and others. Macron uses two tools for persuasion, namely framing and linking. In his speech at the Internet Governance Forum in 2018, Macron explained that "... that the Internet we take for granted is under threat." In his speech. Macron discusses more about cyber issues that are beginning to be threatened. He explained that there are three things that are threatened; the first is the structure on the internet. He saw that if there were no regulations in place, the cyber domain would collapse. Macron sees the need for the formation of trust between actors to maintain the stability of the cyber space. Because not only state actors, but individuals, organizations, companies and NGOs are also integrated with the internet; the second threat comes from the content and services on the internet. Even though the internet has become a matter of climate

protests, women's rights, and others, at present the internet also provides hate speech, as well as the spread of terrorist content compared to many others; and finally, the threat that occurs is to values and ideas. Macron explained that the neutral principle of the internet is starting to be questioned, because the content provided tends to be biased. Framing that occurs as if cyber threat is a global threat and requires shared responsibility is something that is needed for this norm to be made. The problems in the frame seem as if the problems in the cyber space are a careful responsibility, and not only for the actors with an interest.

Macron connects cyber issues such as threats to the corporate sector, individuals, to democracy. This reinforces the significance of the issue, much like Macron's speech at the 2018 IGF. Usually the norms propagated also instill a larger 'narrative' about security or identity. Macron uses the word 'we', which suggests that cybersecurity is shared security. This becomes a persuasive force encouragement to invite other actors.

Socialization refers to the process by which newcomers are incorporated into organized patterns of social interaction (Stryker & Statham, 1977). This relationship

rests on social relations and the elemental identity of the concept of norms: an actor who wants to build or maintain a relationship with another actor or group of actors will conform to a norm, not because of its content but because doing so is expected because it is in a valuable relationship between actors. France has high democratic and human rights values, so it can be explained that the support made to the Paris Call is also support for human rights in the cyber space, but it is not only state actors who need to support the Paris Call. Macron explained that *“we need to invent - innovate - new forms of multilateral cooperation that involve not only states, but also all of the stakeholders you represent. This is what I want for us; this is what I want us to work towards. These issues are a huge responsibility for the Internet community, for you and for us.”* so this invitation tries to embrace the actors, for universal purposes such as human rights. This universal invitation is also the basis for the actors supporting the Paris Call. The actors believed it was appropriate to follow the Paris Call.

French behavior towards human rights is a reference for actors to follow the norms enforced by France. This is because imitation can occur because actors perceive

that this is the way a successful state behaves. According to Finnemore and Hollis, explaining that support for prevailing norms is a socialization process of wanting to imitate, *“To get to where they are now, I have to do what they do,”* but it can also be a more affective response such as *“to be a part of of this group and respected by its members, I have to imitate their behavior.”* (Finnemore & Hollis, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The Paris Call document presented by France should be welcomed by various actors. In cyberspace, companies and other non-governmental organizations are playing a role. But states remain the main regulators in their jurisdictions and in international institutions. The creation of norms in cyberspace is manifold. The initiatives carried out in cybernorm also tend to be fragmented. Macron is trying to get away from the international deadlock in cyberspace. Although Paris Call avoids the most sensitive activities such as espionage and offensive operations, this makes it more likely that Paris Call will receive support from a wider range of actors.

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Cyber Diplomacy And Protection Measures Against Threats Of Information Communication Technology In Indonesia

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Abstract

This article attempts to explain the forms of Indonesian cyber diplomacy related to the protection of the use of information technology. In this case, Indonesia as the fourth largest country in the world often gets cyber threats and attacks. This was then followed up with efforts to protect it domestically, but was constrained by threats from abroad. The research method used in this study uses a qualitative descriptive analytical approach using the theoretical framework of cyber diplomacy and the concept of information and communication technology. The case analysis will explain the causes and effects of holding Indonesian cyber diplomacy based on secondary data. The author finds that the Indonesian government does not only use a legal approach through the ITE Law, but also culture, technological renewal, and diplomacy towards various countries. The Indonesian government has enacted the 2008 ITE Law and has encouraged the wise and positive use of the internet through various approaches. Furthermore, the Government of Indonesia also carries out cyber diplomacy efforts through several relevant ministries towards other countries, both bilaterally, regionally, multilaterally, and internationally. For example, Indonesia actively participates in cyber diplomacy at the TELMIN, ADMIN, PCC, OEWG forums and BSSN collaborating with various countries to overcome cyber threats. However, it all depends on every internet user to always be vigilant and careful in using cyberspace to avoid the threat of cybercrime.

Keywords: *Cyber Diplomacy, Indonesia, Information Communication Technology, Protection, Threats.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini berusaha menjelaskan bentuk diplomasi siber Indonesia terkait perlindungan penggunaan teknologi informasi. Dalam hal ini Indonesia sebagai negara terbesar keempat di dunia sering mendapatkan ancaman dan serangan siber. Hal ini kemudian ditindaklanjuti dengan upaya perlindungan secara domestik, namun terkendala terhadap ancaman dari luar negeri. Metode penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif secara dekriptif analitis dengan menggunakan kerangka teori diplomasi siber dan konsep teknologi informasi komunikasi. Dalam analisa kasus akan menjelaskan sebab akibat diadakannya diplomasi siber Indonesia berdasarkan data sekunder. Penulis menemukan bahwa Pemerintah Indonesia tidak hanya menggunakan pendekatan hukum melalui UU ITE, melainkan juga budaya, pembaharuan teknologi, dan diplomasi terhadap berbagai negara. Pemerintah Indonesia telah memberlakukan UU ITE 2008 dan mendorong penggunaan internet secara bijak dan positif melalui berbagai pendekatan. Selain itu, Pemerintah Indonesia juga melakukan upaya cyber diplomacy melalui beberapa kementerian terkait terhadap negara lain, baik secara bilateral, regional, multilateral, maupun internasional. Misalnya, Indonesia berpartisipasi aktif dalam diplomasi siber di forum TELMIN, ADMIN, PCC, OEWG dan BSSN yang bekerjasama dengan berbagai negara untuk mengatasi ancaman siber. Namun, itu semua tergantung pada setiap pengguna internet untuk selalu waspada dan berhati-hati dalam menggunakan dunia maya agar terhindar dari ancaman kejahatan dunia maya.

Kata Kunci: *Diplomasi Siber, Indonesia, Teknologi Informasi Komunikasi, Perlindungan, Ancaman.*

INTRODUCTION

The development of information and communication technology (ICT) has become an inseparable part of Indonesian society. The Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) pandemic has also increased the use

of ICT, represented by the use of the internet by almost everyone. A total of 202 million of the 274 million population in Indonesia have been connected to the internet through various means (Republika, 2021). The development of smartphones,

laptops, tablets, smart TVs, to smartwatches has made people more aware of information technology. Payment transactions, marketplaces, and various online services also encourage information technology to be widely used.

The internet has become one of the most important needs, but it was different in the late 2010s when the internet was only for entertainment and additional needs. Ease of access, speed of service, and a more affordable cost are considerations in using the internet. Especially when the world is faced with the phenomenon of the COVID-19 pandemic, which causes people to be advised to stay at home more, this is a factor that drives the internet to become more familiar in Indonesia (Kompas.com, 2020). There are some new habits after the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in terms of Work From Home (WFH), School From Home (SFH), and Virtual Meetings, have caused information technology to have shifted to become a significant need, these three things cause people to become addicted to the internet.

Then, almost all levels of society have become internet users, ranging from small children, teenagers to the elderly. In terms of facilities, as many as 195.3 million people, or the

equivalent of 94.6% of the internet, are accessed via smartphones with average access of 8 hours 52 minutes every day. Meanwhile, the average internet speed in Indonesia reaches 23.32 Mbps for fiber optic network users and 17.2 Mbps for cellular networks (Kompas, 2021).

In Indonesia, internet users consist of various groups, ranging from business circles, students, students, employees to housewives. Meanwhile, the number of internet users is concentrated on the island of Java, followed by people on the islands of Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and other islands, as is the reality of the Indonesian population. These various realities can be seen as “two sides of a coin,” namely opportunities and challenges. The efficiency and effectiveness in various ways are also followed by the threat of cybercrime (Danuri and Suharwi, 2017). Based on the various things above, this article seeks to dissect in-depth in the form of how is Indonesia’s diplomacy to overcome various existing cyber problems and what are the Indonesian Government’s domestic protection policies to overcome cyber threats from the perspective of Cyber Diplomacy Theory and The Information Communication Technology

Concept. Moreover, this topic tends to have not been studied in-depth, especially from the point of view of Indonesian researchers.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cyber Diplomacy Theory

According to Hodzic, cyber diplomacy is increasingly used by major global political actors to describe transformations in diplomacy in the digital era. The evolution of diplomacy in cyberspace revolves around new social media, orientation to public actors, and cyber threats and cyber behaviour as new areas in international politics. In addition, cyber diplomacy can also be an evolution of public diplomacy and referred to as public diplomacy 2.0. The development of cyber diplomacy is a response to shifts in international relations (Hodzic, 2017).

In general, cyber diplomacy adopts a foreign agenda, including cybersecurity, cybercrime management, trust-building, international freedom, and internet governance. Cyber diplomacy is a form of diplomacy in the cyber area through the performance of diplomatic functions to secure the state's interests. This kind of diplomacy can be understood as an effort by referring to the

foreign policy agenda to facilitate communication, negotiate agreements, gather information and intelligence from other countries to avoid friction in cyberspace. Cyber diplomacy in its implementation involves diplomacy, conflict resolution, agreements and policies related to the cyber world. This cyber diplomacy is a means of using diplomatic resources and functions to secure national interests related to cyberspace.

The Information Communication Technology Concept

The word technology comes from the Greek, 'techne', which means expertise and 'logia' which means knowledge. In a narrow sense, technology refers to objects used to facilitate human activities, such as machines, tools, or hardware (Rusman et al., 2013). Meanwhile, Rogers explained that technology is an instrumental step design to explain the causal relationship in achieving the expected results deeply. This technology generally has two components: hardware aspects in the form of equipment and software aspects in the form of information (Ishak and Dermawan, 2019).

Information and communication technology is a means and

infrastructure (hardware, software, useware) systems and methods for obtaining, transmitting, processing, interpreting, storing, organizing and using data meaningfully. Information technology provides many conveniences in managing information in terms of storing, retrieving and updating information. Information technology is also a technology used to process, process, obtain, compile, store, manipulate data in various ways to produce quality information (Wardiana, 2002).

The development of global information and communication technology has succeeded in bringing together computing, television, radio and telephone capabilities in an integrated manner through the internet. This result is a combination of revolutions in personal computers, data transmission and compression, bandwidth, data storage technology and multimedia integration access, and computer networks. This development in internet has brought together various media, namely sound (voice and audio), video, graphic images, and text.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach, an approach that places

the researcher's view on something studied subjectively. Researchers appreciate and pay attention to the subjective views of each subject under study. The type of research used in this research is descriptive analysis. In this case, the researcher tries to provide a systematic and comprehensive picture of the problems faced regarding cyber attacks, types and actors, actions taken, and forms of cyber diplomacy cooperation.

Referring to the data in the form of qualitative data, analysing it used an interpretive approach (interpretive approach). The qualitative data process refers to the standards owned by Babbie (2008), namely: Coding, Memoing, and Concept mapping. The coding process is the process of classifying and categorising data. Memoing process is the process of writing memos or notes for researchers in research activities. Finally, Concept Mapping is the process of mapping relationships between various concepts.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Data Leaks in Indonesia

During the last three years, there have been several incidents of personal data leaks in Indonesia. The leak of private company data began

in March 2019 when 13 million Bukalapak customers were sold illegally (Okezone, 2021); one year later, 91 million Tokopedia users were sold on dark sites in May 2020; 1.2 Bhinneka users' data continued in the last month. Similarly, as many as 890,000 Creditplus online loan customers were also suspected of leaking in August 2020; then the leak also happened to Shopback users in September 2020; then there were recorded leaks of 2.9 million Cermati users and 5.8 million RedDoorz users in November 2020. Meanwhile, government agencies also The 2014 General Election Permanent Voters List (DPT Election) leaked 2.3 million population data (Kompas.com, 2021), 279 million population data at BPJS Health leaked on May 21, 2020, and 230 thousand data on COVID-19 patients were also suspected experienced a leak (CNN Indonesia, 2021).

The data is intentionally sold on illegal forums for improper purposes. These various personal data are horrendous because they are large amounts and contain essential information, such as name, bank account, credit card, telephone number, email address, date of birth, income, and other information. The data leak does not only occur in government institutions but also

in private companies. Most hackers try to steal user data which mostly happens on e-commerce and online lending.

Various data leaks in Indonesia can show the magnitude of the risks and dangers of irresponsible parties' misuse of technological advances. Service providers who receive and store data should have security and confidentiality that can be hacked, which leads to personal data being sold freely. This reality is one of the fundamental challenges to the development of information technology. Moreover, Indonesia, as a country with the fourth-largest internet user background in the world, Indonesia still faces many challenges that need to be resolved together. If we look at the geographical conditions and demographics of the population, then Indonesia tends to be very vulnerable to the threat of information technology.

Cyber Crime Threats in Indonesia

In addition, there are also the phenomena of hoaxes, hate speech, terrorism, online fraud, and cybercrime, which are the five most significant threats to the use of information technology (Infokomputer, 2021). The five threats are happened due to the

people who have not been fully careful in using technology, causing the internet to become a means for criminal acts. The author attempts to explain these five phenomena as follows:

1. **Hoaxes** are the first harmful impact of the ease of information dissemination along with advances in information technology. The public misuses the existence of news disseminated using online means on the internet platform to spread false news. A hoax can be understood as a product of fake news and attempts to deceive readers into believing something to create public opinion in a particular community. The spread of fake news mainly occurs on social media, reaching 92.40%, which shows how communication interactions become vulnerable to be used as an effort to divide society. The low literacy and habit of people believing in myths is the leading cause of many hoaxes in Indonesia. Moreover, the 2014 and 2019 General Elections made social media considered a source of information for some people. When reading habits are still low while dealing with the

development of news through online media, many residents quickly conclude without trying to find out further (Juditha, 2018).

Moreover, hoaxes are used as economic income for certain groups to vilify certain groups or groups, making hoaxes widespread. However, many parties only use hoaxes for political gain and economic gain without considering the impact. As a result, riots occurred in Wamena, Papua, in 2019 caused by racism, which was responded to by demonstrations by students, which ended in chaos and caused 16 residents to die as victims (Jawa Pos, 2019). In general, society is now divided into two groups: groups that are considered to believe hoaxes as truth and communities that have studied whether it is merely fake news.

2. **Hate speech** followed as the second threat to the existence of internet technology in Indonesia. This hate speech occurs because they are not aware of the limitations in the use of social media and ignorant of the rules in social media (Febriansyah & Purwinatro,

2020). Although it is often considered a hoax because it is widely disseminated on social media and online news, hate speech has a fundamental difference. Hate speech can be understood as an attempt to intentionally abuse the freedom of the public sphere to attack and damage a particular person, group, institution, or institution because of specific differences. This hate speech is very contrary to the polite eastern culture and the Pancasila ideology adopted by the Indonesian people. Efforts to insult, defamation, and provoke the public have wrong meanings, and hate tendencies are some of the characteristics of hate speech (Ningrum et al., 2018).

The right to freedom of expression and the existence of public spaces is 'ridden' by certain groups who have the economic capital and the ability to spread wrong information. Sentiments of thought, political views, political interests, economic inequality, prejudice, hatred, resentment, and polarization in society cause hate speech to spread widely. Differences

in backgrounds and groups with different interests cause efforts to shape people's way of thinking to hate groups that are considered opponents by using hate speech. These conditions not only threatens democracy in Indonesia but also harm the unity and integrity of society. As a result, riots occurred in Tolikara, Papua, due to the spread of hate speech on social media in 2017 (Kusumasari & Arfianto, 2020).

3. **Terrorism and radicalism** are the next dark side to the ease of information technology globally, especially in Indonesia. The existence of these two things has succeeded in threatening people's lives in the real world and has an impact on the virtual world. If initially, the terrorists succeeded in creating fear and fear through bombs, attacks, and various other violent attempts. Furthermore, social media is a new struggle that is being used to spread radicalism in line with the significance of the use of information technology. When mass media and social media use the internet, these terrorist groups try to "set the stage" for themselves. By creating

one-sided reporting that uses the emotional side and the similarity of specific religious backgrounds, the pro-violence groups make publicity efforts. This misleading propaganda targets teenagers and unstable young people, tend to be less knowledgeable about Islam, and is easily instigated with specific religious labels (Fahmi, 2018).

Terrorist groups seek to gain the trust and support of online readers to fight conventional news and ideologies that are perceived to be against them. The use of websites, showing videos, uploading photos, and short message facilities containing violence and radicalism is an attempt by terrorist groups to show their existence and spread their ideology (Junaedi, 2010). The most dangerous influence of the existence of terrorism in the use of the internet and social media is as an effort to recruit new members in order to carry out the next terror attack. The development of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014, which later grew into a sizeable terrorist organization, can occur due to

the use of Twitter media in their militia recruitment. Posting an invitation to join that is 'labeled' in the name of Jihad using various social media attracts thousands of members every year from all over the world. The existence of the internet allows ISIS to control the propaganda and recruitment of prospective members without having to meet in person. The Thamrin Bombings in Jakarta in 2016 and the Surabaya Police Attack in 2018 can show how dangerous the misuse of information technology by terrorism and radicalism groups is, that bomb attacks occurred in Indonesia while the leaders of the ISIS group were in Syria and Iraq (Nuruzzaman, 2018).

4. **Online fraud** is then a threat of misuse of information technology in terms of economic activities and transactions. Along with the convenience and efficiency of information technology, it encourages an increase in digital economic activities. Needs and markets that are no longer in physical form create a new lifestyle in electronic transactions. The goods to services trade can all

be made online just by using a finger on a smartphone. These developments are then also directly proportional to the increase in online fraud crimes. Data shows that 48% of consumers are victims of cyber fraud, with 6% of them have become victims and losing money. Meanwhile, the average loss is estimated at IDR 3.6 million, with 54% of them successfully getting their money back in full.

In committing the crime, online fraud can take several forms, including fraud with fake websites, fake emails, use of telephones, sending SMS, and credit card media. Some examples of forms of cyber fraud, including sending messages when winning a prize, asking for important information such as a secret password, and contacting to tell them if a relative has been robbed, all of which will lead to an attempt to trick potential victims into sending some money for various reasons (Samudra, 2019). Another form of fraud is to sell products at prices below the average price on the internet. Not infrequently, many victims of

fraud are easily tempted by the low price but instead get goods that do not match or even do not get the product ordered at all. Many causes of online fraud are still often found in internet media, for example, economic factors, lack of experience, ignorance of the threat of fraud, low awareness of legal compliance, and digital transactions without protection (Sumenge, 2013). The public needs to access education before making digital transactions to avoid the threat of cyber fraud.

5. **Cybercrime** has multiple means. The threat of this crime can take the form of virus attacks, malware, cracking, hacking, and other efforts. For example, Indonesia was the second most frequent destination after China in Ransomware and Wannacry malware attacks in 2018. Indonesia was ahead of Australia, Hong Kong, and Singapore, which experienced these cybercrime attacks (Bisnis.com, 2019). Most of these attacks occur when people access websites and emails that intentionally contain viruses and malware, which increased 4 times bigger compared to the previous year (Liputan6,

2019). The various threats of cybercrime aim to be able to intercept financial transactions and obtain personal data. If a device has been infected with these viruses and malware, the perpetrators can quickly get private, confidential data that can be misused or become a victim of extortion. Not infrequently, it then leads to mastery of emails, social media, and even credit cards of victims, which leads to fraud and extortion.

The greatest threat from cybercrime is if it is aimed at public officials, military officials, or leaders of state institutions who can obtain vital data and state secrets. Another example is when South Korea experienced an attack allegedly carried out by North Korea, which succeeded in crippling some of the banking sectors in 2014 (Suara.com, 2014). Cybercrime can be dangerous for every country that can disrupt various vital objects such as the financial sector, electricity, navigation, transportation, and even the military.

Types of Cybercriminals

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that information technology has made changes to human life. If previously everyone interacted more and did many activities in the real world, on the contrary now each individual is familiar with using the virtual world to fulfill many needs. Advances in technology encourage people to be able to access and disseminate various information freely through the internet. The internet has become a new space for communities to share data, express opinions, and follow a developing lifestyle. However, many conveniences will certainly pose various threats, considering that currently, the existence of the internet has blurred the boundaries and clarity of internet use (Chotimah; Iswardhana; Pratiwi, 2019).

Life in the era of globalization on the internet is different from activities in the real world because it can be accessed by anyone, anytime, and anywhere. There are potentials and risks of contact between one individual and another, both in terms of cooperation or conflict. Differences background of internet users can also increase the potential profit and risk of loss. An anonymity element in cyberspace makes a fundamental difference to the real

world, which encourages many parties to carry out behaviors that harm others, either unknowingly or intentionally (Makarim, 2005). It can be understood how significant the potential cyber threat is in various crimes in cyberspace. Moreover, the risk of this threat can befall anyone, either when we are fully aware or careless. Some of the objectives of cyber threats that often occur, including (Magdalena, 2007):

- 1) Social media,
- 2) e-commerce,
- 3) e-learning,
- 4) Credit card,
- 5) Copyright, and
- 6) Trade secrets.

Based on various sources, the author summarizes several types of crimes in cyberspace, including (Iswardhana, 2021):

- 1) Fraud,
- 2) Data tampering,
- 3) Information breach,
- 4) Unauthorized access,
- 5) Piracy,
- 6) Wiretapping,
- 7) Theft of personal data,
- 8) Spreading fake news,
- 9) Broadcasting of hate speech,
- 10) Pornography,
- 11) Blackmail,

- 12) Banking and credit card crimes,
- 13) Hijacking of economic transactions, and
- 14) Cyber terrorism.

If we viewed from the side of cybercriminals, it could be divided into two actors (Sulaiman, 2002):

- 1) Internal actors, meaning that the perpetrator has direct access to the victim. This is indicated by manipulating, changing, and modifying software and hardware that connects the perpetrator and the victim. The forms of crimes committed are often related to online fraud and terrorism, radicalism. Usually, this is closely related to internet crimes with the same network by perpetrators who have knowledge and experience in specific fields.
- 2) External actors, meaning that the perpetrators can interfere and damage various activities on the internet even though they do not have the same network as the victim. Perpetrators tend to use the means of writing, sound, video, viruses, and malware. Most of the crimes committed are in the form of hoaxes, hate speech, and cybercrimes. Even though they do not have direct access,

perpetrators can take actions that are considered detrimental to their good name, from infiltration to burglary.

Cyber Law Approach and Rules

Responding to the various threats above, the Government of Indonesia cooperates with private service providers called the Indonesia Information Sharing and Analysis Center. The cooperation forum is a means of sharing information related to threats, vulnerabilities, risks, issues, assessments, and handling cyberattacks in information technology. Although it tends to be voluntary, this collaboration has many members from private and public companies. Based on Kominfo data (2019), several members of this forum, including:

- 1) Telekomunikasi Selular (Telkomsel),
- 2) Xynexis International,
- 3) Smart Telecom,
- 4) Telkom,
- 5) PANDI,
- 6) XL Axiata,
- 7) Indosat,
- 8) Aplikanusa Lintasarta,
- 9) Data Sinergitama Jaya (Elitery),
- 10) APJII,
- 11) PwC,

12) KPMG, and

13) PT Sampoerna Telematics.

Then, there are several ways to overcome various threats in information technology, namely: a cultural approach, technology renewal, and law enforcement.

First, the cultural approach can form healthy habits in internet use (Siagian et al., 2018). The public can use the virtual world for various positive benefits, for example, selling, promotion, service transactions, seeking journal literacy, and others. In addition, it is crucial to counteract harmful content in cyberspace by strengthening literacy for the community. Netizens are encouraged to read more and find out the truth of the information before trusting and spreading it. The public can also check websites owned by the government through the Ministry of Communication and Information to check the authenticity of the information. If the cyber community has been reduced and can distinguish between true and false information, it can slowly encourage internet users to fight harmful content. In the end, good habits in using the internet will make good use of the virtual world ecosystem to provide benefits for all parties.

Second, technology updates can be carried out by requiring every service provider on the internet to improve security regularly. It is important to protect networks, software, and hardware from being compromised, eavesdropped on, and accessed illegally. Service providers must periodically update and protect their information and communication technology infrastructure. The broader the scope of services, the greater the number of users, which leads to a higher risk of cyber threats to the providers of these products and services. If the system has strong defense and security capabilities, it can ward off various threats of sabotage, piracy, theft, and data destruction.

Third, it is necessary to have rules that provide certainty and explanations for various activities in cyberspace related to law enforcement. Referring to this urge, the term cyberlaw or cyberlaw has emerged in the context of efforts to protect, supervise, and enforce the law in cyberspace. This cyber law is needed to provide legal certainty, protection, and sanctions for allowed and prohibited things in using the internet. There is a tendency for internet users who feel they have the right to violate and harm

the rights of others, both in ideas, words, actions, and other actions while using information technology. On the other hand, some specific individuals and parties deliberately create bad things to fulfill particular economic and political interests.

Cyber Protection by the Government of Indonesia

Following up on the many threats that occur on the internet, the Government of Indonesia has made efforts to recognize and protect cyber against the public by showing the existence of Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Economic Transactions (UU ITE). The ITE Law contains stipulations, mandates, limitations, protections, prohibitions, and sanctions for various activities related to the use of information and communication technology. The ITE Law also regulates electronic transactions, online commerce, and the recognition of digital content as legal evidence.

In the cyber law aspect, as stated in the ITE Law, it has protected and enforced the law for anyone who owns, stores, disseminates, and takes any action that harms other parties and violates the law. Suppose we look at the reality of Indonesia, which has the most significant

number of internet users, which reaches 202 million people, the risk of cyberattacks increases. Reflecting on this in Article 27-34 of the ITE Law, Articles 36-40 have explained the forms of legal violations that are accompanied by criminal sanctions, including data confidentiality, cyber attacks, and access breaches.

The existence of the ITE Law is one of the legal bases for the protection and enforcement of the law for the Indonesian people who use the internet or commonly called Warganet (Economic Balance Daily, 2019). Moreover, if the netizen suffers losses due to the actions of others in cyberspace, then this law can be used as a means of defending rights. All activities carried out using the internet that causes loss, damage, and harm to citizens in Indonesia can use the ITE Law as a legal tool. Some parties consider the ITE Law to be a 'rubber article' misused based on defamation of anything on the internet.

Based on the release of the Directorate General of Legislation of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (2019), the authors collect at least twenty things guaranteed in the ITE Law, such as:

- 1) Confidentiality
- 2) Data protection

- 3) Securing economic transactions
- 4) Electronic signature
- 5) Trade secret
- 6) Intellectual Property Rights
- 7) Online promotion
- 8) Electronic evidence
- 9) Legality of online services
- 10) Responsibilities of online services
- 11) Protection of financial transactions and investments
- 12) Protection against loss of information
- 13) Dispute resolution
- 14) Prohibition of spreading fake news
- 15) Prohibition of insults
- 16) Gambling ban
- 17) Prohibition of prostitution and immoral activities
- 18) Ban on blackmail
- 19) Prohibition of threats by force
- 20) Prohibition of online fraud

There is also a Criminal Code (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana/KUHPP) and a Civil Code (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Perdata/KUHPer). The two laws have explained orders, prohibitions, and punishments to every party and institution that harms other parties, primarily when it occurs in cyberspace. All actions that are

considered disturbing, damaging, and harming others in any form can be imposed in the legal rules of the Criminal Code and the Criminal Code. Cyber law protection and enforcement are focused not only on the ITE Law but also on other legal rules, taking into account technological advances (Ersya, 2017).

Regarding cybercrime, Indonesia has an organisation that handles all complaints against cybercrime, namely ID-CERT (Computer Emergency Response Team) and ID-SIRTII (Indonesian Security Incident Response Team on Internet Infrastructure). ID-CERT and ID-SIRTII have the same duties and functions to record and respond to all public complaints regarding security disturbances on the internet (Setiadi et al., 2012). Meanwhile, the police established a Cyber Crime Investigation Center at the Criminal Investigation Unit at the National Police Headquarters and a Cyber Crime Investigation Satellite Office (CCISO) at several Provincial Police Headquarters (Polda) with the assistance of the Australian Federal Police (AFP) (Tekno.kompas.com, 2013).

However, there are obstacles when actors from abroad carry out cyberattacks because the

perpetrators are outside the jurisdiction of Indonesia. It tends to be difficult to enforce the law while the perpetrator is not a citizen and is not domiciled in Indonesia. The rules of the ITE Law, the Criminal Code, and the Criminal Code require a long process and time to carry out the judicial process. Cooperation and standard rules are needed regarding the protection, supervision, and law enforcement across countries against actors who cause harm to Indonesian citizens. The Indonesian government can use diplomacy and law enforcement by collaborating with friendly countries or reporting to Interpol.

However, researchers have difficulty finding data on the number of foreign actors arrested for attacking Indonesian cyberattacks from other countries. This is because apart from Interpol, Indonesia and the country of origin of the perpetrator must have an extradition treaty.

Indonesia's Cyber Diplomacy Towards Global

Regarding protection against cyber attacks, the international community has a global cooperation related to cybersecurity called the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). ITU was established

in 2003 as a follow-up to the 2001 United Nations General Assembly to tackle cyber attacks together. ITU is at the forefront of promoting shared values and standards in cyberspace to be put to positive use. Despite being the world's highest cyber institution, ITU has drawbacks related to not having the authority to provide legal action for each country. As a result, each country tends to carry out more protection against cyber attacks and wars in accordance with their respective interests. In addition, each country then makes policies according to its national initiatives and needs. Regarding law enforcement, most countries prefer to cooperate with Interpol to catch the perpetrators of cyber-attacks in other countries. (Parestri, 2016). Indonesia has served as a member of the board and executive board at ITU in the period 2008-2013 (Kemenlu, 2013) Apart from ITU, there is international cooperation that is related to cyber threats, namely: International Multilateral Partnership Against Cyber Threats (IMPACT). IMPACT was established in 2011 in collaboration with ITU (Kittichaisaree, 2017). In relation to IMPACT as a United Nations (UN)-backed cyber security alliance, Indonesia as a member country of the UN also actively involved in

diplomacy by encouraging cyber security.

Furthermore, there is standard rule called the Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace. This rule has been signed by 51 world countries, including developed countries in Europe. The international agreement aims to ward off attacks and cyber warfare. Through the agreement, it has been regulated that all internet infrastructure and facilities are not misused as a means of cyber attacks (CNN, 2019). In addition, this convention can prevent cyber wars from happening that lead to conflicts and wars in the real world. However, cyber issues do not yet fully have the same understanding because it tends to be controlled by the military for self-defense and retaliation for attacks (CNN Indonesia, 2019). Indonesia supports this agreement as demonstrated by the membership of the Indonesian Corporate Counsel Association (ICAA), Indonesia Cyber Security Forum (ICSF), and Special Olympics Indonesia (Paris Call, 2021).

Indonesia also succeeded in becoming one of the initiators in a joint declaration called the ASEAN Declaration to Prevent and Combat Cybercrime in 2017. This agreement can serve as a basis for reference and a form of shared

understanding of cybersecurity threats. The Indonesian government is also actively promoting cross-border cooperation at the bilateral, multilateral, and international levels that support the wise use of the internet (Media Indonesia, 2019).

Following up on the declaration of cyber protection in the Southeast Asia region, there are Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERTs), Telecommunication Ministerial Meeting (TELMIN), and ASEAN Digital Ministerial Meeting (ADMIN). CERTs are forums that discuss cyber issues and efforts to deal with the threat of cyber attacks (Kittichaisaree, 2017). Meanwhile, TELMIN is a negotiation forum in the region that later developed into ADMIN at the input of Indonesia to discuss cyber and digital issues since 2019. Through TELMIN and ADMIN, Indonesia has contributed to various meetings to further discuss digital protection into broader cyber. Meanwhile, several Indonesian government institutions that carry out cyber diplomacy include the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Kemenko Polhukam), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemlu), National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), Ministry of Communication and Information (Kemenkominfo),

Ministry of Defense (Kemhan), and the Indonesian National Army (TNI) (Chotimah et al., 2019).

One form of diplomacy that BSSN has done is by partnering with various world countries, such as the United States, China, Russia, Britain, the Netherlands, and Australia (BSSN, 2019). The collaboration carried out by BSSN is related to cyber protection and terrorism. Diplomacy between BSSN and partners in the United States, China, and Russia can be a mapping effort and a means of mitigation considering that these three countries are the most prominent cyber attack destinations globally. Through these various collaborations and diplomacy, Indonesia can bridge the interests of Indonesia to protect and enforce cyber law in cyberspace.

Indonesia also actively holds and participates in various international meetings in global public discussions, such as: establishing a Policy Planning Consultation (PCC) in Geneva in 2017, participating in the 5th Annual Cyber Intelligence Asia in Malaysia in 2017, and being involved in the Open-Ended Working Group on International Information Security (OEWG on IIS) in 2019 (Kemlu, 2018).

It is understood that the development and utilization of information technology and cyberspace, including digital media and social media, also brings consequences of increasing threats to the security of the information exchanged. Real-world crime is now also shifting to cyberspace. It is undeniable that cybersecurity has embraced almost all aspects of public services, from infrastructure, aviation, finance, trade, to national security, due to the increasing dependence on digital technology. Reflecting on this issue, how important is the role of cyber diplomacy in guarding national policies, especially in the digital sector.

Moreover, there is also a difference in understanding of cybersecurity in each country in the international world due to global political developments and differences in national interests. Several factors cause these obstacles, including (Cahyadi, 2017):

- a) Differences in norms and values that are understood by each country
- b) Differences in interests between developed and developing countries
- c) Different perspectives on cyber defense

- d) There is no agreement that is fully binding on each country
- e) Every country is trying to dominate the cyber world.

Various conditions above are the obstacle to creating a cybersecurity protection and governance regime. It is necessary to have a policy that can protect the interests of national cyber security and contribute to making a collective agreement in understanding how to deal with cyber threats. This can be resolved peacefully between countries through cyber diplomacy, which provides understanding for each country regarding cyber protection and cooperation. Cyber diplomacy is distinguished from digital diplomacy, which emphasizes using digital tools and techniques to conduct diplomacy. The similarity is that diplomats and non-state actors can carry out cyber diplomacy and digital diplomacy.

There are two things we can do to maintain security to maintain international cybersecurity, through cyber diplomacy:

The first is to build trust between countries through cybersecurity diplomacy and minimize conflict and an emergency response team from IT to avoid escalation of conflict from cyber to physical conflict.

The second is capacity building because not all countries have a capable cybersecurity infrastructure—international cooperation in building the capacity of world countries to maintain national and international security. Thus, mutual understanding can arise so as not to use cyber technology to disrupt the cyberinfrastructure of other countries because it is difficult to determine (attribution) the actors behind it, whether hackers or state-sponsored actors.

Based on the dynamics of reality in the international world above, it is necessary to have cyber diplomacy that the Government of Indonesia must be done. The widespread use of social media and financial transactions in cyberspace shows excellent potential and risks. The government needs to fight for cybersecurity protection for all activities on the internet to benefit the Indonesian people. The Indonesian government must also map out threats and immediately take protective measures based on in-depth analysis to obtain the right policies. The government can carry out diplomacy against other countries whose citizens are the perpetrators or origins of cyberattacks. Suppose the government is late in overcoming

the protection and law enforcement in cyberspace. In that case, it will lead to enormous economic, social, and political losses because it impacts conflicts and casualties in the real world.

CONCLUSION

Based on the various explanations above, it can be understood that Indonesia's development of information and communication technology has given rise to various benefits and threats. Many Indonesian people do not fully understand the use of the internet. Meanwhile, service providers in cyberspace also do not have strong protection against various cybercrime threats. The Indonesian government has enacted the 2008 ITE Law and has encouraged the wise and positive use of the internet through various approaches. Furthermore, the Government of Indonesia also carries out cyber diplomacy efforts through several relevant ministries towards other countries, both bilaterally, regionally, multilaterally, and internationally. For example, Indonesia actively participates in cyber diplomacy at the TELMIN, ADMIN, PCC, OEWG forums and BSSN collaborating with various countries to overcome cyber threats.

However, it all depends on every internet user to always be vigilant and careful in using cyberspace to avoid the threat of cybercrime.

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