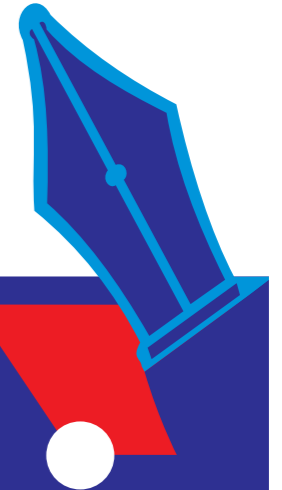


# JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC WORLD AND POLITICS



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# Islamic World and Politics

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## Editorial

Reading the social phenomenon in the world, we will realize that the Islamic world and international world and politics are so dynamic. We watch and read every day from the social media about conflict and war happening in all over the world, mainly in Middle East. In another side, the states in the worlds are doing many things to build cooperation in eradicating poverty, violation of the human right in upholding peace for the people in the universe. We realize that terrorism, global conflict, violation of human right, human trafficking, 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 seventh edition, we invite eight scholars and researchers to share their new ideas and the result of their researchs in reading the global phenomenon currently. We do hope that by publishing this seventh 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 eight 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



# The Chinese vs. Western Media Framing on Uyghur Conflict

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## **Abstract**

*This paper focuses on the Uyghur conflict, which became international news. Many reports about the Uyghur appear with religious-based heroic narratives that corroborate discrimination, persecution, and the Chinese government's mistake against the Uyghur ethnic minority. It aims to understand the difference in Western mass media's preaching compared to the Chinese mass media informing Uyghur-related news. Compared to other ethnicity issues, the authors believed in specific interests behind the preaching of various online mass media to what was happening in Xinjiang. The authors used the explanative method with the framework of the framing theory of Pan Konciski and the constructivist paradigm to interpret the news of the Uyghur conflict. The study results show Western media are more likely to use words or sentences that drain the reader's emotions, while Chinese media are more likely to be neutral in framing the news. It is a record for the authors that the public perception regarding the internationalization of issues occurring in a country can be influenced by how the media package news content.*

**Keywords:** *Mass Media of western, Mass Media of China, Uyghur, Political Instruments.*

### **Abstrak**

*Artikel ini berfokus pada konflik Uyghur yang menjadi berita internasional. Banyak laporan tentang Uyghur muncul dengan narasi heroik berbasis agama yang menguatkan diskriminasi, penganiayaan, dan kesalahan pemerintah China terhadap etnis minoritas Uyghur. Ini bertujuan untuk memahami perbedaan pemberitaan media massa Barat dibandingkan dengan media massa Tiongkok yang menginformasikan berita terkait Uyghur. Dibandingkan masalah etnis lainnya, penulis meyakini adanya kepentingan spesifik di balik pemberitaan berbagai media massa online hingga apa yang terjadi di Xinjiang. Penulis menggunakan metode eksplanatif dengan kerangka teori framing Pan Konciski dan paradigma konstruktivis untuk menafsirkan berita konflik Uyghur. Hasil studi menunjukkan media Barat lebih cenderung menggunakan kata-kata atau kalimat yang menguras emosi pembacanya, sedangkan media China lebih cenderung netral dalam membingkai pemberitaan. Ini menjadi catatan bagi penulis bahwa persepsi publik mengenai internasionalisasi isu yang terjadi di suatu negara dapat dipengaruhi oleh bagaimana media mengemas konten berita.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Media Massa Barat, Media Massa Tiongkok, Uyghur, Instrumen Politik.*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Xinjiang is the westernmost region in China. This region is directly adjacent to Turkey in Central Asia, East Turkestan. The Uyghurs, who have initially been East Turkestan residents, originally came from the Proto-Turkish ethnic group who inhabited Central Asia to the Turkish republic's territory. Therefore, there must be a closeness

bond built between the countries in Central Asia, Turkey and the Uyghurs (Laylia, 2010). In the beginning, Xinjiang named East Turkestan before they merged with China. In the 17th century, East Turkestan was colonized by the Chinese, ruled by the Qing Dynasty. However, East Turkestan succeeded in taking over its country again until 1949. The Soviet Union

saw the triumph of this Muslim-dominated region so that it was seen as a threat. In the same year, a split arose between nationalist supporters and the CCP in China. The Soviet Union then gave full support toward Mao Zedong to take over East Turkestan, and eventually, East Turkestan officially changed into Xinjiang. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought independence to the countries in Central Asia, namely Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kirgizstan. However, it is tragic for the Uyghurs, not the independence they get but the increasing pressure from the Chinese government (Laylia, 2010).

In 1950, the Chinese government implemented a domestic migration policy. This policy brought about eight million Han Chinese to move and live there (Ding, 2018). The Chinese government gave superiority to ethnic Han by supporting them to have higher positions in the government. After the death of Mao Zedong, many demonstrations were carried out by students and residents. The biggest riots between the Uyghurs and Han people occurred on July 5, 2009 (Laylia, 2010). According to human rights groups, the riots perpetrated by the Uyghurs could

not be separated from restrictions or acts of discrimination against the religious, cultural and racial-ethnic Uyghur minority (Ferdian & Utomo, 2018). Certain elements then used this riot to divide China and show the existence of separatist movements in Xinjiang involving the Uyghur Islamic community (Ferdian & Utomo, 2018). Another accusation through the White Book from the state council Information Office stated that this minority in Xinjiang had been used as an instrument to support the interests of pro-Turkish and pro-Islam groups (BBC, 2018). This particular group's interests made China feel the need to maintain the country's unity.

In this case of imbalanced development between Han ethnic and Uyghurs, Uyghurs are even more disadvantaged in welfare. China's government also had a restrictive religion policy (Wei & Cuifen, 2012). The Chinese government then tried to imply some policies to balance the economic development in Xinjiang. However, China leaders were also concerned with this concept because they assumed that people with a better economy and education were more likely to strengthen their ethnic identity, threatening national integrity. So, the Chinese government also



implied some policies regarding nationalism. Those policies are related to nationalism and are already stated in China's White Paper. They had the policy to own vocational and educational training of Uyghurs in Xinjiang (US-China Institute, n.d.). In the Xinjiang Work Forum, there was an "Ethnic Mingling" policy (Jamestown, n.d.). With those policies, China's government provided them both political re-education and economic development.

Most people might be unfamiliar with "the vocational and educational training" for Uyghur in Xinjiang. The policy that the Chinese government already stated could also be called with "Strike Hard against Violent Terrorist Activity" campaign. Strike Hard campaigns began as anti-crime operations to assure the public of the state's ability to provide security (Byman & Saber, 2019). These camps have been compared to internment camps. The Uyghurs have to recite Chinese laws and Communist Party policies, learning Mandarin, singing songs about the CCP and Xi Jinping, and renouncing religious beliefs in those camps (Blanchard, n.d.). Due to these policies, the Chinese government got much criticism for violating human rights. Based on

global perception about the ethnic conflict of Uyghur are discriminate issues for their freedom of having religion, tradition, culture and language as well.

Meanwhile, in China's government perception, they eliminated ethnic problems and extinguished extremism and fought terrorism to solve Xinjiang's problems and protect Xinjiang as their territory. Xinjiang province is known as one of the wealthy regions in China. Based on data, Xinjiang's GDP growth is significant than in any other region in China because Xinjiang has both the beauty of nature and culture that attracts tourism. Hence, Xinjiang's existence is also crucial for the Chinese Government's Belt Road Initiative (Chinadaily.com.cn).

Phenomena that occur in a country, such as an act of rebellion or applying a policy, will always be preached to the international world. The news was disseminated through various media, such as newspapers, magazines, journal publications, articles, etc. According to Mc Quail, quoted by Aria Aditya Setiawan, the mass media is one way to develop culture (Aria Sditya Setiawan, 2013) discourse is just one term that scholars have developed to analyze the systems of thoughts, ideas, images and other symbolic

practices that make up what we, following anthropology, generally call culture. Other terms have their limitations though: 1. This culture is defined as art, symbols, fashion, lifestyle and norms. The development of information and communication technology now makes the distribution of information/news flows more freely. According to Ashadi Siregar in Husnul Khatimah's quote, online media can be interpreted as a general designation for a form of media based on telecommunications and multimedia (computers and the internet) (Khatimah, 2018). Online media consist of news portals, websites, online radio, online television viewing, online press releases, etc. Online media can facilitate the public to enjoy information or news and entertainment through the internet.

If viewed from the content, a journalist's story is usually inclined towards certain parties (Rahmayuni, 2020). The Chinese mass media called *Guo Ji Ri Bao* published news related to China's defense amidst Uyghur ethnic discrimination (Rahmayuni, 2020). The media said that the news related to the persecution activities experienced by the Uyghurs had been exaggerated. The camps were

a center for honesty training and many other festive activities.

Meanwhile, news from the BBC, a mass media from the West, provided information if Beijing discriminated against ethnic minorities in the Uyghur. They were detained in camps suspected of being a place of re-education in Xinjiang. It was also a place to suppress the formation of developing Islamic extremists in China (BBC, 2018). Western mass media also believed that the Chinese government's involvement with several community organizations from other countries came to the camps.

The difference in reporting is due to the interests carried by each country of origin of the mass media. There was a significant ideological difference between the United States of liberal ideology and Soviet Communism (Eka Afriyansyah, 2015). China is a country that is still carrying out the ideology of socialist-communism (Lubis, 2017). Thus, there will be differences between Western media and Chinese media in presenting news related to Uyghur. The Chinese mass media will defend their country, so they try to present news that benefits their country's position. Meanwhile, Western media from

the United States, such as the BBC, ABC News, New York Times, and others, will preach everything they say as “truth” without taking China’s side. Therefore, in this study, the Chinese mass media and Western mass media will see their role in constructing people by becoming a political weapon.

In the current era of globalization, mass media is no longer a means of entertainment media, but it can be one of the weapons owned by a country in shaping the public image of a country or that we can now know as a proxy war. Mass media not only brings out the constructed reality, or the mass media is not only good at creating frames from a news story. However, the media has also acted as an instrument of propaganda and foreign political instruments that are a surefire and bridge to war. With its role as a media propaganda, the mass media can grab fast public support (international community support). The formula on the research reads: “How Western mass media and China’s mass media can be a political instrument thought the issue of Uyghur?”. This article is to know the different perspectives of Western and China mass media about how they frame the news and

understand how mass media can be a political instrument.

### **The Paradigm of Constructivism**

The paradigm of this study is the paradigm of **constructivism**. This paradigm has its position or view of the media, and the news text it generates. The concentration of analysis on this paradigm to discover how events or reality was constructed, in what way it was constructed was formed. Peter L. Berger first introduced the concept of constructionism. According to Berger, the reality is not formed scientifically; instead, it is formed and constructed. Everyone has different constructions of reality. This paradigm looks at a reality exposure in the news text due to “the maker” construction, so the reality of the show’s events is not a natural event (Eriyanto, 2008, pp. 13–15). In this case, how the western mass media and the mass media of China manage to construct society and the international community.

The term social construction of reality became very popular since its introduction by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Social reality is a life-like knowledge that lives and develops in the community, such as concepts, public awareness, and public discourse, resulting

from social construction (Bungin, 2006, pp. 191–192). Media is a construction agency of reality. Media content is the result of workers who construct the reality it chooses. The news describes reality and shows the opinion of news sources, also the media's construction. According to Peter L Berger, the theory believes that reality has a subjective and objective dimension. That reality is the result of human thought. As social individuals, people have never stagnated as long as they live in their society. Technically, Berger and Luckmann's central thesis is human, and society is the product that is dialectical, dynamic, and plural continuously.

According to Berger and Luckmann (Eriyanto, 2008, pp. 14–19), the dialectical process has three phases: externalization, objectivity, and internalization. These theories and approaches look at variables over mass media phenomena into substance in the externalization, objectivity, and internalization processes through social mass media construction. Thus, nature or excess mass media has improved the social construction process's weakness that runs slow reality. The substance "mass media construction theory" is on rapid and widespread circulation so that social construction takes

place quickly, and the spread is evenly (Bungin, 2006, p. 207).

These theories and approaches look at variables over mass media phenomena into substance in the externalization, objectivity, and internalization processes through social mass media construction. Thus, nature or excess mass media has improved the social construction process's weakness that runs slow reality. The substance "mass media construction theory" is on rapid and widespread circulation so that social construction takes place quickly, and the spread is evenly (Bungin, 2006, p. 207). With the foundation of thought theory of social reality construction that explains how reality is formed, it will help understand how events or how the phenomenon develops into reality. The preaching conducted by the Western mass media and the Chinese mass Media on the Strike Hard policy conducted by the Chinese government against the Uyghur ethnic is not separated from the news of the case's construction. The reality of the Chinese government enforcing the Strike rigid policy is formed when journalists or media see the fact, then how the media is applying it, and how the media constructs the facts to be revealed to be news.

The method used in this research was the method of framing analysis. Framing has been used in the communication research literature to examine how the selection and construction process the reality of a medium performed by a medium. Besides, this Pan and Kosicki model can be conducted through discourse devices such as words, sentences, leads or images, or tools to understand the media in packaging the news. (Eriyanto, 2008, pp. 257–266)

## RESULT AND EXPLANATION

### A. Mass Media of China

1. News: Allegedly ‘Missing’ Uyghurs Found Living Normally – Global Times

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
1.	What	The ‘missing’ Uyghurs that were viral in global media were found by the Global Times (Chinese Media) staff to have an everyday life in Xinjiang, and they were getting disturbed and confused by the spreading false rumor of the western media.

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
2.	When	December 2019
3.	Where	Xinjiang, China
4.	Who	The Uyghur family and also the family member was suspected of joining the separatist group, East Turkistan.
5.	Why	There were found tweets on social media, saying that many Uyghurs had been missing.
6.	How	Staff from Global Times found the missing Uyghurs after investigating tweets on social media.

### Description of the news:

In December 2019, the suspected Uyghurs joining the East Turkistan, Ruzi Memet, claimed that his brother was missing and post that statement on Twitter with the hashtag #StillNoInfo and talked about that his family had been suffering from the concentration camp in Xinjiang. The tweet was posted right after China’s government announced the graduation from vocational education and training centers of trainee once influenced by extreme thoughts in Xinjiang.

After that tweet popped up, then there was another tweet saying no missing people in Uyghur. Global times staff investigated the case to reveal the truth. After discovering the online information from some organizations and some individuals on the alleged missing Uyghurs, the authorities in Xinjiang confirm and visiting some of the “lost people” in different places in Xinjiang, but the Global Times (GT) reporters found the fact that they are living everyday lives.

This news told how the ‘missing’ Uyghurs were doing fine in Xinjiang and having everyday life. Revealing their daily routines life, and also there was a short documentary video of the Uyghurs. The interview with the Uyghurs showed that Uyghurs in Xinjiang did not have any discrimination. Instead, they were grateful for having vocational education training. They said that it prevented them from extremism and made their life more valued. The news also stated that knowing those false spreading false rumors were disturbing (Jie & Juecheng.). This news from media under the Chinese government denied what western media talked about violence in concentration camps and proof of a Uyghur’s daily life in Xinjiang and even constructed the mindset that

vocational and educational training effectively prevented extremism in Xinjiang.

2. News: Rumors of ‘Forced Labor’ in Xinjiang Refuted – Global Times

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
1.	<b>What</b>	Lawmakers and Australian think tank organization have been sparing no effort on hyping up the “forced labor conspiracy” in Northwest China’s Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and also pursuing a bill to limit Xinjiang export activities to the US
2.	<b>When</b>	December 2019
3.	<b>Where</b>	Xinjiang, China
4.	<b>Who</b>	Workers in Xinjiang, Companies that implicated in “forced labor” reports by the western media
5.	<b>Why</b>	A report showing that there was forced labor in Xinjiang

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
6.	How	The staff of the Global Times investigated the case by visiting more than 70 companies in Xinjiang

#### Description of the news:

US politicians have been trying to push China's sanctions over so-called forced labor in Xinjiang to have possible restrictions in future strategic confrontations. This effort is also accompanied by a report from the US and Australia, stating that forced labor inside and outside of Xinjiang's vocational education and training centers is "systematic repression" of minority groups. From the two reports, many US lawmakers and politicians were pursuing a bill in the last week to implement stringent limits on imports from Xinjiang, knowing that The Global Times staffs decided to visit more than 70 companies and private workshops in four prefectures in southern Xinjiang and found that accusations of forced labor in China were false. The "dirty campaign" launched by anti-China groups would undermine the livelihoods of the Uyghurs and other people located in Xinjiang who lived in poverty. The Global Times reached all of the companies

and stated that there was no forced labor happening in their factories, and the jobs could help financial issues of the Uyghur workers and their families. The Global Times also stated that the World Uyghur Congress, a US-backed regime, worsened the media's situation. Both government and companies denied all of the report's false statements and embraced how they helped Uyghurs survive from poverty.

In this news, Chinese media and the people in Xinjiang admitted that the local government had already provided services for transferring labor, and residents voluntarily signed up for them. The local government mentioned that everything was under control. "The 'dirty campaign' from the US politicians and media outlets had already undermined, and the result would undermine the livelihood of Uyghurs and other residents in Xinjiang who were currently living," said the workers in Xinjiang. By having the statement, the media stressed that every company in Xinjiang did not have any behavior (forced labor) toward the Uyghurs ethnic (Global Times Staff.). This news from the media under the Chinese government once again shaped how Xinjiang was excellent, and the Chinese government did

not have any mistreatment behavior toward Uyghurs in Xinjiang. The media could also frame the US in this case and desperately want China to fall by having a statement about World Uyghur Congress and the US's irrational attitude for targeting the companies. Meanwhile, there were also companies from the US in Xinjiang.

**B. Mass Media of Western**

1. News: Inside China's Push to Turn Muslim Minorities into an Army of Workers - The New York Times

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
1.	<b>What</b>	Forcing Uyghurs to take part in learning activities in working in training camps, if they refused, the Chinese government would threaten their families
2.	<b>When</b>	December 30, 2019
3.	<b>Where</b>	Uyghurs and Kazakhs
4.	<b>Who</b>	The Government of China, Uyghurs and Kazakhs

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
5.	<b>Why</b>	This minority made up about half of the population and were considered necessary for the government's social reengineering strategy in indoctrination camps, accommodating one million or more Uyghurs and Kazakhs to establish control over the Uyghur and Kazakh regions
6.	<b>How</b>	To control the Uyghur Territory and the Kazakhs, the Chinese government implemented training camps. The Qapqal labor bureau ordered that villagers underwent military-style training to convert them into obedient workers, loyal to their employers and the ruling Communist Party.



### Description of the news:

This media reported about the Chinese government forcing Uyghurs and Kazakhs to do vocational training and be separated from their families (Chris Buckley, 2020). In training, the Chinese government used a military-style that suppressed Uyghurs and Kazakhs to be loyal to the ruling communist party. The Chinese government stated that Uyghur and Kazakh villages were “rural surplus labor” and unemployed populations that threatened social stability. Placing them in government-approved work is overseen, officials would eradicate poverty and slow the spread of religious extremism and ethnic violence.

The Chinese government described workers as volunteers, although critics said that they were forced. Official documents, interviews with experts, and The New York Times’s visit to Xinjiang showed that local plans to deprive villagers limited their movements and pressured them to keep working. There are also reports that workers were not paid according to their work. For example, Amanzhol Qisa, a 31-year-old Xinjiang resident, spent a year in an indoctrination camp, and she was sent to do a labor job in a clothing factory for

three months in April. She was paid \$ 115 a month, less than half the minimum wage, according to her husband, Muhamet Qyzyrbek. To be released, workers must accept all policies of the Chinese government.

2. News: ‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims - The New York Times

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
1.	<b>What</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The leaking of the file revealed how China organized mass arrests of Muslims.</li> <li>• More than 400 pages of China's internal documents provided a view into something that never happened before about a crackdown against ethnic minorities in the Xinjiang region.</li> </ul>
2.	<b>When</b>	August 2016
3.	<b>Where</b>	Xinjiang, China
4.	<b>Who</b>	Xi Jinping’s President, Chen Quanguo

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
5.	<b>Why</b>	There is evidence of violence committed by President Xi Jinping, party leader, against the Uyghur Tribe because it was based on the stabbing carried out by terrorists.
6.	<b>How</b>	The most significant leak of government papers from within the ruling Chinese Communist Party in decades; They were provided an inward view of the ongoing persecution in Xinjiang, where authorities dragged as many million ethnic Uyghurs, Kazakhs and others into detention camps and prisons over the past three years.  Senior party leaders were noted to have ordered drastic and urgent action against extremist violence, including mass detention.

No.	Indicator	Result of Research
		The leaked papers consisted of 24 documents, some of which contained duplicated material. That included nearly 200 pages of internal speech by Mr. Xi and other leaders, and more than 150 landing pages and reports on the supervision and control of the Uighur population in Xinjiang. There are also references to plans to expand Islamic restrictions to other parts of China.

**Description of the news:**

The New York Times reported that there had been leaked secret files that explained the Chinese behavior towards the Uyghurs. It would prove the Chinese government's lies who said the camp, as a job training center that used lightweight methods to combat Islamic extremism (Austin Ramzy, 2020). However, the documents confirmed the nature of the imposition of measures loud in words and commands of the officers who compose and arrange.

The New York Times illustrated that the leaking files' contents were the party seniors who recorded ordered actions drastic and urgent against violent extremists, including the detention of mass and discussed the consequences with detachment cold. In the media, China's government wanted to rule Xinjiang's region with sources of power by limiting the activities of the Muslims Uyghur's culture and religion. Their detention by the authorities in Xinjiang was against hundreds of thousands of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and Muslims in the camps internment camp. The prisoners underwent many months or years of indoctrination and interrogation, which aimed to transform them into supporters of the party that was secular and loyal.

In his speech, the media proclaimed that Xi Jinping said that Islam in Uyghur was religious extremists, so the assumption was led to the attack on Uyghur, and Xi argued that extremism Islam had its roots in swaths of society in Uyghur. Most great Uyghurs embraced the tradition of moderate, although some began to embrace the practices of religion that were more conservative and more common in the 1990s, although there was control of the state against Islam. This media believed that Xi Jinping's

lies were caused by worrying about the rise of public piety. He blamed that the controls were weak in faith because the predecessor lowered guard them.

### **C. Mass Media of Western and Mass Media of China Becoming an Instrument of Political Interest**

With globalization and integration happening, they have made a new world order. State actors and non-states and other actors such as INGO, NGO, MNC, Business actor, and Private Sector have added a treasure in the international world. Today, the media play an essential role in forming public opinion in China. Mass media not only brings out the constructed reality, or the mass media is not only good at creating frames from a news story. The media has also acted as an instrument of propaganda and foreign political instruments with a surefire and bridge to war. With its role as a media propaganda, the mass media can grab fast public support (international community support).

In its announcement of the Uyghur Muslim conflict, the Global Times tends to bring out the frame to uphold humanitarian principles with a political approach. From the two

titles, Global Times displays clearly by not compromising the concern of Uyghur Muslim conditions. It is reinforced by the expression of the Global Times' sentence so that it posed an impression on the public that what was done by the Chinese government was humanist and caring about humanity. The Global Times emphasized humanist aspects with a political approach through titles, news schemes, and sources. From news headlines, the Global Times put the Muslim Uyghur as a party to be aware of its parallels and salvation. The title of the news was accompanied by a political theme by the pro-Uyghur speakers.

The New York Times in spreading the Uyghur Muslim conflict has not been more than a frame that has to build the public opinion that the Chinese governments were responsible and liable for Muslim Uyghur's tribulations. Through both its news headlines, the New York Times features a public image of the Chinese government with the editorial of a sentence that the Chinese government describes as the wrong party to implement a re-education of the Uyghur Muslim community accompanying violence and persecution. The New York Times also impressed the heavy side in displaying portions of the news, as

more of a portion of condemnation to the Chinese government than the further explanation of the Chinese government itself was related to the re-education to Muslim Uyghur. The New York Times also features the Muslim Uyghur as the Dehumanization object of the Chinese government.

## CONCLUSION

China and America are two big countries with different histories and ideological backgrounds. As a national mass media from China with political alignments of the Chinese Communist Party, the Global Times continues to provide news that tends to his country's government. On the other hand, the national mass media from America, the New York Times, always presents news that increasingly highlights the "reality" of how China is doing various ways for its interests. So, the two mass media became instruments of political interest by framing many reports about the Uyghur issue.

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# Racial Discrimination Reflected in Series Drama *Tennou No Ryouriban* (The Emperor's Cook)

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## **Abstract**

This paper discusses the discrimination that occurred in the life of Asian immigrants. Yellow Peril phenomenon occurred in 1882 in Europe and America, which resulted in racial discrimination toward immigrants from China and Japan. In this study, the author used the data source from a series drama entitled *Tenno No Ryouriban*. This series drama showed two immigrants from Japan named Tokuzo Akiyama and Shintaro Matsui who migrated to France. In their daily life, Tokuzo and Shintaro would frequently receive discrimination from white people. This study used the literal sociology approach suggested by Wellek & Warren and Dovidio discrimination theory. To obtain a description regarding discrimination, the author would analyze data in scene and dialogue excerpts taken from *Tenno No Ryouriban*. Furthermore, there was also support theory Mise-En-Scene to explain why a scene was shown in a particular manner by the film director. This study showed several scenes and dialogues excerpt that described discrimination in various forms, such as Explicit Discrimination & Implicit Discrimination, and Institutional Discrimination & Cultural Discrimination. The author found the cause of discrimination described in the series drama *Tenno No Ryouriban*, which related to race differences such as differences in skin color, the nation of origin and body height.

**Keywords:** Discrimination, drama series, literature sociology, yellow peril

## **Abstrak**

Artikel ini membahas tentang diskriminasi yang terjadi dalam kehidupan imigran Asia. Fenomena Yellow Peril terjadi pada tahun 1882 di Eropa dan Amerika, yang mengakibatkan diskriminasi rasial terhadap pendatang dari



China dan Jepang. Dalam penelitian ini penulis menggunakan sumber data dari serial drama yang berjudul *Tenno No Ryouriban*. Serial drama ini menampilkan dua orang pendatang dari Jepang bernama Tokuzo Akiyama dan Shintaro Matsui yang merantau ke Prancis. Dalam kesehariannya, Tokuzo dan Shintaro kerap menerima diskriminasi dari orang kulit putih. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi literal yang dikemukakan oleh teori diskriminasi Wellek & Warren dan Dovidio. Untuk mendapatkan gambaran mengenai diskriminasi, penulis akan menganalisis data adegan dan cuplikan dialog yang diambil dari *Tenno No Ryouriban*. Selain itu, ada pula teori pendukung *Mise-En-Scene* untuk menjelaskan mengapa suatu adegan diperlihatkan secara khusus oleh sutradara film. Studi ini menunjukkan beberapa adegan dan kutipan dialog yang menggambarkan diskriminasi dalam berbagai bentuk, seperti Diskriminasi Eksplisit & Diskriminasi Implisit, dan Diskriminasi Kelembagaan & Diskriminasi Budaya. Penulis menemukan penyebab diskriminasi yang dijelaskan dalam serial drama *Tenno No Ryouriban* yang berkaitan dengan perbedaan ras seperti perbedaan warna kulit, bangsa asal dan tinggi badan.

**Kata kunci:** *Diskriminasi, serial drama, sosiologi sastra, bahaya kuning*

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## INTRODUCTION

Discrimination and prejudice have been a widespread issue in human history. Issues related to discrimination itself have spread to many parts of the world. Discrimination can arise because of the history of a society or nation in the past. Bringham (in Kuncoro, 2007: 11) states that discrimination is a different treatment because of membership in a particular ethnic group. The statement is in line with Fulthoni et al. (2009: 6), explaining that discrimination is an act of

mistreating others only because they come from particular social groups.

Discrimination is a form of action conducted by a group of people who have an enormous influence in the community where it can affect the social conditions. Furthermore, Fulthoni et al. (2009: 9) depicts various types of discrimination:

1. Discrimination based on ethnicity; race, belief and religion
2. Discrimination based on sex and gender

3. Discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS
4. Discrimination because of social caste

Before discussing racial discrimination, the definition and racial division are acknowledged. Feagin (1993: 20) defines race as a group of different people from other groups based on physical characteristics. Meanwhile, Liliweri (2005: 18) explains that race is a group of people characterized by physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair and height. De Gobineau (in Giddens, 2001: 245) classifies three racial divisions: white (Caucasian), black (Negroid) and yellow (Mongoloid). Also, O'Neil (in Liliweri, 2005: 25) categorizes Europeans and Americans as Caucasians, Africans as Negro race while Asians from East, Southeast Asia and Indian land as Mongoloid race. Of the many things that underlie a practice of discrimination, racial differences are among the most discussed topics. The practice of racial discrimination itself is a practice of discrimination that has existed for a long time and is difficult to eradicate.

One form of racial discrimination is the yellow peril appearance that occurred in Europe and America around 1882. This phenomenon

arises because many immigrants from China and Japan came to the mainland of Europe and America. Two factors trigger the arrival of immigrants:

1. The discovery of a gold mine in America,
2. The construction of a railway that required many labors

In 1914, yellow peril had become a frightening phenomenon among Europe and America because it impacted lifestyle changes. French (2015: 15) states that immigrants from the Asian Continent could lead to lifestyle changes and homogeneity of the white nation. This anxiety grew because of the negative issues surrounding Asian immigrants, such as opium use and large-scale gambling.

One example of racial discrimination practices is *Tenno no Ryouriban* by director Yuichiro Hirakawadan Shingo Okamoto that launched on April 26, 2015, to July 12, 2015. The drama *Tenno no Ryouriban* tells the story of a character named Tokuzo Akiyama. Tokuzo is a chef of the Japanese Empire from the *Taisho* era to the *Showa* era. Before becoming a Japanese imperial chef, Tokuzo learned about Western cuisine in Paris, France.

In the *Tenno no Ryouriban* drama series, there are various forms of discriminatory practices in Europe. In this series, the characters Akiyama Tokuzo and Shintaro Matsui represent this practice. Therefore, the various forms of discrimination portrayed in the *Tenno no Ryouriban* drama series can be analyzed using the literary sociology theory Wellek & Warren (1997) and the discrimination theory proposed by Dovidio (2001). The theory explains Explicit and Implicit Discrimination and Institutional and Cultural Discrimination (discrimination in institutions and discrimination due to cultural differences). Both discriminations are related to formal regulation in an institution based on different ideologies, cultural history, and normative behavior.

According to the background discussed, the study's research problem is how racial discrimination against Akiyama Tokuzo and Shintaro is reflected in *Tenno No Ryouriban* (*The Emperor's Cook*).

This study aims to describe the forms of racial discrimination committed by white Europeans against Japanese people represented by Akiyama Tokuzo and Shintaro Matsui's drama series *Tenno No Ryouriban*. The study's result is

suggested as an additional reference study of literary sociology theory by Wellek and Warren to prove that literary works reflect social problems. According to the study results, the theory of discrimination by Dovidio can explain the acts of discrimination found in the *Tenno No Ryouriban* drama series.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Sociology of Literature

Literature is the result of human culture, which appears through the language system as the language itself is an element of culture. Kurniawan (2012: 3) explains that literature is the result of the creation of "thought" and "taste" in the form of artifacts, which are generally the embodiment of culture. Cultural manifestations in the form of value systems, thought systems and action systems exist in literature.

One matter that cannot be separated is that literature is a cultural artifact described as humans' thoughts and feelings as to social beings. Literature has a distinctive relationship with the social and cultural system based on the author's life. Therefore, literature is always alive and lived by the community and society as objects of sociology. Studies confirm the relationship between

kinds of literature as a scientific discipline with sociology as another scientific discipline. The following explanation will discuss the notion of sociology as a field of science.

Abercrombie (in Kurniawan, 2012: 5) argues that sociology analyzes the structure of social relations formed through social interaction. Therefore, sociology is the study of society that expresses human behavior in groups with all existing activities. Sociology and literature have the same object of study, which is society. Sociology discusses society in real life, whereas literature studies society created by the author's imagination. Sociology is useful to understand the social phenomena in the literature, both the people depicted in literary works or readers with current conditions reflected in society.

By looking at the relationship between sociology and literature, Wellek and Warren (1977: 100) portrays three classifications (paradigms) in literary sociology:

1. Sociology of the author; the problems related here are the basic economy of literary production, social background, the author's status, and the author's ideology as seen from author activities outside of literary works.
2. Sociology of literary works; the second sociological analysis departs from literary works; the contents of the literary work, the objectives and implicit things in literary work itself related to social issues.
3. Sociology of the reader includes problems of readers and the social impact of literary works. This study leads to the sociology of readers.

The sociology paradigm includes the author's approach, literary works, and readers as a community from the sociology paradigm description. In conducting this research, the researcher will utilize the second point of the sociology paradigm, the sociology of literary works. The sociological approach of this literary work studies literature as a document as a social portrait in society. Wellek & Warren (1997: 122) explain that literature can record the characteristics of the era. Through the sociology of literary works, the writer will address society's problems in the *Tenno no Ryouriban* drama series. In this study, the paradigm that will be utilized is the sociology of literary works. In this case, the object of research is racial discrimination.

## Discrimination

The term between racial discrimination and discriminatory treatment is often used interchangeably. Theodorson & Theodorson (Fulthoni, 2009: 3) explains discrimination is unequal treatment of individuals or groups, and it is usually categorical. The difference between the two is that prejudice is a belief, while discrimination is an action. Fulthoni (2009: 5) says that discrimination occurs when the belief in prejudice has turned into action. According to Fulthoni (2009: 5), discrimination is often based on incomprehension in “their” groups. From the lack of understanding, *in-groups* often generalize about “them”. It is this discrimination between *in-group* and *out-group* that can later lead to the emergence of racial discrimination. Jones (in Kuncoro, 2008: 12) explains that discrimination based on racial differences is an action of differentiating aspects of a culture accepted by many people who encourage competition, power differences and judgemental treatment of other group members.

## Forms of Discrimination

Dovidio (2001: 10) categorizes discrimination into two forms:

1. Explicit and Implicit Discrimination (clear and subtle discrimination)
2. Institutional and Cultural Discrimination (discrimination within an institution and discrimination caused by cultural differences)

Faizo (in Dovidio, 2001: 10) explains that discrimination is two different attitudes, both explicitly and implicitly. Explicit discrimination is an action that is performed consciously, while implicit discrimination is an unconscious response that has to categorize people as out-group. According to Dovidio (2001), Institutional and Cultural Discrimination is related to formal regulation and policy in an institution based on different ideologies, cultural history and normative ways of behaving.

In this study, the author utilizes the theory of discrimination, according to Dovidio (2001). Racial discrimination often resulted from a perspective about differences in physical characteristics. Different treatment and competition between *in-group* and *out-group* are often used as a source of discrimination problems. By looking at the understanding of racial discrimination that experts have elaborated, racial discrimination can be interpreted as any form of

discrimination, restriction, and blamed based on racial differences. This difference in treatment can be manifested individually or through official social structures and institutions.

The following will explain the types of discrimination, according to Dovidio (2001).

### ***Explicit and Implicit Discrimination***

Allport (in Blank & Dabady, 2004: 56) suggests some actions that lead individuals to wrong action on other racial members. These actions are verbal antagonism (verbal antagonism), avoidance, interpersonal discrimination, physical attack, and extermination (murder).

Verbal antagonism (verbal abuse) includes insults and comments that underestimate other races regardless of whether or not there are targets of hostility. Dovidio (2001: 10) mentions that verbal abuse and subsequent non-verbal rejection indicate actual discrimination. Avoidance can be a continuity action in which members of the in-group feel comfortable with the group and create tension in the in-group members. The in-group will close themselves from other groups. In social life, in-group

groups tend to choose whether to socialize with other groups or not. As a result, many in-group group members will separate themselves due to racial differences.

*Interpersonal discrimination* is a continuity action of *explicit discrimination* in which someone mistreats others because of the difference. Feagin (1995: 13) says that this discrimination refers to individuals with other individuals. People against others do this since they are not a member of the group. Green et al. (in Blank & Dabady, 2004: 58) explain that *segregation supporters usually carry out physical attacks*. In other words, segregation supporters will usually be the perpetrators of physical assault. If this stage happens then, there is a high probability that this behavior will turn into an extermination stage or murder.

In addition to acts of tangible or intentional discrimination, there are also acts of discrimination that are carried out automatically, smoothly and unintentionally, namely implicit discrimination. Fiske (in Blank & Dabady, 2004: 59) explains that discrimination can also be subtle discrimination that is done automatically because *in-group* members have unconsciously categorized *out-groups* based on

race, sex, and age. The response is a reflection of the subconscious awareness of *in-group* members. Faizo in Dovidio (2001: 11) says that some acts of discrimination are subtly contained in a “habit” perpetrated by group members repeatedly. Jackson in Dovidio (2001: 15) also says that acts of discrimination clearly and subtly are two treatments that explain different actions towards individuals or groups.

### **Institutional and Cultural Discrimination**

Referring to Benocraitis in Feagin (1995: 18), discrimination in an institution refers to norms, rules, and practices within social institutions’ scope. This discrimination treats individuals or groups differently from the rules and norms that apply within a social institution. Apart from discrimination in an organization, there is discrimination due to cultural differences, where a person or group has a view of culture that is different from another person or group. Dovidio (2001: 22) says that cultural discrimination is created by differences in ideology, customs, literature and even small things like music and painting. Someone or group who influences ideology or customs different from other groups will be exposed to acts of

discrimination that can harm the person or group to be addressed.

### **Yellow Peril Phenomenon**

In the mid-19th century, the conversation about race, migration, and national security became a conversation between nations across America’s plains, and Europe is no exception in Canada. The subject was talk of global migration by Asians and the alleged threat posed by such migration. Asians, mostly immigrants from China, Japan and immigrants from South Asia, are large-scale immigrants considered dangerous to Caucasian people in different economic, disease and moral competition (Lee 2007: 538). From intercountry talks emerged a phenomenon concerning discrimination and stereotypes based on race known as the Yellow Peril phenomenon. Witchard (2015: 4) explains in more detail that a Yellow Peril phenomenon broke out in the plains of Europe in 1914, where the subject of this phenomenon was regarding opium, gambling and interactions that took place in embroidery houses belonging to Chinese immigrants.

“Yellow Peril” itself is an offensive term given to Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers who migrate to Europe and America’s

plains. Martin (2004: 10) states that the word “yellow” refers to the color of the skin of East Asians. In this case, Chinese and Japanese immigrants belong to the Mongoloid race. While the word “peril,” according to Yang (2015: 4), means a potential threat from the population of Asian immigrant workers who will outperform Western culture. Yang further (2015: 4) explains that the yellow peril phenomenon itself is a phenomenon of Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers carried out by the white working-class due to fear of job loss, which would later affect the white’s economic downturn workers.

### **Yellow Peril in France**

The problem of low birth rates in France in 1890 gave rise to a concept of threats from immigrants from Asia, especially Japan and China. Cook (2014: 25) mentions that *Peril Jaune* (Yellow Peril) in France is a negative view of differences in French birth rates with birth rates of Asian immigrants. Based on this cynical view, fear arises that one-day Asian immigrants will “flood” France. Unlike the case in Canada and America, in France, the phenomenon of *Peril is* only limited to stereotypes and prejudices and does not lead to physical contact between the two

parties. However, Cook (2014: 185) adds that given racism, the press in France deliberately exaggerates the concept of Yellow Peril during the war between Russia and Japan, where Russia is portrayed as a hero for defending the Caucasian against the attack of the yellow race (Mongoloid) in this case the Japanese nation.

### ***Mise-En-Scene***

*Mise -en-scene* comes from French, which means “staging action”. *Mise -en-scene* is anything that is located in front of the camera captured in a film. *Mise -en-scene* is the central aspect other than actors that appear in a frame to create the desired atmosphere (Prastita, 2008: 61).

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research was carried out in qualitative research with descriptive method. According to Gunawan (2013: 82), a qualitative approach is an approach to construct knowledge statements based on perspective-constructive (for example, meanings that originate from individual experience, social values and history, to construct theories or particular patterns of knowledge) or based perspective-participatory (for example, orientation towards



politics, issues, collaboration or change).

### Data source

In this research, primary data sources were dialogue, narration, footage of scenes and depictions of the main characters in the drama series *Tenno No Ryouriban* works of director Yuichiro Hirakawa and Shingo Data Okamoto. Secondary data sources came from previous scientific papers, journals and several books on sociological theory literature associated with racial discrimination.

### Data Collection Technique

The technique of data collection itself was done by observation, interview, questionnaire, and documentation. According to Marshal & Rossman (1995: 63), related to this research, the author used the documentation method because the documentation technique is one of the data collection methods used in a qualitative study.

### Data Analysis

This study's data analysis technique was a qualitative data analysis technique with an analysis based on the data obtained, then developed into a pattern. Conclusions

were drawn, and data verification referred to data analysis using discrimination theory according to Dovidio (2001), which aims to show the form of racial discrimination in the *Tenno No Ryouriban* drama series. The author also used Mise en Scene's supporting theory because the research object used was a drama series.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A phenomenon known as Yellow Peril is the cause of discriminatory acts carried out by white races (Caucasian) against Akiyama Tokuzo and Shintaro Matsui figures belonging to the Mongoloid race. The Yellow Peril phenomenon began to spread in the plains of Europe and America in 1914 due to the large number of immigrants coming from China and Japan who migrated to the European plains and America and Canada.

In the *Tenno No Ryouriban* drama, Japanese immigrants' stereotype is reflected in white chefs' discriminatory actions belonging to the Caucasian race against Tokuzo, a member of the Mongoloid race. This racial difference caused Tokuzo to be treated with discrimination and injustice when Tokuzo became a chef.

### Explicit Discrimination

There is a scene depicting Verbal Antagonism (verbal slur



and verbal hate), which is an act of discrimination in the type of explicit discrimination.



Figure 1. Explicit Discrimination

The treatment of Verbal Antagonism (verbal slur and verbal animosity) is seen where this scene illustrates the situation when Tokuzo had just worked at the Majestic Hotel. When he wanted to get to know another chef, Tokuzo was reviled by a chef named Albert. The humiliation carried out by Albert received support from other chef members, as other chefs laughed at the term “Yellow Monkey” given by Albert to Tokuzo.

Humiliation can be a manifestation of a precise type of explicit discrimination, namely Verbal Antagonism. Verbal antagonism supported by nonverbal expressions can create hostile environments in educational institutions, workplaces or target residences (Feagin in Blank & Dabady, 2004: 56). Verbal hostility is the first step in the existence of discriminatory acts experienced by a particular race.

The nickname “Yellow Monkey” given to Tokuzo by Albert refers to the Yellow Peril phenomenon where the word “yellow” shows the color of the skin of Tokuzo, which is a Mongoloid race like immigrants from Asia, especially China and Japan. As Martin said (2004: 10) that the word yellow itself refers to the skin color of the Mongoloid race like that of Asian immigrants, mostly Chinese and Japanese, who migrated to the plains of Europe and America around the mid-19th century.

### Implicit Discrimination

The scenes above show acts of subtle discrimination or implicit discrimination. Pettigrew (in Blank & Dabady, 2004: 59) explains that prejudice does not directly make the in-group blamed the out-group on shortcomings in the disposal. The response reflects the subconscious awareness of in-group members.

Faizo in Dovidio (2001: 11) says that some acts of discrimination are subtly contained in a habit that has been perpetrated by group members repeatedly. Ambivalent out-group

can be valued but in a demeaning way. Members of out-groups have to work harder with in-group members and not force something on in-group.



Figure 2. Implicit Discrimination

### Institutional Discrimination

Acts of discrimination reflected in the scenes above show acts of discrimination within an institution or institution. Benokraitis in Feagin (1995: 18) explains that discrimination in an institution refers to norms, rules, and practices

within social institutions' scope. Often discrimination within institutions occurs because of neutral decisions regarding race, sex and sexual orientation but ends with different consequences for members of out-group groups.



Figure 3. Institutional Discrimination

### Cultural Discrimination

The action taken by Albert was an act of discrimination because of cultural differences due to differences in the use of dining tables, but the satire that

Albert carried was felt to be very detrimental to Tokuzo's self-esteem because of the Japanese way of eating using a small table instead of on the floor. Waswo (2013: 85) stated that a traditional Japanese dining room is

based on *tatami* and using *chubudai*. *Chubudai* is a traditional Japanese table that has short legs. As a result, the differences in tableware used make Albert see a gap to commit an act of discrimination against Tokuzo.

In the chapter of this discussion, there are various forms of racial discrimination in *Tenno No Ryouriban*, discriminations done by the chef and white Parisian

people against Tokuzo and Shintaro are Explicit Discrimination to Implicit Discrimination based on responses from the subconscious of *in-group* members. It does not stop there. Shintaro and Tokuzo are also discriminated against due to cultural differences or cultural discrimination and discrimination within an institution or institutional discrimination.



Figure 4. Cultural Discrimination

## CONCLUSION

The acts of discrimination in the *Tenno No Ryouriban* drama series are acts of discrimination based on the origin and racial differences. The development of the yellow peril phenomenon, which is a stereotype of hatred of Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers carried out by the white working-class due to fear of job loss, will affect the white working-class economy's decline. These are the cause of ideas for discrimination against Akiyama Tokuzo and Shintaro Matsui in the *Tenno No Ryouriban* drama

series. Acts of discrimination will worsen if an out-group member is incorporated into the in-group for a long time. Furthermore, some acts are unintentionally and subtle innuendos committed by white people who are included in the act of implicit discrimination. Meanwhile, institutional and cultural discrimination was also found when Tokuzo worked as a chef at the Majestic Hotel.

To sum up, it is easy to say that discrimination in this drama series occurs because of racial differences between in-group and out-group. In

this case, the out-group is Tokuzo and Shintaro, while the in-group is white people.

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# Industry 4.0 and Its Effect on Reorientation of International Trade Patterns

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## **Abstrak**

*Dunia Industri sejak awal hingga saat ini setidaknya telah mengalami 3 kali revolusi. Revolusi pertama terjadi pada tahun 1784 di Inggris yang ditandai dengan mekanisasi produksi. Revolusi kedua terjadi di akhir abad 19 hingga tahun 1970an dengan dipergunakannya mesin-mesin bertenaga listrik untuk kegiatan produksi massal, sedangkan revolusi ketiga terjadi pascatahun 1970-an hingga saat ini yang ditandai dengan penggunaan teknologi komputer/digital untuk otomasi kegiatan produksi. Pertama kali diperkenalkan di The Hanover Fair di Jerman, istilah Industri 4.0 dimaksudkan untuk mewakili konsep Revolusi Industri keempat. Layaknya Revolusi Industri di era-era sebelumnya, Revolusi Industri keempat yang ditandai dengan digitalisasi alat produksi dan integrasinya dengan internet diprediksi akan memberikan banyak peluang manfaat sekaligus potensi resiko bagi siapa saja yang terlibat didalamnya. Beberapa hasil studi sebelumnya telah banyak mengupas definisi, karakteristik Revolusi Industri keempat dibandingkan dengan Revolusi Industri sebelumnya beserta adanya perubahan orientasi Negara dalam kebijakan aktivitas dagangnya dengan Negara lain dalam kerangka Industri 4.0. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini bertujuan untuk menelaah bagaimana Industri 4.0 beserta dengan berbagai macam karakteristiknya dapat mempengaruhi pola aktivitas dagang antar Negara. Artikel ini akan menggunakan pendekatan ekonomi liberal-kapitalis dan konsep pasar bebas untuk memberikan gambaran tentang bagaimana Revolusi Industri keempat dapat mempengaruhi pola aktivitas dagang antar Negara. Melalui pendekatan tersebut, artikel ini berpendapat bahwa perkembangan teknologi pada era industri 4.0 memberi pengaruh kepada perubahan interaksi antara produsen dan konsumen yang kemudian memicu perubahan interpretasi pola*

*perdagangan yang seharusnya terjadi antara produsen dan konsumen.*

**Kata kunci :** *Industri 4.0; pengaruh; perdagangan antar Negara*

### **Abstract**

*From the beginning until today, the industrial world has experienced at least three revolutions. The first revolution occurred in 1784 in England, marked by the mechanization of production. The second revolution occurred in the late 19th century until the 1970s with the use of electric-powered machines for mass production activities, while the third revolution is after the 1970s until now, which is characterized by the use of computer / digital technology for automation of production activities. First introduced at The Hanover Fair in Germany, Industry 4.0 was intended to represent the Fourth Industrial Revolution concept. Like the Industrial Revolution in previous eras, the Fourth Industrial Revolution marked by digitizing production equipment and its integration with the internet is predicted to provide many opportunities for benefits and potential risks for anyone involved. Some of the results of previous studies explored the definitions, characteristics of the Fourth Industrial Revolution compared to the previous Industrial Revolution and changes in the state's orientation in its trade activity policies with other countries within the framework of Industry 4.0. Therefore, this article examines how Industry 4.0 and its various characteristics can influence trade activities between countries. This article used the liberal-capitalist economic approach and the concept of free markets to provide an overview of how the Fourth Industrial Revolution could influence the pattern of trade activities between countries. By implementing the approach mentioned above, this article argues that the development of technology in the era of industry 4.0 influences the interaction between suppliers and consumers, leading to changes in the interpretation of what should happen in the pattern of trades afterward.*

**Keywords:** *Industry 4.0; influence; trade between countries*

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Industry 4.0 or the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is one of the hottest issues currently being discussed by many groups, including

scientists, economic practitioners, and policy-making politicians (Schwab, 2016). Industry 4.0 was first mentioned in Germany on occasion called the Hanover Fair in



2011 to describe the 4th Industrial Revolution (Rainer Drath, 2014).

Based on references from the European Parliamentary Research Service, the industrial sector in this world has evolved three times and is currently completing its fourth revolution. The first revolution occurred in 1784 in England, marked by the mechanization of production where steam-powered machines began to replace human hands to make a product. The second revolution occurred at the end of the 19th century until the 1970s with electric-powered machines for mass production activities. In comparison, the third revolution is after the 1970s to the present, marked by using computers / digital technology to automate production activities.

Today, the rapid development of digital technology, sensors, and the internet has led to integrating it into production factors to achieve more efficient and profitable results. This latest idea marks the start of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Angela Merkel reveals that Industry 4.0 is a comprehensive transformation of the industrial world's entire production sector by integrating digital and internet technology with conventional industrial technology. All aspects

of production in the industrialized world are expected to be related to one another in a digital connection to increase effectiveness and integration (Davies, 2015).

Based on this definition, the public has taken an illustration or description of the new concept. Some terms that have been widely circulated are smart factories, smart industry, or industrial internet. Although different, the highlight of these concepts remains the same. They describe a situation in which a computer-based production system will monitor physical processes and make decentralized decisions independently. This situation is made possible by integrating a production system with a digital information network via the internet. It then increases the adaptability and effectiveness of the production system, reduces costs, encourages income and investment growth to make the countries' competitiveness to improve the face of dynamic global market competition (J. Smit, 2016).

As the central aspect of Industry 4.0, digitalization plays an essential role in influencing the global economy. For example, the internet can increase capital owners' ability to observe markets, find patterns of demand in them, and

enable capital owners to take part and compete in global markets. Of course, this technology makes the global market broader and more accessible (Papachashvili, 2018).

With his research, Riker added a positive relationship between the openness of a country to international trade and the increasing use of the internet. The results of Riker's research revealed that at least there would be an increase in trade openness of 6.88% in developed countries and 1.67% in developing countries if calculated and reviewed through predictions of increasing internet users in the next five years (Riker, 2014).

Seeing this pattern, the concept of industry 4.0 has influenced trade patterns between countries recently. Another fact shows that many countries have started to adjust their international trade policies to take advantage of the current transition.

In his research, Mishra (2017) underlined that the trend of Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) such as the Japan-Mongolia Economic Partnership Agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement raised policies about cybersecurity, data protection, network neutrality, and online intellectual property. They are intended to expedite and facilitate

electronic/online transactions. This fact is interesting because it shows the tendency to reorient and review the trends in trade policies between countries that have been made so far (Mishra, 2017).

Based on the arguments above, this article will attempt to discuss how the aspects and changes have occurred because the industry 4.0 concept can affect trade patterns between countries. This article will use the liberal-capitalist economic system approach to view and compare the phenomena in the history of the Industrial Revolution in the world from its first appearance to the present (Industrial Revolution 4.0). It is expected to provide an overview of patterns or trends in trade activity between countries before Industry 4.0 and how these patterns or trends can undergo adjustments or changes when implementing Industry 4.0.

## **HISTORY OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 1.0 TO 4.0 AND ITS IMPACT ON TRADE PATTERNS BETWEEN COUNTRIES**

According to Schwab (2016), the word "revolution" describes a fundamental and fast/sudden change from various forms of the revolution taking place nowadays. These revolutions arise when new

and different technologies and world views appear. New technologies and perspectives trigger changes in the existing social and economic structures (Schwab, 2016).

The term “Industrial Revolution” is always related to technology, as Friedrich Engels explained that the Industrial Revolution emerged as the climax of the technological development of production, especially at that time - the textile industry. This development then gave rise to fundamental and prolonged changes (Griffin). In its historical development, this world has experienced at least three times the Industrial Revolution, so the last Industrial Revolution is marked as 4.0.

According to Davies (2015), the first Industrial Revolution occurred in 1784 in England, marked by the mechanization of production where steam-powered machines began to replace human hands to make a product. (Davies, 2015). According to Landes (1969), the first means of production to undergo mechanization was textile production tools. The textile industry, especially wool and cotton, was the industry with the largest number of workers in England. With the mechanization of production tools in spinning machines, the

production percentage increased rapidly, making the textile industry develop, which could absorb more labor. This situation gradually increased the income per capita so that the economy and the community's welfare would also increase.

This trend continued to spread not only in the UK but also to other countries, causing textile products and raw materials to increase rapidly and became a trade trend between countries. The rapid increase in one production sector would usually increase or the emergence of innovations in other sectors. In this case, the rapid growth of the textile industry and innovation in the mechanization of production tools at that time triggered developments in the distribution sector (steam vehicles, railroads), mining, and other raw goods (coal, iron, etc.) (Landes, 1988). In this era, trade activities between countries still focus on fulfilling the need for raw materials, exploring potential areas of resources, and distributing free market values.

The second revolution occurred at the end of the 19th century until the 1970s with electric-powered machines for mass production activities (Davies, 2015). At that time, electric power triggered a large-scale evolution of production

machines. With electricity, some large machines - driven by steam power - could be more efficient with no larger size and increased precision. Some examples of the evolution and development of machines in this second Industrial Revolution were the means of communication (telegraph), cars, weapons of war, and other means of production.

Besides the significant development of production machines, the application of concepts such as assembly line, mass production, and intensive labor division in each production process in factories had also helped to realize the Second Industrial Revolution. Ford (1922) introduced the assembly line as a design of an item's manufacturing process by separating parts of the item into specific manufacturing posts to be more efficient. This concept, combined with mass production and division of labor or division of workers based on their specializations, would increase production efficiency. (Ford & Crowther, 1922).

Here is an illustration that explains how this concept combination works—first, the assembly line. If a factory wanted to build a car with an assembly line, a production series of cars would be sorted

according to its parts. For example, the car assembly line would consist of 5 posts, each of which would be in charge of making one of the car parts such as body, engine, chassis, wiring, interior, and final finishing post. In the assembly line, workers did not need to move because each part must be put together from the car delivered via conveyor or other means of transportation such as a forklift until it was finished at the last post. Second, mass production, if one assembly line could complete its task in 5 hours multiplied by the total number of assembly lines in 1 factory - for example, 10 - then every 5 hours, a factory would produce 50 cars. This concept could not be compared to the car production done small team. Mainly if the concept of division of labor or labor division, according to specialization, was applied, the entire production process could run even faster.

Based on these phenomena, the second Industrial Revolution triggered higher economic and technological growth. With an efficient production factor, consumer desires would be easily fulfilled, and transactions became increasingly popular with large profits. The attractiveness of these production machines was so high that the demand for these

machines also increased. With increasingly sophisticated and fast communication and distribution machines, consumers' barriers to transfer their wants and interests to the market decreased. Demands for private vehicles, goods, or resources exclusive to other remote areas could be brought in. Even telegram services were gradually becoming popular (Landes, 1988; Davies, 2015).

However, it turned out that the positive trend was slowly finding its saturation point. With sophisticated production tools that were increasingly cheap and accessible, the percentage of production factors increased dramatically. They created two consequences: an increase in the unemployment rate because workers were replaced by machines and the percentage of supply beyond its equilibrium point to the percentage of demand. The price of goods decreased and resulted in economic depression (Wells, 1889).

Based on the explanation described above, the trade pattern between countries at that time had undergone significant changes in the scale of production and distribution speed. However, on a more fundamental basis, the trade patterns during the first and second industrial revolutions had not

changed. The trade pattern during the second industrial revolution still focused on meeting the need for raw materials, exploration of areas rich in potential resources (natural and human), and the distribution of free-market values, although with a few exceptions regarding the limitation or prohibition of the use of atomic/nuclear energy sources referring to the conditions after the World War. At that time, sustainability had not yet developed into an issue closely related to trade and production activities.

Next, the Third Industrial Revolution is after the 1970s to the present, marked by computer / digital technology to automate production activities. In this era, the production factors increase performance again with increasingly sophisticated technology and globalization. Through globalization, the interaction between individuals becomes easy. Long distances in this era can be closed due to the influence of increasingly fast transportation technology and the more efficient interconnection of communication devices. If individuals' interaction gets more comfortable, their access to the free market will also become more accessible. However, behind these beneficial potentials, there

will still be consequences that must be faced.

Over time, the sophisticated products that have already numbered will always need a supply of energy to operate. The energy used to utilize production is still in fossil energy, which many predict will not last long because they are not renewable. On the other hand, the result of the continuous and massive use of fossil energy begins to cause problems for this planet's inhabitants, as proved by global warming, sea-level rise, and forest fires (Rifkin, 2012).

In this era, the trade pattern between countries still refers to fulfilling the needs for goods and services with a change in orientation, especially those concerned with preserving nature. Trade activities between countries in this era begin to review sustainability or their influence on environmental sustainability openly. Some evidence of concern for this problem is the Kyoto Protocol's initiation, which urges each country owner to monitor the level of carbon emissions produced by their means of production and the growing movements of used goods and environmentally friendly materials.

Today, the rapid development of digital technology, sensors, and

the internet has led to the idea of integrating them into production factors to achieve more efficient and profitable results. This latest idea marks the start of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Angela Merkel reveals that industry 4.0 is a comprehensive and comprehensive transformation of the industrial world's entire production sector by integrating digital and internet technology with conventional industrial technology. All aspects of production in the industrialized world are expected to be related to one another in a digital connection to increase effectiveness and integration (Davies, 2015).

In this era, production means have experienced significant growth due to their integration into an internet connection and an artificial intelligence (AI) program. This program allows them to monitor physical production processes and even react to the dynamics of demand in the market to run automatically, massive and fast. As an illustration, the speed of production of a manufacturing process that combines the concepts of the assembly line, mass production, and division of labor (which have been applied in the previous Industrial Revolution era) becomes two times more

efficient because of these means of production. They can also identify demand trends in the market while monitoring the smooth running of the production process and the obstacles they might face—all of that without human intervention.

However, there is no perfect system. The industry's state, integrated with the internet and other digital software, also creates new consequences. Some of these consequences are cybersecurity, data protection, piracy, and legal-formal problems (J. Smit, 2016; Papachashvili, 2018; Mishra, 2017). Seeing this pattern, the concept of industry 4.0 has - in a way - provided a stimulus for countries globally to review their patterns of trading activity in this era. Trade interests, which are basically to meet the need for goods and services, are typical. However, adjustments to the risks that may arise due to the consequences mentioned earlier also need attention.

Recently, public awareness of the need to adjust the trading activity patterns in the industrial era 4.0 has increased, as Mishra mentioned (2017). In his research, that Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) such as the Japan-Mongolia Economic Partnership Agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership

Agreement have generated policies relating to cybersecurity, data protection, network neutrality, online intellectual property, intended to facilitate market transactions taking advantage of the implementation of Industry 4.0 (Mishra, 2017).

### 1. Industry 4.0 in the Capitalist Economy's Eyes

After discussing the history of the Industrial Revolution and the trends in trade activity patterns between countries, there should be a discussion about the primary system for countries in doing their trading activities to explain how each variable in Industry 4.0 can affect trade activity patterns between countries. The system is a liberal-capitalist economic system.

According to Adam Smith, the market - a gathering place for supply and demand factors - should be separated from the government's influence, and the government should let the market run itself without intervention. If individuals are given the freedom to pursue their interests, the free market's invisible hand mechanism will automatically force each individual to behave responsibly (Gregory & Stuart, 2014; Smith, 1776).

The products that consumers want (demand) will be absorbed by the producers (suppliers), who will then be produced according to the type and quantity through the most efficient production means. Such a cycle will continue and automatically run without government intervention or other structured social action. Individuals acting in their interests will almost certainly act to serve their interests properly. Government action may interfere with this natural process. The government should be limited in providing essential public services, which private capital owners cannot produce or realize (Gregory & Stuart, 2014).

After knowing the capitalist economic system's outline, especially those directly related to markets and trade interactions, the next issue that needs to be parsed is the market's definition and aspects. Parsing the market definition and its aspects is essential because the industry 4.0 concept is implemented directly into the market and its aspects.

Returning to the theory of capitalism formulated by Smith, according to him, the market is an organized structure, which functions to bring together sellers and buyers (Seller and Buyer). If sorted out, at least three crucial

variables must exist for a market to be formed: buyers, sellers, which automatically coincide with the next variable, namely the means of production. According to Smith's market concept, the buyer represents the demand variable, and the seller represents the supply. Simultaneously, production means the variables that affect the equilibrium or balance between demand and supply in the market (Gregory & Stuart, 2014).

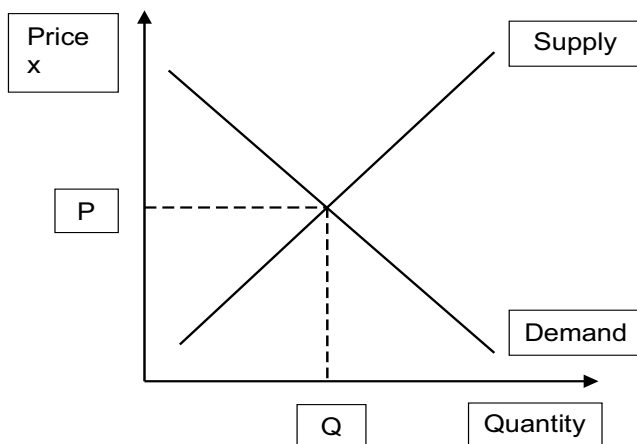
In practice, consumers will always want to maximize their interests following the desire to get a product at the lowest possible price. Therefore consumers/buyers are a source of demand. Sellers/producers, on the other hand, will always be willing to maximize their profits by offering as many products as they can produce with a price forecast that is higher than demand, of course, while paying attention to production costs. The market will then bring together them and their conflicting interests (Gregory & Stuart, 2014).

According to Smith, this phase is where the invisible hand's natural process comes into play. If the number of products requested exceeds the quantity supplied (demand exceeds supply), the price will automatically increase. These



results in reduced demand because consumers with lower purchasing power will retreat and, on the other hand, attract producers to produce more. This tug of war continues so that a balance is reached where the

buyer agrees to buy the producer's product at the current price (Gregory & Stuart, 2014). Below is a scheme showing a state in which an equilibrium or supply and demand balance has been reached.



Scheme 1 Illustration of supply and demand relations in the market (Gregory & Stuart, 2014)

Through the above discussion, every variable in the market - producers affect consumers, consumers influence producers, and even conditions or technological developments - will influence each other and make adjustments independently and naturally, leading to achieving equilibrium (Gregory & Stuart, 2014).

After describing the factors of production and how they work in influencing the market, the next step is to ascertain the scope of industry 4.0 in the capitalist economic

system, especially the free market. In its history, the term industry 4.0 was first used in Germany in 2011. Therefore it is only natural that the definition expressed by Angela Merkel that industry 4.0 is a comprehensive and comprehensive transformation of the entire production sector in the industrial world through the integration of digital technology and the internet with conventional industrial technology (Davies, 2015). Through this definition, the central aspect of implementing Industry

4.0 is technology integration. The technological aspect in the market concept can be categorized as a means of production, where technology is a tool for producers/owners of capital to make products.

Looking at the market concept formulated by Adam Smith, the digital technology intended by Industry 4.0 will not be found. However, looking at its function as a means of production, digital technology functions as labor. According to Smith, workers' availability (labor) is essential to producing other goods by consumers. The higher the productivity level and the number of workers under a producer is, the higher the supply level will be. If producers can accommodate consumer demand in the market, the number of transactions will increase. It is undoubtedly useful and can increase the economy and prosperity where the market is located. However, increasing the number of workers does not always have a good impact because workers have costs that capital owners will later be borne. Workers are human beings who also need food and clothing and have different skills. The capital owners' expertise owners to manage workers will ultimately be needed to maintain production

costs, affecting the market's trade equilibrium. Therefore, in his book, *Wealth of Nations*, Smith have rise to the term division of labor (Smith, 1776).

In line with history, technology has evolved, and the industry has undergone a revolution. The Industrial Revolution has always been associated with technological developments that have made industrial production tools more efficient. In Industry 4.0, conventional production technology integrated with digital technology can also be categorized as workers. This technology will apply a digital manufacturing process where a production tool is integrated with a digital device, software, and the leading internet. It will also monitor physical production processes and react automatically to demand dynamic massively and quickly (J. Smit, 2016). Technology development can then minimize time, reduce errors, and accommodate flexibility in the production process, resulting in reduced production equipment owners' reduced costs. Cutting costs means increased profits earned by producers. From the consumer side, the speed and flexibility of the new technology's production process can accommodate consumer

interests. Even more than only accommodating consumers' interests in the scope of getting the goods and services requested, today's technological sophistication also allows consumers to choose or monitor how the goods and services requested get to them.

Through the implementation of Industry 4.0, trade dynamics have become much faster. Individual producers and consumers can access the market more easily and quickly. The digitalization of technology allows consumers to make more demands, and producers can produce faster and better quality. From the point of view of a Capitalist Economy, it will help bring a broader and more inclusive free market. On the other hand, the increased speed of access to information and markets and interconnectivity between producers means of production and consumers globally also provide new consequences and challenges. Some of the consequences and challenges are legal-formal issues, cybersecurity, data protection, and even a lack of skilled human resources in these technologies (Davies, 2015) (Papachashvili, 2018). The emergence of these consequences and challenges, in the end, made the public realize that there needs to be a

reorientation or review of trafficking practices in recent times.

## 2. Conclusion

Based on the previous chapters' explanation, the concept of Industry 4.0 can influence changes in patterns/policies of trade activities between countries through the aspect of digitizing production. The digitization of production technology allows consumers to make more demands, and producers can carry out the production process faster and with higher quality. From the side of a Capitalist Economy, it can help realize a broader and more inclusive free market.

However, carelessly encouraging the digitization of production growth without having a plan and measurable standardization cannot always bear positive results. On the other hand, the increased speed of access to information and markets and interconnectivity between producers means of production and consumers globally also provide new consequences and challenges such as cybersecurity issues, data protection, and formal legal problems that will not be so quickly resolved without them—sufficient skill and understanding in their field.

This phase is where the gap in which trade patterns between

countries are reoriented. Producers need to increase their capabilities in dealing with consumers. The high level of interaction between producers and consumers in the industrial era 4.0, which is not found at other industrial levels, is a new commodity that the producer needs to process correctly. The density of information regarding consumer interactions with producers based on the internet and similar technologies can add value for individual producers if the information can be maintained, managed, and implemented correctly. However, it can also be an inhibiting factor and a source of significant loss if the opposite happened.

Recently, several countries have tried to implement the Industry 4.0 concept in their domestic industrial policies or international trade activities, including Indonesia (ADB & Bappenas, 2019; BPPI, 2018). Even though market dynamics will dash supported by increasingly sophisticated information and production technology, each country needs to review its trade or industrial policy orientation before implementing the concept of Industry 4.0 to take every opportunity and benefit optimally.

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# Cyber-Terrorism in the Context of *Proselytizing, Coordination, Security, and Mobility*

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## **Abstract**

The simplicity and flexibility of information and technology have made human life more comfortable. Terrorist groups have been using these things to disseminate terror, recruit new members, fundraise, and mobilize their activities. Technology provides the terrorist group an exploit to conduct its hideous activity. Globalization eventually gives the double-edged sword that needs to be addressed by state actors regarding terrorist issues. The author used James D. Kiras' four cyber-terrorism concepts: proselytizing, coordination, security, and mobility. The terrorist group harnesses those four concepts in the modern world to achieve their interest. On the other side, the author harnessed comprehensive security from the Copenhagen School of Security Studies to analyze cyber-terrorism activity threats. This article aims to analyze terrorist groups in conducting their activity based on Kiras' four cyber-terrorism concepts. Using Kiras' concept and Comprehensive Security from Copenhagen School, the author aims to analyze the impact of cyber terrorism on society and prevent such a threat. The author also used the qualitative method as an analytical tool to analyze the research problem and concluded that states had to establish a rigid counter-terrorism system holistically at the domestic level without neglecting international strategic cooperation among international actors to counter this threat.

**Keywords:** Cyber-terrorism, proselytizing, coordination, security, mobility.

## **Abstrak**

*Kesederhanaan dan fleksibilitas informasi dan teknologi membuat kehidupan manusia semakin nyaman. Kelompok teroris telah menggunakan hal-hal ini untuk menyebarkan teror, merekrut anggota baru, menggalang dana, dan*

*memobilisasi aktivitas mereka. Teknologi memberikan kelompok teroris suatu eksploitasi untuk melakukan aktivitas mengerikannya. Globalisasi pada akhirnya memberikan pedang bermata dua yang perlu disikapi oleh para aktor negara terkait isu teroris. Penulis menggunakan empat konsep cyber-terorisme James D. Kiras: dakwah, koordinasi, keamanan, dan mobilitas. Kelompok teroris memanfaatkan keempat konsep tersebut di dunia modern untuk mencapai minat mereka. Di sisi lain, penulis memanfaatkan keamanan komprehensif dari Copenhagen School of Security Studies untuk menganalisis ancaman aktivitas cyber-terrorism. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kelompok teroris dalam melakukan aktivitasnya berdasarkan empat konsep cyber-terorisme Kiras. Menggunakan konsep Kiras dan Keamanan Komprehensif dari Sekolah Kopenhagen, penulis bertujuan untuk menganalisis dampak terorisme dunia maya terhadap masyarakat dan mencegah ancaman semacam itu. Penulis juga menggunakan metode kualitatif sebagai alat analisis untuk menganalisis masalah penelitian dan menyimpulkan bahwa negara harus membangun sistem kontra-terorisme yang kaku secara holistik di tingkat domestik tanpa mengabaikan kerja sama strategis internasional di antara para aktor internasional untuk melawan ancaman ini.*

**Kata kunci:** *Cyber-terrorism, dakwah, koordinasi, keamanan, mobilitas.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The problem regarding security in a cyber-world does not only involve technical, hardware, or software issues. Furthermore, it drags interstate relations between one country and another. Joseph S.Nye (2011) once said in his book, *The Future of Power*, that states must have the ability to rule technological power because the cyber-world provides another threat. Human in the modern world cannot ignore their dependence on technology. As

one of world politics's main actors, even states heavily depend on technology to sustain their critical sectors such as defense, governance, finance, and energy. As once stated by Kshetri (2014), the state's security and relations involve both physical and cyber aspects. It means that states must overcome threats that are coming from the cyber-world. Myriam Dunn Cavelty emphasized that cyber threat always correlates with national security (Cavelty in Mauer and Cavelty, 2010). Hence,

protecting national cybersecurity is essential for maintaining political, social, and economic stability.

As a new issue in security studies, cyber threat is not a bluffing nor a myth. A prominent institution such as Pricewaterhouse Cooper (PwC) Global, in 2013, conducted some research and analyzed that the number of cyberattacks would increase each year. The cyber-world attack had significantly increased to 23 percent at that time (PwC, 2014). Indeed, those numbers were not static but dynamic. They said that technology eventually would improve and become more sophisticated. It has also made some causality in which the cyber attack would be more advance (PwC, 2014). How about the cyberattack in 2018? Was there any escalation? Forbes made a forecast that the attack would involve a terrorist group. Forbes said the terrorist could exploit a vulnerability in states' internet backbone like the financial and banking sector. In 2015, the Cyber Caliphate, linked to ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), hacked and stole 1,000 US military defense (Gilsinan, 2018). Meanwhile, in 2013, approximately 6,000 Indonesia's IP addresses had been infiltrated by malware and

virus to steal essential data (ID-CERT, 2013).

Cyber threat typologies come from different types. For example, Myriam Dunn Cavelty divides it into three typologies: *cybercrime*, *cyberwar*, and *cyber-terrorist* (Cavelty in Mauer and Cavelty, 2010). Cybercrime is placing a criminal organization's ability to harness and cover their crime activity using technological sophistication. On the other side, cyberwar is a digital version of Von Clausewitz's war where technology specializes in modern warfare. The third one is cyber-terrorism, where terrorist groups exploit the technological advantage to spread fear for political purposes and destabilize national security (Cavelty in Mauer and Cavelty, 2010). Cavelty's typology is slightly different from Jonathan D. Aronson's argument. He said that cyber threats came in intelligence gathering, hacking, and cyberwar (Aronson in Bayliss, 2005). Aronson explained that intelligence gathering tends to come in the act of cyber spying activity. Meanwhile, hacking has the purpose of stealing important data, and cyberwar emphasizes state defense capability using technological advancement to cripple its opponent (Aronson in Bayliss, 2015).



The author will focus on cyber-terrorism as the central issue in this article. From the author's perspective, there is no firm definition regarding what cyber-terrorism is. However, several types of research were trying to define the activity of cyber-terrorism. One of them is a study conducted by Michael L. Gross, Daphne Canetti, and Dana R. Vashdi called *Cyber-terrorism: Its Effect on Psychological Well-being, Public Confidence, and Political Attitudes*. Their study discussed cyber-terrorism's impact on human psychology (Gross, Canetti, and Vashdi, 2017). They used quantitative methodology to quantify and measure human psychology after watching videos on terrorist recruitment, propaganda, or their diabolical activities (Gross, Canetti and Vashdi, 2017). From their argument, cyber-terrorism is an act of terrorism by harnessing malware and even media information systems to recruit a new member and destabilize state national security (Gross, Canetti and Vashdi, 2017).

Another research has other definitions to describe cyber-terrorism. That activity can be defined as an act of violence to spread fear among citizens by using information systems and influence

public opinion towards national security (Samuel and Osman, 2014). Kobuye Oluwafemi Samuel and Wan Rozaini Sheik Osman, in their journal, *Cyber-terrorism Attack of The Contemporary Information Technology Age: Issues, Consequences, and Panacea*, were focusing their research on military defense system and its impact on state defense capability. How does the terrorist group take advantage of modern technology to achieve its purpose? Myriam Dunn Cavely stated that cyber-terrorism is an easy method for a terrorist to utilize because many technological systems are open source based. Hence, most people, including the terrorist group, can use it to exploit a state's information system (Cavely in Mauer and Cavely, 2010). On the other hand, Joseph S. Nye disagreed that terrorist groups can cripple its backbone. He argued that it would be possible for them to exploit the state's information system (Nye, 2011).

Cyber-terrorism can target everyone to show and demonstrate the terrorist's political purpose. For example, ISIS once targeted 19,000 France multinational companies, universities, and government websites to protest Prophet Muhammad's defamation

by Charlie Hebdo. They defaced the user interface and changed it by putting terrorist propaganda (Giantas & Stergiou, 2018). Another case had shown that a young man from Kosovo who had an affiliation with ISIS was proven guilty because he hacked a considerable amount of US Army personnel data (Federal Times, 2016). Terrorist groups like ISIS also disseminated *kill lists* containing personal information from twenty-two (22) US departments. They would use it to order *sleeper cells* (ISIS hidden agents) worldwide to execute whoever is on that list (Giantas & Stergiou, 2018).

Indonesia, as the largest Muslim country, indeed cannot ignore this kind of new threat. Cyberspace is no longer a haven since terrorist uses it to recruit new members or gains funding to support their cause. One research indicated that terrorist is targeting young people and harnessing “new media” like Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube (Sarinastiti & Vardhani, 2018). The terrorist knew that the new social media platform is the perfect medium to gain influence and recruit its supporters (Sarinastiti & Vardhani, 2018). Instead of crippling the nation’s state IT system, terrorist groups are far more dangerous by

recruiting and gaining support through social media (Sarinastiti & Vardhani, 2018). Cyberspace or internet is easy to access and terrorist exploits it quickly due to its security, mobility, accessibility, and the ability to reach a wider audience (Bambang & Fitriana, 2017). By reaching its spectators, they will brainwash, recruit, and spread its radical ideology in Indonesia’s moderate Muslim citizens (Bambang & Fitriana, 2017). Another research showed a shred of evidence that most terrorist groups are recruiting Indonesian young people through social media like Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube (Lubis, 2017). This research indicated that young people were vulnerable since they were volatile and easy to influence due to their immature behavior (Lubis, 2017). Based on Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) or Indonesia National Agency for Terrorist Prevention, approximately 4 percent of Indonesia’s citizens pledge their support to ISIS (Putri, 2019). They also had deradicalized 500 ex-ISIS combatants who held an Indonesian passport from 2017-2019 (Putri, 2019).

The main focus of this article will be cyber-terrorism and its impact on nation-state stability and security. States have to protect

their national stability and their people to anticipate the upcoming threat. The stepping stone of this problem came from James D. Kiras' concept of cyber-terrorism in the modern world, such as *proselytizing, coordination, security, and mobility* (Kiras in Bayliss et al., 2014). The author used the Kiras' central concept to analyze the threat and a referent object. First, states have to identify who will be threatened by cyber-terrorism because it affects plenty of referent objects, ranging from state, multinational company, society, and even on an individual level. As the main actor in international relations, states are responsible for protecting their political stability and their people's safety. From those concepts, the author initiates a research question: **“how does the state prevent the threat of cyber-terrorism based on the concept of proselytizing, coordination, security, and mobility?”** The author will use qualitative methods and the Copenhagen School of Security Studies relevant to International Relations Studies. This article aims to analyze how terrorist groups conduct their cyber-terrorism activity from the concept of proselytizing, coordination, security, and mobility.

## Conceptual Framework

The author used Kiras' concept of cyber-terrorism to analyze the research question above. Proselytizing can be defined as a terrorist group's effort to recruit new members, gain sympathy, and fundraising (Kiras in Bayliss et al., 2014). The outcome of technology, such as social media, is a perfect medium for disseminating terrorist ideology. Most of them, such as ISIS, used social media like Facebook, Youtube, and even Twitter to recruit new members. Kiras said that this technique is efficient, especially in the Middle East (Kiras in Bayliss et al., 2014). As in coordination, terrorist groups harness the flexibility of technology to coordinate among the internal members. Nowadays, technology has provided most people to connect easily. People are familiar with chatting applications such as email, Line, or Telegram, embedded in the smartphone. Kiras stated that terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda had done this MO (Modus Operandi) to launch an attack on September 11th, 2001 (Kiras in Bayliss, 2014).

Technology has given another benefit to the terrorist group. Even though a technological product is flexible to use, most hardware and software are more secure from time

to time. As we can say, most system developers have upgraded their software and hardware application with encryption. Eventually, terrorist groups can communicate anonymously and have no fear of being tapped by a third party (Kiras in Bayliss, 2014). Nevertheless, this technology security affects terrorist mobility. For example, terrorist groups can now implement covert missions and have the opportunity to mobilize from one country to another (Kiras in Bayliss et al., 2014). Preventing the impact of cyber-terrorism needs to be done by a nation-state to protect their sovereignty.

The author utilized the concept of security studies from Copenhagen School as a tool of analysis for analyzing and mitigating the threat of cyber-terrorism. From this conceptual framework, the author used *comprehensive security* to define the state's ability to resolve the threat that can change states' integrity and identity (Buzan, 1991). Security studies were developed by Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap Wilde to comprehend traditional and non-traditional security. The author employed security concepts such as threat, vulnerability, referent object, and security sector to understand cyber-terrorism as

a threat (Buzan et al., 1998: 7-11). Buzan defined threat as something or someone who can hinder a state, organization or individual from obtaining their primary goals (Buzan et al., 1998: 7-11). Buzan also explained the referent object as an object threatened by incoming threat (Buzan et al., 1998: 7-11). He argued that every referent object would be different depending on its sector. Buzan classified five security sectors: military, economics, societal, political, and environmental (Buzan et al. 7-11). Every sector has its threat, which means referent objects can differ from one another (Buzan et al., 1998: 7-11). On the other hand, Buzan also explained vulnerability as the incapability of state, organization, or individual to overcome and tackle the threat (Buzan et al., 1998: 7-11). The author combined both Kiras' concept of cyber-terrorism and security studies to analyze threats and their impact on the referent objects and how states should respond to the threat.

### *Proselytizing*

In the previous chapter, the author mentioned that proselytizing is a technique or method for disseminating terrorist ideology, recruiting new members, and fundraising by using technology.

The purpose of proselytizing intends to nurture and sustain the existence of supporters of the group's revolution. One of the easiest ways to proselytize is using social media, which is accessible and user-friendly among people in this modern world. Rand Corporation researched social media's impact on disseminating radical ideology and recruiting new terrorist members. For example, ISIS successfully mobilized its 40,000 sympathizers, promoting and gaining influence through social media (Ward, 2018). Majid Alff, Parisa Kaghazgaran, and James Caverlee from Texas University also researched how terrorist utilizes Twitter as a perfect medium to get funding and attract new members (Alff, Kaghazgaran and Caverlee, 2018). They also compiled many tweets that had a connection with ISIS's proselytizing effort, based on their research called *Measuring the Impact of ISIS Social Media Strategy* (Alff, Kaghazgaran, and Caverlee, 2018). It is shown in the table below:

**Table 1. Number of ISIS's Twitter Account**

Dataset	Accounts	Tweets
ISIS-Tweets	23,880	17,434,323
ISIS-Retweets	551,869	10,436,603

Dataset	Accounts	Tweets
ISIS-Mentions	745,721	19,570,380
Legit-Tweets	23,880	17,454,068
Legit-Retweets	1,753,195	12,175,619
Legit-Mentions	2,161,106	17,479,990

(Source: Alff, Kaghazgaran and Caverlee, 2018)

The existence of young generations (millennials) and their interest in social media have advantages for most terrorist groups like ISIS. Cyber terrorist activism is no longer on how to disable and cripple government information systems. Moreover, it focuses on obtaining their necessities, such as funding and gaining new members. According to *A New Age of Terrorist Recruitment: Target Perceptions of the Islamic State's Dabiq Magazine*, terrorist groups like ISIS tend to recruit young members ranging from 18 to 25 years old (Otterbacher, 2016). Kaylee Otterbacher argued that most of ISIS's new members are still twenty-five (Otterbacher, 2016). She also explained that ISIS is starting to recruit members with higher education and people from middle-class income. Otterbacher

claimed in her research that people from 18 to 25 years old are adaptive to modern technology, and most of them are middle-class people. Many of them are still in the phase of searching for their identity. Hence, they are vulnerable and easy to be manipulated by terrorist groups (Otterbacher, 2016).

Proselytizing also has a severe impact on Indonesia. Terrorist groups use two types of influence to affect and sway Indonesian. The first one is *official propaganda*. They disseminate their ideology by establishing an official website or account on several social media (Putri, 2019). Through its social media account, terrorist groups like ISIS persuade people to join their cause, become regular members, or support them (Putri, 2019). Another way is *unofficial propaganda*. It is a method where a terrorist's ideology spreads through its sympathizer (Putri, 2019). Though it is not direct propaganda, this method is also devastating (Putri, 2019). Social media platforms like Facebook or Twitter emerge as a perfect spreader to disseminate radical ideology (Putri, 2019). Eventually, the information can reach a bigger audience and gain influence (Putri, 2019). Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube are the most effective social

media platforms as a radicalized instrument (Lubis, 2017). Three of them have a significant impact on proselytizing people (Lubis, 2017). It can be shown in the table below:

**Table 2. Social Media Used as Cyber Radicalization Instrument**

Social Media	Method, Purpose, and Function
Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multiple accounts</li> <li>• Private messaging and group</li> <li>• Closed group</li> </ul>
Youtube	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media dissemination</li> <li>• Validation</li> <li>• Messaging</li> </ul>
Twitter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wide broadcast</li> <li>• Multiple accounts</li> <li>• Direct messaging</li> </ul>

Source: (Lubis, 2017)

How do security studies see this phenomenon? The author argues that cyber-terrorism is a real threat. With the concept of proselytizing, technology can be used as leverage to inject and spread fear among the people. In addition to using technology, it gives terrorist groups another advantage. There is a higher possibility for them to gain more funding and new members (Kiras in Bayliss et al. 2014). Cavelti (2014) stated that terrorism has a devastating impact on modern

society. The author highlights that the referent object in the context of proselytizing is society itself. Hence, the threat comes from the societal sector. A terrorist group needs new members to sustain their struggle and regenerate members (Bloom, 2017). The advantage of technology has provided them with the opportunity to reach a wider audience. Social media is a platform where terrorist groups can affect people, especially the younger generation, to join their so-called “revolution” (Bieda & Halawi, 2015; Giantas & Stergiou, 2018). Ranging from 18 to 25 years old, these people are vulnerable due to their unstable psychology and inability to counter terrorist ideology (Otterbacher, 2016). Social media’s platform is easy to be made as a tool for cyber-terrorism, especially in proselytizing, because it affects and changes human psychology (Otterbacher, 2016; Weimann, 2005). Playing with mutual identity, common religion, and raging hatred towards western culture is useful for terrorist groups to recruit new members from the middle-class economy (Bloom, 2017; Otterbacher, 2016; Weimann, 2005).

Anticipating cyber-terrorism from the context of proselytizing surely needs government efforts. Society is

the referent object, and people from the middle-class economy are the most vulnerable. States can start filtering social media accounts that have any affiliation with the terrorist groups. Nonetheless, social media is a perfect medium to disseminate violent radical ideology to recruit new members. The information on social media is massive and can influence a wider audience. The government needs to spend its security budget to filter and anticipate the cyber-terrorism threat, impacting their society (Ranggasari, 2019; Tumber, 2019). Besides, the state might want to invest in its information system and its human resources. States can develop a constructive and holistic program by making legal frameworks and combining all fields, including defense, information systems, and even education (Zerzri, 2017). The outcome of this legal framework is a national strategic plan for countering any threat from terrorists. Implementing such kind of program can build awareness, especially to counter any extremism efforts. The cyber-terrorism threat can only be contained if the government acts holistically. Integrating every national aspect from state to private institutions can be an effective way to counter proselytizing.

## Coordination and Security

The result of modern technology was the birth of the internet, allowing becoming anonymous. The purpose of anonymity is to ensure the user's privacy when going online or when it comes to communicating with each other via the internet. Unfortunately, this privilege has been misused by a terrorist group from all around the world. Al-Qaeda and ISIS exploit this privilege for their teaching to be spread and gained support from sympathizers. In his research, Stephen Idahosa, *International Terrorism: The Influence of Social Media in Perspective*, examined that Al-Qaeda was the first terrorist group who employed the internet to coordinate its operations (Idahosa, 2017). Al-Qaeda successfully coordinated with its sleeper cells in silence. Almost undetected, the aftermath of the September 11th tragedy was devastating and shocked the whole world. To prepare for such an attack, Al-Qaeda trained and developed its agents to make a bomb and explode it towards the enemy (Idahosa, 2017). They developed a Global Islamic Media Front website to coordinate with their agents, equip them with the skill to make a bomb, and disseminate radical ideology to gain support from the

Muslim countries (Idahosa, 2017). In the end, their purpose was to destabilize western countries and spread terror in the heart of society (Idahosa, 2017).

The internet provides not only anonymity but also has an advantage like encryption technology. In the dawn of the internet, encryption was firstly created to protect electronic mail from being tapped by a third party. Indeed, the first objective of encryption was to protect people's privacy when communicating in cyberspace. Nevertheless, encryption can be a threat if the state does not recognize the threat it might possess. Terrorist groups are aware of encryption's capability and see that it may be a gateway to cover their track. When it comes to coordination, it is almost impossible for the authority to track them. As Luke Bertram said, technology had changed the way people were communicating (Bertram, 2016). The flow of communication would be far more comfortable and more straightforward. Unfortunately, privilege is often misused by unwanted groups to do evil deeds. For example, encryption has made the terrorist communication system more secure and hard to detect. It also makes them agile in coordinating with each other.



Cyberspace can indeed be a source of threat to destabilize political stability from the perspective of security studies. As the main actor of International Relations studies, states are responsible for protecting national security and their people's safety, so this threat needs to be appropriately addressed. People cannot put aside the fact that Al-Qaeda and even ISIS have utilized this technology to achieve their primary purpose. The internet and its cyberspace are borderless territories. It is hard to explain where the main boundaries of states in the cyber-world are. There are only a few regulations that conduct law and legal aspects to govern those issues. For example, the Indonesian government should make sure its cyber domain is safe from cyber-terrorism. The government can employ counter intelligence to monitor every anomalous activity to prevent any harmful incidents. The author quoted Idahosa's research that the terrorist group uses social media and cyberspace to coordinate with their agents worldwide (Idahosa, 2017). The counterintelligence system might penetrate and disrupt any communication in cyberspace that involves any terrorist activities.

States cannot ignore the danger the encryption technology has since it protects people's communication inside an email or even daily chatting application. The developers built it to protect the message from being tapped by the third party. Many developing states can decrypt any suspicious information or even put back door systems in the application so the government can monitor terrorist activity in the cyber-world. Unfortunately, if the state does not develop a legal framework to monitor communication in the cyber-world, it can lead to privacy rights violations. In 2014, the US government branch called the National Security Agency was sued because they intentionally tapped world internet communication without any legal framework (Cohn dan Gullo, 2019). Developing legal frameworks may drive them to build strategic corporations between the state, private sector, non-governmental organizations, and individuals. This case could be a perfect benchmarking for Indonesia to be reconsidered. For example, the Indonesian government can cooperate with internet company giants like Google or Facebook to build and establish strategic collaboration to monitor and minimize cyber-terrorism

threats on the cyber-world (Bodin et al., 2015). The first weakness to realize is that the cyber-world is an invisible arena. Therefore to decrease cyber-terrorism activities, the most logical way to do this is to collaborate with actors who know the place. Huge internet companies like Google, Microsoft, or Facebook may be perfect partners. The second one, the cyber-world, is full of anonymity. Many internet giants can uncover anonymity. With the right legal frameworks, the Indonesian government needs to cooperate without jeopardizing people's privacy. Indonesia once worked with Telegram by implementing an information-sharing agreement to detect any terrorist movement. This cooperation can be extended into a holistic agreement with other tech-companies.

### **Mobility**

Technological outreach is borderless. People in a different region can communicate and interact with others in a whole different hemisphere. When a terrorist group can exploit this leverage well, there is no telling of what kind of terror they might do. Kiras said that technology had allowed terrorist groups to mobilize their group in the entire world (Kiras in Bayliss et al., 2014). What will

happen if states cannot prevent a threat from terrorist's mobility? Hypothetically speaking, terrorist groups can mobilize and maximize their movement in the global realm. The author has mentioned above that technological outreach does not know any border. To prevent their movement, state actors must collaborate and cooperate (Hough, 2008). Suppose one terrorist group can maximize technology outreach. They can order their hidden agents to terrorize society in a single click of an email or text via social media chat groups.

Even in the context of cyber-terrorism, states are still the main actor in the world politics constellation. They are bound to protect their interest and are driven by it, an inseparable consequence of the state's existence. Cyber-terrorism can affect not only a single region but a whole global realm. Once the government can prevent the threat of proselytizing, coordination, and security, they have to detect their mobility and activity. To mobilize their hidden agent, a terrorist group often move from one country to another. This kind of threat is highly possible to deter by implementing strategic cooperation with other states. The Indonesian government can establish sharing

intelligence mechanisms bilaterally or involving regional organizations (Ramadhan, 2017). Any forms of terrorism, both physical and cyber-terrorism acts, are a threat to a state's political stability. Buzan said that if the threat becomes urgent, it must be institutionalized (Buzan, 1998). Terrorism is a threat to any country in the world, including Indonesia. Hence, implementing sharing intelligence mechanisms is an important thing to do if states want to overcome cyber-terrorism threats.

Many states prefer establishing bilateral or multilateral cooperation. The United States and the British government have collaborated, deterring the threat of cyber-terrorism. Both countries established CERT (Computer Emergency Response Team) cooperation. They work together to identify, monitor, and respond to computer incidents or anomalies in cyberspace to prevent the threat from occurring (Dogrul, Aslan & Celik, 2011). They also developed a legal and working framework to mitigate cyber-terrorist threats and detect their movement in a cyber-world that can disrupt their national security. They also conduct intelligence sharing if they find any peculiar movements and mobilities

in cyberspace (Dogrul, Aslan & Celik, 2011). Bilateral cooperation can be implemented not only by developed countries but also by developing countries or vice versa. The Indonesian government indeed can develop robust international cooperation for combating the mobility of the terrorist group. One of them is enhancing cooperation between state and state governments within the Southeast Asia region (Nadjib & Cangara, 2017). Another option is the Indonesian government can support and regulate CERT cooperation within ASEAN members since most of them already have their CERT community (Nadjib & Cangara, 2017).

Harnessing intelligence sharing can be implemented not only on the bilateral level but also on the multilateral level. As mentioned before, if the threat becomes urgent, it must be institutionalized (Buzan, 1998). By utilizing an international organization's role, Indonesia can address this cyber threat with other members. Ranging from regional into a global organization – international institution- can reduce common threats like cyber-terrorism (Ramadhan, 2017). Hence, international organizations can be a hub for the state to share, cooperate,

and prevent the hazardous effect of cyber-terrorism. On the other side, it also provides state information to detect and stop any terrorist mobility from cyberspace. For example, the European Union made a regulation to push its member to share any information that contained terrorist groups (Bodin, Echilley & Quinard-Thibault, 2015). This kind of cooperation among the EU members is significant since they have a common framework and oblige. As a supranational organization, the European Union believes that every cyber-terrorist problem can be adequately addressed due to their common interest. Even though this method is not one hundred percent free from the problem, the EU members know how to counter it. On the other side, Indonesia was involved in the European Union of Cybercrime Prevention (Nadjib & Cangara, 2017). This experience should be a starting point for this government to establish a joint agreement at the ASEAN level for combating cyberterrorism.

## CONCLUSION

In this modern era, preventing cyber-terrorism is dependent on the sophistication of technology. Terrorist activity in cyberspace cripples the state's information

systems, builds masses, recruits members, and coordinates their operations. To overcome the threat of cyber-terrorism from the context of proselytizing, the Indonesian government needs to develop a holistic approach within its domestic system. State also should build a critical awareness of its citizens; hence they will use technology wisely and filter false information. In the context of coordination, security, and mobility, the government can prevent those threats from other states by implementing bilateral or multilateral cooperation. Indonesia can even build relations with other related institutions. Building legal frameworks is Indonesia's main priority to conduct a robust strategy, such as terrorism-related intelligence data or stopping terrorist cross-border mobility. Cyber-terrorism is not solely one nation's problem, but it is a world's problem. Hence, states cannot ignore the sacredness of cooperation.

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# ***'Shock Doctrine' in Indonesia in 2005: Disaster Capitalism in Aceh Post-Tsunami***

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## **Abstract**

Economy is the most important thing in dealing with problem of individuals, groups, and even a country to meet unlimited needs based on honesty, in accordance with business ethics and prioritizing the public interest. The most 'loved' economic system is the capitalist economic system. Capitalists tend to be more principled with economic growth than equality. Even when natural disasters occur, there are some elements who take advantage of the post-disaster conditions. This is called Disaster Capitalism. This research analyzes disaster capitalism occurred in Aceh. This paper uses a descriptive analysis method with library research as a data collection technique. Data collection is analyzed with historical social approach focused to the process of tsunami 2004 and post-tsunami 2005 in Aceh. The result is found that there are some people who 'exploited' post-tsunami situation in Aceh, namely transfer of land ownership with the aim of converting oil palm land on the export market. This project is carried out by Artha Graha Group and its new conglomerate. The solution is from within a country itself. Making the community united and high I solidarity will prevent capitalists from 'roaming' into a disaster.

**Key words:** *Aceh, Disaster Capitalism, Economy, Post-tsunami, Shock Doctrine.*

## **Abstrak**

*Ekonomi adalah hal terpenting dalam menangani masalah individu, kelompok, bahkan negara untuk memenuhi kebutuhan yang tidak terbatas berdasarkan kejujuran, sesuai dengan etika bisnis dan mengedepankan kepentingan umum. Sistem ekonomi yang paling 'dicintai' adalah sistem ekonomi kapitalis.*

*Kapitalis cenderung lebih berprinsip pada pertumbuhan ekonomi daripada kesetaraan. Bahkan pada saat bencana alam terjadi, ada beberapa elemen yang memanfaatkan kondisi pascabencana. Ini disebut Kapitalisme Bencana. Penelitian ini menganalisis bencana kapitalisme yang terjadi di Aceh. Makalah ini menggunakan metode analisis deskriptif dengan studi pustaka sebagai teknik pengumpulan datanya. Pengumpulan data dianalisis dengan pendekatan sosial historis yang difokuskan pada proses tsunami 2004 dan pasca tsunami 2005 di Aceh. Hasilnya ditemukan adanya beberapa orang yang 'mengeksplotasi' situasi pascatsunami di Aceh, yaitu pengalihan kepemilikan tanah dengan tujuan mengkonversi anak kelapa sawit di pasar ekspor. Proyek ini dikerjakan oleh Grup Artha Graha dan konglomerat barunya. Solusinya dari dalam negara itu sendiri. Menyatukan komunitas dan solidaritas yang tinggi akan mencegah kapitalis dari 'berkeliraran' menjadi bencana.*

**Kata kunci:** Aceh, Kapitalisme Bencana, Ekonomi, Pasca Tsunami, Shock Doctrine.

## INTRODUCTION

The *Shock Doctrine* by Naomi Klein binds history, economy, globalization, natural disaster and geopolitics into a grim picture. The *Shock Doctrine* is a basic assumption of capitalism and this is what is considered to have no "conscience". Because, there are some people who take advantage behind post-disaster conditions (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007). Some main points related to shock doctrine are expansion of capitalism in neoliberalist, emergence of disaster capitalism and finally failure of free markets

and neoliberalism. Capitalism is presumed (Mark, 2009) as corporate greed for maximizing profits through seizure of assets and market utilization of workers and consumer in free market area. It supports neoliberalism movement, which is economic theory needed about the granting of freedom gained by individuals and entrepreneurial skills in relations to those related to free trade (David, 2005).

Neoliberalisation has base target as followed deregulation, privatization, and spending public (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007). Those three goals are very affected

to control of state by owners of capital. Poor people who do not have ownership rights will face the ruling elite corporation. A monetarist economist and Nobel prize winner in economics, Milton Friedman, is a person who always thinks that by campaigning ideas he has about capitalism system and the government is not allowed to take care of individuals in it as well as economics. Friedman also believes that crisis is a right condition in increasing new ways to politic and economic aspects where government must release interference in the economic field. Market must be free without government's interference. Because, it only causes inefficiencies not only in value but also economic process that cannot develop in a sustainable manner. Further, Friedman also said economy never happened without composing an unsettling system, whether it is a natural crisis created something similar. The effect, capitalism even unleashes the opportunistic side of humanity through the exploitation of profits by the ruling elite against disadvantaged people (Robert, 2012).

How the shock doctrine theory worked? It began with education. Followers of free markets theory were Friedman students (Chicago

Boys) from University of Chicago. Considering that Friedman was also a professor at the University of Chicago, a place where he developed many free market theories. The origin of 'disaster capitalism' in America emerged in the 1970s with Chile as the first country to implement an economic 'shock doctrine'. For more than 3 decades, Friedman and his followers had perfected this strategy: waited for a major crisis, then sold pieces of the state to private players while citizens stagger from surprise, then quickly made permanent 'reforms'. These were the point where the two types of shock become closely related. First, surprise for the country, which would confuse the population into a situation where it was unable to prevent change. Economic reforms such as cutting government spending and selling public goods were put in place immediately. Second, torture. Population segments that were not in accordance with the new order of individualistic free market capitalism, will disappear, be tortured by the Pinochet regime. Augusto Pinochet is the president ad dictator of Chile. He served as the 29th president of Chile in 1974-1990. During his reign, he was charged with committing human rights violations by killing 3197

and torturing around 35000 people. He still served as Chile's military commander until 1998 and died in 2006 without being tried on charges. (Utomo, n.d.).

Capitalism and neoliberalism which hitched a ride on shock therapy to progress, eventually led to a humanitarian disaster. That means, those two principles play an important role in conducting shock therapy, yet the facts inappropriate which had intended to advance the world instead destroy it. In thesis (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007) shock doctrine is way how a country firstly shocked by wars, terror attacks, indignity, and natural disaster; secondly by corporates and politicians that exploits fear and disorientation from the first shock to reap economic benefits; and thirdly by polices and interrogators if there is rejection of second shock. In other word, shock doctrine is a theory aims to practice those principles of a free market economy whose policy implementation must occur immediately after national shock therapy, one of which is the existence of disaster capitalism.

Sri Lanka, for instance where industry changes through foreign investment and privatization were stronger when there were

projects to improve tsunami affected areas. Foreign companies in charge of tourism, development and privatization of country's electricity and water companies control country's economic sector. According to Sri Lankan humanitarian activist, this is a matter of "second tsunami crisis" due to the dominance of beaches and other marine wealth by foreign companies that have support from Sri Lankan military (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007). This is called as disaster capitalism, namely privatization and securitization of interests in operating shock doctrine and taking advantage of therapy (Mark, 2009).

Disaster capitalism that was originally presumed to be able to cause new problems for countries affected by disasters because of its base is based on foreign debt. Even though the country experienced a very destructive disaster, as a 'savior', IMF and World Bank provided emergency financial assistance. Emergency Aid in this context is not in the form of grants, but in debt. World Bank provides aids accompanied by "terms and conditions apply", like privatization economic sector they presume it will be profitable and energy cuts

in health and education subsidies in assumptions imposed on state budget (APBN). If it does not have profitable wealth resources, the 'world savior' organization will not help a country. This principle is also often used to 'help' troubled countries. Just as some projects are accommodated by debt rather than restoring small people's economy like a fisherman, some development projects accommodated tend to prioritize the reconstruction of tourism and fisheries industry sector then, make farmers marginalized.

This is appropriate with economic capitalist system according to Milton Friedman on his book "*Capitalism and Freedom*", said :

*"The capitalist economic system is influenced by getting the maximum benefit with limited resources. This capitalist endeavor is supported by values of freedom to comply unlimited needs."*

The capitalism side is very visible from the egoism side, freely accumulating personal wealth, increasing and spending it (Baswir, 2009).

How about human and natural disaster occurred in Indonesia? In Indonesia, the emergence of capitalist system caused by the emergence of misused foreign

capital, namely by transfer of Indonesia's wealth by a nation other than Indonesia. Emerging capitalism is also caused existing social layers (Malaka, 2008). Despite differences from Europe, capitalism in Indonesia has always been based on capital ownership, it causes disparity in social classes. At the beginning of its independence, Indonesia's economic system was not as different as in colonial times. Capitalist system applied often experiences irregularities and changes at time. Thus, Indonesian's economic system was bad and apprehensive. Plus, President Soekarno had not been able to implement an advance economic system for Indonesia at that time.

Shock doctrine therapy happened since 1965 for declaring neoliberalism flag in Indonesia (Hatley, 2012). When New Order began (1965), the first shock was waged through a military coup against Soekarno government with various mass killings. In this case, the government was supported by the Berkeley Mafia and loan recovery funds from IGGI (Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia) to overcome this problem. During New Order (1998), President Soeharto replaced economic system in Indonesia by

bringing up and improving capitalist system arbitrarily, by deregulation, privatization and elimination of social security promoted in the name of Reformation. Reformation, which is 'said' was an alternative way for New Order, had actually become a penetration and expansion and economic interests both from within and outside Indonesia. Not only that, Soeharto's era government also paid attention to social hierarchy and political power (Baswir, 2009). In New Order era, wealthy was not used well, as disregard of people's aspirations by authorities in social, political, or economic fields. General Soeharto was a figure of president with power like a king with his dictatorial system for about 1/3 century. The differences in beliefs and opinions with system established by him, it would be removed target, even though he was a friend.

According to Klein, the driving issue that created the rift of differing perceptions is the advent of neoliberal capitalism, specifically the continuously deregulated one within an international anarchic system (Rahmani, 2018). It is as Klein said in her book that she wrote about shock and how countries are shocked by wars, terror attacks, coups d'état and natural disasters.

Then, they are shocked again by corporations and politicians who exploit the fear and disorientation of the first shock to push through economic shock therapy. Those who dare to resist this shock politics, if it is necessary will be shocked for a third time by police and prison interrogators (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine : The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007).

The climax occurred in 2004 after tsunami surged Aceh, private sectors controlled devastated development region. Every capitalist really likes areas devastated by disasters. At that time, there were no more trees and buildings that stood tall in Aceh. Every capitalist's perspective, empty land is a beauty (Blank is beautiful). It is considered more efficient in construction for new business. It is obvious that fundamentalist form of capitalism always requires disaster to progress (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007). The writer of this research describes about disaster capitalism existence gives 'shock doctrine' effect to Indonesian people, especially Aceh, after tsunami 2005 titled "***Shock Doctrine' in Indonesia in 2005: Disaster Capitalism in Aceh Post-Tsunami***".

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses descriptive analyses method and the writer tries to describe about shock doctrine phenomenon ever been written by an activist, Naomi Klein. The case study used by the writer is to describe a similar phenomenon existed in Indonesia, namely disaster capitalism existed in Aceh post-tsunami (2005).

Data collection techniques used is library research through various information sources, such as books, journals, articles, and relevant news collections. Data collection is analyzed using a historical social approach, where it is focused in 2004 tsunami happened and post-tsunami 2005 in Aceh.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review found by writer related with title of this research. First, thesis by Risky Novialdi (Novialdi, 2016), a Magister International Relations student in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta titled *Tsunami Disasters Effect on Increasing Soft Power Diplomacy for Aceh Provincial Government in 2004-2015*. This thesis explains tsunami and earthquake disasters phenomenon in Aceh, includes all “blessings” that were brought. Tsunami disaster has

led Aceh to become a better province in regional governance and also improved its foundation for foreign relations. Through this responsive governance and infrastructure disaster made Aceh be ‘expert’ in disaster management. This ‘expert’ could be shared to all other regions at local and international level. So, finally it can increase soft power diplomacy for Aceh government in establishing cooperation with outside parties.

Second, journal written by Ratih Herningtyan and Surwandono from International Relations major, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta titled “*Natural Disaster Diplomacy As Suggestion to Increase International Cooperation*” (Surwandono, 2014). This thesis analyses how disaster issues in Indonesia can be modified into social capital to solve social, political, and socio-cultural problems in disaster prone areas. One of them is disaster that struck Aceh (2004). The result is Indonesia’s disaster management gained worldwide recognition and increased Indonesia’s competitiveness against other countries. It becomes source of Indonesian soft power and used as strategy to build international collaboration and cooperation.

Of both literature reviews show the differences of research title raised by this writer. Both literature reviews used natural disaster in Aceh (2004) as study case and described disaster diplomacy influence at that time. However, the writer of this research more describing the condition after tsunami disaster in Aceh (2005). The result found is there is a 'blessing' obtained by a handful of certain parties who took advantage of post-disaster condition by 'utilizing' situation behind natural disaster, namely tsunami in Aceh (2004).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A disaster, both natural disasters, such as conflict and economic crisis, is a new economic event that can bring profits to increase dramatically. The disaster has become a foundation to build a capitalism or neoliberalism economic in area where disasters occur. Disaster capitalism becomes a new economy. Disasters can take many forms, (i.g earthquakes tsunamis).

On December 26, 2004 was something that could never be forgotten for Asian country, because earthquake with approximately strength 9,3 SR hit Indonesia, precisely in western region of northern Sumatera. Tsunami was

the biggest disaster occurred and devastated Aceh region, especially Banda Aceh and Meulaboh, and caused damage to a number of things that were fairly severe. The point was located in the waters of Indian Ocean (255 Km) in the city of Banda Aceh with magnitude 9,2 at the depth of earthquake center 30 Km and wave height reaches 10-12 meters (Mohd. Robi Amri, 2015).

Tsunami happened had destroyed all beach communities in India Ocean area, such as some regions in ASEAN. There are some different survey and data reports about number of died and disappeared victims. According to data in BNPN output book, particularly tsunami in Aceh, number of all victims were approximately about 283.100. Meanwhile, death toll in Indonesia was 108.100 and 127.700 people lost (Hirokazu Iemura, 2006). In another report from World Health Organization (WHO) shows about 500.000 people got injured ([www.who.int](http://www.who.int)).

Among other developing countries, Aceh is categorized as having the most damage and losses from earthquake followed by tsunami. A comprehensive analyses conducted by Indonesian Government team and several



international experts noted that damage and losses caused by tsunami disaster reached Rp 29,2 trillion or around US\$ 3,2 billion. In social sector, damage and losses included housings, educations, health services, and prayer places. For environment around the coast, destruction of various kinds of natural and artificial ecosystems are also a big impact due to the disaster. However, damage most concentrated in tsunami occurred was housing and private sector buildings (<http://siteresources.worldbank.org>).

The widespread coverage of natural disasters has brought aid from various directions, both private and personal, both NGO and central government. However, the national military and/or foreign military which needed to access the affected communities experience obstacles in sending basic humanitarian assistance due to the large scale of damage. Things must be focused besides issues of coordination and ability to handle humanitarian emergence response are steps and efforts in channeling aid and development that are fairly close to complex power relations formed due to the national political situation and affected regions. Nevertheless, the facts is only a

fraction on systematic efforts that have been made in examining role of dynamics of political patterns that affect humanitarian aid and reconstruction in areas affected by disaster (Couldrey, 2005). Even supported by some kinds of meeting and public statements about interagency corporation, it is still hard to find dealt definition about right 'recovery'. It is proven when Aceh provided reference that when involvement of large number of external organizations was involved, the relief and reconstruction process was a problem.

Inside the book of Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, focuses to cynical and opportunistic behavior often participates in post-conflict and post-disaster reconstruction processes. In a strong argument, Klein assumes that government and corporate interests exploit conditions that create social trauma or doctrine of shock for large-scale local people to reap political and/or economic benefits, and trigger conflicts (Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, 2007). The reconstruction of natural disasters and these disasters have become a very big and profitable business. Some companies will succeed if there is a disaster (war or natural disaster, such as a tsunami),

and they will damage the disaster if it does not occur. As such, there are clearly a number of cases where aid provide for development and emergency relief has been manipulated to achieve goals, such as social, economic and political. This is what came to be called disaster capitalism.

The results of an assessment from one of the world rescue organizations, namely World Bank in the early months after tsunami in Aceh 2004 and early 2005, stated that there was a transfer of agricultural land in Aceh to cash crops, or what is known as the 'cash crop' of the World Bank assumes not too productive of food crop in improving the economy of the small people in Aceh who work as farmers. It is clear that the idea proposed is none other than to convert oil palm land into the export market. Likewise around the beginning of January (2005), the discussion was about the Artha Graha Group project to build city of Meulaboh designed like City of Shanghai. In this regard, the Artha Graha Group and its accomplices, namely its new conglomerate, a number of Indonesian National Army (TNI) officers and international banks were quick to see disaster in Aceh as a great opportunity in

developing business (Indonesia R. N., 2005). This is related with what George Aditjondro (GA) delivered. He is a social-political observer in an interview with Juliani Wahyana via Radio Netherlands Indonesia broadcast on February 2, 2005.

On the interview, GA said that when tsunami occurred, it was very obvious that there were military actions in emergency, rescue and recovery or rehabilitation processes. It means, in apart from mountainous areas, there was still a shootout between TNI and Nangroe Aceh Army, even Aceh region was seized by soldiers around 2/3 (two-thirds). Those armies were tasked with clearing for the largest military business in Indonesia, the Artha Graha Group under direction of Tommy Winata. GA added that tsunami occurred and additional troops sent to Aceh under protected or disguised as humanity project, as well as having a combat function against GAM and while opening the path termed that they did clearing for Artha Graha centered in Meulaboh area (Indonesia R. N., 2005). In one of media published by Artha Group, *Tiras* magazine, illustrates the reach of area towards some of their very broad posts. Meanwhile, followers of the Artha Graha company that contribute

to the recovery of Aceh region is a phase towards construction. Artha Graha Group is a company which distributed the most aid in Aceh. There is also a group of Chinese businessmen and military businesses who are 'participating' in various businesses in Southeast Asia. As well as Media Group supervised by a businessman from Aceh and also a military child, Surya Paloh (Indonesia R. N., 2005). It can be said that those company groups are kind of indigenous bureaucrat capitalist group that used to be a supplier of funds for Golkar or even still going, they are Kalla and Bukaka Group owned by Jusuf Kalla (Indonesia R. N., 2005). The last is Bakrie Group, that still so mastered oil palm plantations on island of Sumatera through PT. Bakrie Sumatera Plantation. There are allegations that they want to expand control of oil palm commodities to Aceh (Indonesia R. N., 2005). Eventually, a disaster that should be completed well, instead create new disaster, especially for Aceh people that exactly got disoriented when policies made unilaterally.

In Indonesia, 2005-2009, around 20-50 million lands hectares owned by poor people were privatized by corporate. More than 100 billion dollar made for

acquisition of farmland covering  $\pm 50$  million hectares. The real fact was the palm oil industry, it was obvious how country did land re-organization to 'clean' capital flow in new peasant order. Worse, the land was not cultivated directly, but rather used as land stock giant companies. The Indonesian Palm Oil Commission stated that around 3,3 million hectares of untreated land had been accumulated by company. Sadly, in Indonesia itself was allowed to own more than 100,000 hectares in Indonesia and there were no controls or restrictions on establishment of new companies to obtain additional land. The land tenure system that did not take sides at all to people started from New Order. It was forcing Indonesian people to be graceful and emergence of agrarian problems had been inherited by New Order. The applicable policies need to be allocated to the businessmen at that time (Agung, 2012). Those who owned more capital had the right to control agricultural land. Meanwhile, for poor people, even though in own town, forced to be marginalized.

The permanent problem of inequality and economic poverty in Indonesia as described above is inseparable from hegemony

of neoliberalism. The monetary crisis that occurred in 1997/1998, neoliberal agendas began to massively enter Indonesia. This can be seen from various memorandums of understanding signed by government and IMF (International Monetary Fund). These economic agendas switched oversight, namely by World Bank, ADB and USAID after the end of IMF involvement (2006) (Baswir, 2009).

## CONCLUSION

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that at one point of neoliberalism is capable to provide progress to human being. However, in other side, as a result of human greed, this progress is only enjoyed by few parties, especially the elite owners of capital. A quote from Peter Boettke, that there are no unintended consequences; bad things happen because bad people want it (Looney, 2012). Capitalism that produces its own scope and thinks that 'it is also like people's scope'. Devoid think how fate that victims will face, capitalism enters and develops behind the word 'condolences' for a disaster.

The fact that it does sound sad and adorable. However, it does not necessarily make social movements put an end to such conscience. In

the end, the thing that can bring welfare of country is the strength from within country itself, namely by uniting all strengths and solidarity of people in it. When people are trapped in insistence of capitalism and state regulations that govern it, while people begin to be marginalized and accumulation of capital incessantly moves towards owners of capital, and state's presence as an investment interest and not for welfare of people. Then, unite and fight are ways that must be brave.

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# Climate Change and International Conflict: How Climate Change's Impact on the Nile Affects Egypt-Ethiopia Conflict

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## **Abstract**

*This article aims to explain the influence of climate change on the international conflict between Egypt and Ethiopia. The climate change phenomenon was already felt in various parts of the world, but its impact will be more significant if it hits hotspot areas such as the Nile. Therefore, the author will first describe a literature review of relations between climate change and international conflict. Second, the article will explain how the climate change phenomenon in the Nile is resulting in some security risks, especially toward Egypt. This research concludes that the climate change phenomenon in the Nile can exacerbate the conflict escalation between Egypt and Ethiopia and security threats in Egyptian water, food, and the economy due to climate change. However, many who doubt the possibility of armed conflict, Nile's condition as one of the hotspots of climate change and the absence of comprehensive international river management make all options still counted and must be undertaken cautiously.*

**Keywords:** *climate change, international conflict, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nile*

## **Abstrak**

*Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memahami dan menjelaskan pengaruh perubahan iklim terhadap konflik internasional yang terjadi antara Mesir dan Ethiopia. Fenomena perubahan iklim sudah dapat dirasakan di berbagai belahan dunia namun dampaknya akan semakin signifikan apabila melanda daerah-daerah hotspot seperti kawasan Nil. Oleh karena itu, pertama, penulis akan memaparkan tinjauan literatur mengenai hubungan antara perubahan iklim*

*dengan konflik internasional. Kedua, artikel ini akan menjelaskan bagaimana perubahan iklim di Sungai Nil menghadirkan berbagai bentuk ancaman keamanan khususnya terhadap Mesir. Penulis kemudian berargumen bahwa fenomena perubahan iklim di Sungai Nil dapat mendorong terjadinya eskalasi konflik antara Mesir dan Ethiopia seiring dengan keberadaan ancaman di sektor air, pangan dan ekonomi Mesir sebagai akibat dari perubahan iklim. Meskipun banyak pihak meragukan terjadinya perang, namun melihat realita yang ada di mana daerah merupakan salah satu hotspot perubahan iklim dan ditambah dengan ketiadaan manajemen sungai internasional yang komprehensif, maka segala kemungkinan yang ada pun masih dapat terjadi dan harus diperhatikan dengan seksama.*

**Kata Kunci:** perubahan iklim, konflik internasional, Mesir, Ethiopia, Nil

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## INTRODUCTION

Current trends in global climate change still seem to indicate distressing conditions. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2018) released a special report that estimates that global warming will reach 1.5°C in 2030-2052 if the trend continues at its current speed. However, it is predicted that it will not reach 2°C soon. Global warming at 1.5°C is still considered significant damage to natural and human systems than current conditions. United Nations Climate Change Secretariat (2019) explains that climate change will escalate climate risks and hazards, especially extreme weather, flooding, changes in precipitation rate, drought, increasing temperatures,

and rising sea levels. The increasing frequency of climate hazards above has resulted in various vulnerabilities, especially in water, agriculture, and health sectors threatening the sustainability of future human socio-economic conditions.

In addition to threatening socio-economic conditions, climate change is also suspected of having relations with the security situation, especially in its capacity as a driving force of conflict. Although it is not a direct causal factor, climate change can still affect security conditions in various ways, such as influencing resource availability, affecting how humans access these resources, regulating population movements, changing economic conditions and

determining power relations (Levine et al., 2014) the goal of so many concerned about crises, poverty, climate change and conflict, is often presented as a technical challenge – that is, technical interventions, ranging from stronger schools and higher dams to more irrigation and drought-resistant seeds, are often presented as the ‘solution’ to the resilience ‘problem’. The increasing consensus that climate change is a threat to the development of poorer nations and a cause of humanitarian crises has ensured that climate change concerns are at the centre of recent discussions on resilience. This has also contributed to the belief that supporting resilience requires a broad, multi-disciplinary approach, and that resilience may even provide a conceptual umbrella under which experts from different disciplines can find a common language (e.g. Davies et al., 2013). The whole situation can trigger the acceleration of tension, riots, and conflicts at local, national, or even international levels.

One of the regions affected famously by climate change is the Nile in Africa. The Nile is a vital river for countries located along the basins, especially for downstream areas such as Egypt, where 97 percent of its national water needs

come from the Nile (Newman, 2019). Climate change is predicted to cause Nile’s water flow patterns challenging to predict, and even in the future, it can reduce the river’s capacity by as much as 25 percent (Schlanger, 2019).

The geographical position of the Nile as an international river potentially brings up potential dimensions of conflict between countries amid the threatened capacity of the river due to climate change effects. Indeed, international disputes related to the Nile’s management have long occurred before the river is affected by current climate change. However, the effects of climate change on the Nile must also be considered a factor in the regional security constellation between Nile basin countries. This paper will focus on a research question about how climate change factors affect international conflict circumstances among the Nile basin countries? To answer this question, the author will limit the research’s focus on the only conflict between Egypt and Ethiopia without marginalizing the potential for broader conflict outside the two countries. The author’s initial statement affirmed the impact of climate change on the Nile ecosystem in one way or another had



influenced international conflicts circumstance, especially between Egypt and Ethiopia.

### LITERATURE REVIEW: CLIMATE CHANGE AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Initially, the International Relations (IR) study looks at the environment only as one of the components that constitute the national power. However, along with the increasing environmental degradation due to climate change, IR scholars began to expand the studies' scope on environmental issues, including in security studies. Homer-Dixon (in Vogler, 2014) states the link between environment (climate change) and conflict (security) issues is mainly caused by the expansion and deepening of traditional security concepts that have begun to accommodate human-centered security rather than merely ends at traditional military-oriented security.

Tyler H. Lippert states in his dissertation *NATO, Climate Change, and International Security* that one of the critical aspects of climate security is the cross-border and global dimensions of climate change threats. This argument is based on the "global" nature of the climate system. The socio-environmental

impacts of climate change in one region can lead to the cross-border consequences endured by other parts elsewhere (Lippert, 2016) I apply the International Risk Governance Council's (IRGC).

The "international" nature of climate change's security impacts is also featured in Thomas H. Karas's writing *Global Climate Change and International Security*. He explains the effects of environmental degradation from climate change are closely related to states' ability and intention to protect themselves from threats coming from abroad. This attitude of "self-defense" can lead to conflict or even escalate to armed hostilities and war. He also points out that increasingly intense competition for natural resources affected by climate change effects could exacerbate existing conflicts or even start new ones (Karas, 2003) bringing together a variety of external experts with Sandia personnel to discuss "The Implications of Global Climate Change for International Security." Whatever the future of the current global warming trend, paleoclimatic history shows that climate change happens, sometimes abruptly. These changes can severely impact human water supplies, agriculture, migration patterns, infrastructure, financial flows,

disease prevalence, and economic activity. Those impacts, in turn, can lead to national or international security problems stemming from aggravation of internal conflicts, increased poverty and inequality, exacerbation of existing international conflicts, diversion of national and international resources from international security programs (military or non-military).

The reality of modern international security structure influenced by climate change was also noted in *The Warming War: How Climate Change is Creating Threats to International Peace and Security* by Kirsten Davies and Thomas Riddell. They introduced the term "Warming War" as the word they used to describe the reality in which the effects of climate change have endangered global security stability. They explain that climate change can directly or indirectly impact the security vulnerability, especially in developing countries and Small Island Developing States (SIDS) (Davies & Riddell, 2017).

After understanding the impact of climate change can potentially cause cross-border/international conflict, what form of security threats that the impact of climate change generates? A report from the High Representative and the

European Commission to the European Council *Climate Change and International Security* explained at least seven potential threats presented by the impacts of climate change:

“(1) conflict over resources, (2) economic damage and risk to coastal cities and critical infrastructure, (3) loss of territory and border dispute, (4) environmentally-induced migration, (5) situations of fragility and radicalization, (6) tension over energy supply and (7) pressure on international governance” (Council of the European Union & European Commission, 2008).

The report also emphasized the primary role of climate change as an agent of “threat multiplier” in which climate change gives a more indirect causal dimension to security threats (Council of the European Union & European Commission, 2008). This argument focused on the role of climate change, which is preferred to be seen as encouraging the acceleration of pre-existing instability. Furthermore, the threats posed by climate change are humanitarian (human security) aspects and inter-state political and military security risks.

Besides, an article wrote by Jurgen Scheffran on *Climate Change and Security* also describes four-dimensional factors of security threats arisen from the impacts of climate change; (1) degradation of water sources, (2) food insecurity, (3) natural disasters, and (4) environmental migration (Scheffran, 2008). In addition to emphasizing the potential of climate change as a “threat multiplier of instability,” this article also includes a historical explanation of the relations between climate change (or temperature) and conflict. According to this paper, temperature changes are always followed by decreasing agricultural production and intensifying warfare’s frequency resulting in the collapse of various forms of ancient civilization and modern political revolutions (Scheffran, 2008).

Based on this literature review, several propositions regarding relations are between climate change impacts on international conflict. First, these propositions are the global nature of the impacts of climate change that has resulted in cross-border/international dimensions of conflict and the accompanying security instability. Therefore, climate change impacts can lead to tensions and conflicts between countries. Second, the

effect of climate change does not directly result in security disturbances but instead must be translated into a series of threats, which generally include; (1) natural resources, (2) agriculture, (3) natural disasters, (4) migration flows and population movements, and (5) territorial existence. Third, the impact of climate change can be a threat multiplier agent that will encourage the escalation of potential vulnerabilities and pre-existing conflicts.

## DISCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS

### Climate Change in the Nile

A report in 2007 stated that many rivers and lakes in Africa are hotspots of climate change, where these water sources are particularly vulnerable to the possible impacts caused by changing climate patterns (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). Due to the Nile’s geographical location and crucial role for the surrounding population, climate change generates more impact on the river. Indicators of climate change generally seen in the Nile case include temperature, precipitation, and evapotranspiration.

Current climate change trends have shown a significant

temperature rise in Egypt. The data show a  $0.5^{\circ}\text{C}$  increase in the average annual temperature per decade during 1983-2013. Moreover, the daily minimum temperature in Egypt has also continued to rise since 1960. Future trend predictions indicate a  $2\text{-}3^{\circ}\text{C}$  rise in mean annual temperature in 2050, with a drastic increase will hit during the summer and in the barren southern area (United States Agency for International Development, 2018). This trend also occurs in Ethiopia as a place where headwaters of the Nile (Nile Blue), Lake Tana, are located.

Furthermore, as happened in Egypt, the average temperature in Ethiopia (including Lake Tana) has also increased due to the climate change process. The report shows a  $0.1^{\circ}\text{C}$  increase in the minimum temperature per decade and a  $0.25\text{-}0.37$  in the maximum temperature per decade. The mean annual temperature across Ethiopia also experiences a rise of  $0.28^{\circ}\text{C}$  per decade (Zelege & Damtie, 2017) regression and wavelet analyses were used to investigate the trend, frequency and intra-annual variability of climate over the Abay (Blue Nile).

Another indicator of the climate change process is precipitation.

Current climate change trends have shown the decreasing precipitation rate has reached  $2.76$  mm per month since 1960 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018). Future projections even show Egypt in 2050 will experience a growing decrease in rainfall, with coastal areas predicted to decrease by 7% and the central to southern regions by 9% (World Bank, n.d.-a). The precipitation rate is also an essential factor in Ethiopia because the primary water source in Lake Tana comes from rain. The average annual rainfall in Lake Tana can reach  $1280$  mm (Abebe et al., 2017) regression and wavelet analyses were used to investigate the trend, frequency and intra-annual variability of climate over the Abay (Blue Nile). However, along with the growing process of climate change, the variability of the rain cycle in Lake Tana is challenging to predict due to El-Nino and La Nina's presence caused by the Pacific Ocean's warming temperatures.

The rising temperatures along the Nile River basin due to climate change have increased evaporation and evapotranspiration. The rising of surface temperature along the Nile has increased evapotranspiration, which is expected to reach 9% by 2050. Studies suggest an increase

in evapotranspiration by 4% could lead to an 8% potential reduction in Blue Nile's water flow and 11% at Lake Victoria (United Nations Environment Programme, 2013). Evapotranspiration will severely hit water supplies in Nile's huge headwaters, such as the African Great Lakes and Lake Tana and arid regions generally found in Egypt and Sudan.

The presence of various key indicators of climate change (temperature, precipitation, and evapotranspiration) is predicted to affect water availability in the Nile River. Statistical data predicts that there will be a significant decrease in annual water flow in the Blue Nile River after 2050. The decline is maximally predicted to reach -50% (United Nations Environment Programme, 2013). The reduced water flow in the Blue Nile will positively impact decreasing Nile River water's quantity in downstream areas such as Egypt and Sudan. In addition to reducing the amount of water, climate change can also increase interannual variability. Nile water flow will experience extreme fluctuations characterized by the growing number of "extreme years" in floods and prolonged drought (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018).

### **Security Threats of Climate Change in the Nile**

The increase in capacity reduction and inter-annual variability flow in the Nile because of the climate change process potentially creates various security threats, especially for downstream countries that have been very dependent on the river. Changing the flow pattern will significantly affect the emergence of Egypt's risks, which mainly includes water security, food availability, and national economic stability issues.

Rising temperatures and reduced rainfall in Egypt can increase the Egyptian population's water demand toward the Nile River. However, the river is already affected by climate change in which future projections show that there will be a significant decrease in its water capacity. The extended demand without an increase in supply will harm the water balance and endanger Egypt's water security. Damage to Egyptian water balance will significantly affect the agricultural sector, where it consumes at least 80% of the national freshwater resources (United States Agency for International Development, 2018).

Current Egypt's agricultural conditions also exacerbate the threat to water availability for the agriculture sector. The main crops,

such as cotton, wheat, rice, corn, and berseem, contribute 80% of the total land area and around 60% of the total water consumption in Egypt's agricultural sector. Rice plantation in Egypt alone already absorbs 15% of total water consumption in the agricultural sector (Zeidan, 2013). Given the diminishing availability of Nile water, water-hungry plants such as rice in the Egyptian population's cereal structure will threaten national food availability. Moreover, Egyptian food availability will also be significantly affected by the current traditional method in domestic agriculture.

The potential impact of climate change on the Nile will also affect the Egyptian economy's stability, which depends on agricultural production. The agriculture sector contributes 11.7% of GDP and absorbs 25.8% of the national workforce (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). In addition to reducing Nile water flow, climate change is also predicted to reduce the fertile land area in Egypt, which is indeed located in the basins and delta of the Nile. The reduced flow of the Nile and the depletion of fertile land will lead to a decline in agricultural yields that can hurt domestic economic conditions. Besides, the reduced availability of Nile water can affect the textile

industry's production, which generally requires an abundant water supply. The decline in the textile industry's production output due to water availability issues will significantly impact the Egyptian economy, where the industry contributes to a quarter of Egypt's non-oil and gas exports and absorbs a large amount of labor.

Vulnerability factors also exacerbate Egypt's security threats mentioned above; 1) increasing population and 2) extensive poverty. These two vulnerability factors are not only found in Egypt (internal vulnerability) but can also be found in Ethiopia (external vulnerability).

First, Egypt experienced a steady population growth of around 2% per year, which made Egypt's population growth in 1980-2008 reached 41%. The 2017 data stated that Egypt's population reached 97.55 million people and is also the country with the largest North Africa population (World Bank, n.d.-b). Ethiopia also showed steady growth, but even at a tremendous rate of 2.5%-3% per year. This substantial growth rate has made Ethiopia's population have surpassed Egypt since 2005, and in 2017, it reached 105 million people or the largest between Nile basin countries (World Bank, n.d.-b).

Second, Egypt's poverty rate is still tremendous which 2016 data indicated that there are still 27.8% of Egypt's population (or around 26.6 million people) living below the poverty line (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). This poverty issue also happens in Ethiopia. Although Ethiopia shows rapid economic growth (around 10%), this figure becomes difficult to translate when population growth increases significantly. Data from 2015 show 23.5% of the population below the national poverty line and 30.8% of the people below the global poverty standard (World Bank, n.d.-b). The presence of these two vulnerability factors will potentially increase the threat of climate change security in the Nile, where these two factors will require the availability and demand of large amounts of water in the form of irrigation and energy supply.

### **Climate Change as a “Threat Multiplier” of the Egypt-Ethiopia Conflict**

In the end, all the security threats derive from the impacts of climate change are translated under the role of climate change as a threat multiplier or as an agent of reinforcing/escalating existing security conflicts. In the Nile case, the actual conflict had long occurred

between basin countries related to river flow management. This conflict's historical origin originated from two international treaties, which became the fundamental basis of the Nile flow's current management, the 1929 Agreement and the 1959 Agreement.

The 1929 Agreement or officially known as the Exchange of Notes Regarding the Use of Waters of the Nile for Irrigation Purposes, was an agreement between Egypt and the United Kingdom (at that time represented its colonial state, Sudan) which gave Egypt and Sudan the right to receive 48 and 4 bcm from the flow of the Nile annually. Besides, this agreement also gave Egypt exclusive rights to oversee the Nile's flow upstream and to veto any construction projects along the Nile, threatening their interests (Zeidan, 2013). After Sudan gained its independence in 1956, the 1929 Agreement began to be reviewed. After various bargaining and negotiation processes, two countries approve the 1959 Agreement or “Agreement on Full Utilization of the Nile Waters between Egypt and Sudan.” This agreement determines that the annual quantity capacity of the Nile is set at 84 bcm in which all will be allocated to Egypt and Sudan as much as 55.8 and 18.5

bcm respectively, leaving only ten bcm for the potential of water lost through evaporation and other natural factors (Carles, 2006).

These two agreements ensure the dominance of downstream countries, especially Egypt, in maintaining its hydro-hegemony over the Nile River. The pattern of power relations between the Nile basin states was always regulated to benefit Egypt and harm the upstream countries' interests, especially in this case, Ethiopia. The source of Egyptian power in maintaining this "imbalance" of power relations comes from its structural capability, bargaining power, and ideology influence (Carles, 2006). As Ethiopia became increasingly concerned about the economic potential of the Nile (and followed by its growing economic capability), the country began to dare "to revise" Egypt's status quo in the Nile management. Ethiopia (with other upstream countries) started to emphasize their utility rights, ask for more equitable distribution and oppose Egypt's natural and historical claims to the Nile. The latest and "hardest" Ethiopian resistance is constructing the Great Renaissance Ethiopian Dam (GERD) project at 500km southwest of Addis Ababa and close to the Ethiopian-Sudan border.

Ethiopia's economic development ambitions are driven by the GERD project to meet domestic electricity needs while exporting more to neighboring countries. With GERD's existence, Ethiopia wants to become a significant electricity exporter, especially in the Horn of Africa. The GERD construction project officially began in 2011 and is planned to be the largest dam in Africa, with 1800m in length and 170m in height. Inside the dam, there will be a 150km<sup>2</sup> reservoir with 67 bcm water capacity. Two power stations will be installed on both sides of the river with electricity capacity reaching 6000 MW, or it can produce around 15000 GW per hour per year (Harb, 2019).

The ambition of Ethiopia's economic development through GERD is what has heightened tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt. Egypt is worried that the GERD project will threaten their historical rights and eventually lead to its survival affairs as Egypt relies heavily on the Nile flow. The main short-term problem lies in the time of the first reservoir filling, in which Egypt (and Sudan) will be very vulnerable to experiencing water shortages during this period. Initially, Ethiopia planned the time to be around three years, drastically



reducing the Nile water supply to Egypt. The Egyptian side sharply criticized this plan, and they countered with a new proposal citing minimum time to be around seven years. However, at the time of writing in 2019, there was still no clarity regarding the agreed time of first reservoir filling and the negotiation deadlock between the two parties (Shay, 2018).

Egypt is in the long-term worried about the decline in water capacity they receive from the Nile along with the construction of GERD. The decline potentially threatens Egypt's water security in which they describe as a matter of national security (Swain, 1997). Therefore, Egypt is trying hard to keep the GERD project from threatening the status quo they have enjoyed so far. To fulfill this goal, the first path taken is through diplomatic negotiations between Egypt and Ethiopia. However, talks seem to be still running in place or even deadlocked, along with the opinion incompatibility on underlying issues such as the appointment of independent consulting agency and other parties such as the World Bank (Shay, 2018). Both parties even blame each other for being the ones who slow down the negotiation process.

The deadlock of diplomatic negotiations can lead to escalating conflicts and more dangerous security tensions. It happens because the Nile water is a sensitive issue involving Egypt's national security problems. When viewed from the historical context, there has long been a bitter conflict between Egypt and Ethiopia concerning the Nile. These cold conflicts generally include official verbal expressions (both light and stiff), diplomatic-economic feuds, and even political-military hostilities (Carles, 2006). Although there are various forms of conflict, there have not been any small or large-scale military operations between the two.

However, the tension between the two can potentially escalate along with the Ethiopian insistence on GERD construction. Several recent military showcase actions from the Egyptian military, such as forming the new South Fleet in the Red Sea in 2017, reinforced their most sophisticated warships, "Gamal Abd al-Nasir" and "Ahmad Fadil". The Egyptian Navy Commander explained that this fleet is employed when "regional dynamics developments" leading to the threat of "Egypt's national security". This military showcase was even exploited as Egypt's basis for

bargaining so that Ethiopia would resume their negotiations (Lawson, 2017). Besides, Egypt also has closer cooperation with Ethiopia's neighboring rival countries such as Uganda, South Sudan, and Eritrea. Egypt is claimed to have helped these countries to launch armed conflict operations with Ethiopia (Eritrea) and Sudan (South Sudan), which supports Ethiopia (Lawson, 2017). Therefore, it can be observed here that the conflict over the management of Nile potentially grows towards an armed conflict that not only involves the two but also includes other regional players, which will automatically threaten regional security stability.

How does climate change play a role as a threat multiplier of existing conflict between Egypt and Ethiopia? The previous explanation has shown that climate change has brought rising temperatures, declining precipitation, and increasing evapotranspiration,

which led to decreasing water capacity and inter-annual variability in the Nile. The reduced water supply of the Nile will make Egypt enhance attention to efforts that can reduce their water supply from the Nile, with the GERD project stands as their present biggest threat. Egypt's focus will also develop massively as the population grows, and poverty rates are still high. The more considerable attention of Egypt can result in Egypt's earnest desire to maintain its water security even to the extent that many people fear the outbreak of the Water War. Although many people oppose this argument but seeing the reality that the Nile is one of the hotspots of climate change and coupled with the absence of comprehensive international water management, all possibilities are still counted and must be undertaken cautiously. The following concept map can help explain the various idea connections in this paper.



Diagram 1. Relations Between Climate Change and Security in Nile River

## CONCLUSION

One of the climate change hotspots is the Nile River and its surrounding region. Climate change in the Nile can be seen from the rise in temperature, a decrease in rainfall, and an increase in evapotranspiration. Coupled with vulnerability factors (population and poverty), the phenomenon of climate change can result in various forms of security threats that involve water security, food availability, and economic development. Therefore, the diminished water flow in the Nile as an impact of climate change will lead to growing Egypt's awareness of projects that can decrease their water supply from the Nile with the GERD remains as their current most significant risk. An enormous Egypt's attention can result in the country's earnest desire to maintain its water security, leading to the instability of security relations between Egypt and Ethiopia and even escalates to other regions.

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# The Impact of Electrical Power Interconnection Cooperation between West Kalimantan and Sarawak in Increasing Economic Growth Potential in West Kalimantan

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## **Abstract**

*Electric power is a critical energy source for human life to fulfill the needs of lighting and production processes involving electronic and industrial goods. Indonesia is the country with the largest population in the Southeast Asia region. Thus, electricity demand also increases. The development of uneven electricity infrastructure in Indonesia has made some regions experience limited electrical power. Frequent interruptions and sharing electric power, West Kalimantan is one of Indonesia's provinces with electricity problems since 2006. Almost every day, blackouts occur in several areas, including Pontianak City and surrounding areas. In dealing with this problem, the government's efforts are conducting power interconnection cooperation with Sarawak, Malaysia, geographically bordered directly with West Kalimantan through the ASEAN Power Grid program. In this study, the author will use a qualitative descriptive method by clearly describing the positive impact of the electric power interconnection between West Kalimantan and Sarawak in increasing economic growth potential in West Kalimantan.*

**Keywords:** *Electric Power Interconnection, ASEAN Power Grid, West Kalimantan, Sarawak, Economic Growth Potential, Paradiplomacy*

## **Abstrak**

*Tenaga listrik merupakan sumber energi penting bagi kehidupan manusia untuk memenuhi kebutuhan penerangan dan proses produksi yang menyangkut barang elektronik dan industri. Indonesia merupakan negara dengan jumlah*

*penduduk terbesar di kawasan Asia Tenggara. Dengan demikian, kebutuhan listrik juga meningkat. Perkembangan infrastruktur ketenagalistrikan yang tidak merata di Indonesia membuat beberapa daerah mengalami keterbatasan daya listrik. Sering terjadi gangguan dan pemadaman listrik, Kalimantan Barat merupakan salah satu provinsi di Indonesia yang mengalami gangguan listrik sejak tahun 2006. Hampir setiap hari terjadi pemadaman listrik di beberapa daerah, termasuk Kota Pontianak dan sekitarnya. Untuk mengatasi masalah tersebut, pemerintah berupaya melakukan kerja sama interkoneksi tenaga listrik dengan Sarawak, Malaysia yang secara geografis berbatasan langsung dengan Kalimantan Barat melalui program ASEAN Power Grid. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis akan menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan mendeskripsikan secara jelas dampak positif interkoneksi tenaga listrik antara Kalimantan Barat dan Sarawak dalam meningkatkan potensi pertumbuhan ekonomi di Kalimantan Barat.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Interkoneksi Tenaga Listrik, ASEAN Power Grid, Kalimantan Barat, Sarawak, Potensi Pertumbuhan Ekonomi, Paradiplomacy*

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## INTRODUCTION

West Kalimantan Province has a direct border with Malaysia, to be precise, Sarawak (East Malaysia). This condition makes West Kalimantan the only province in Indonesia with official access to enter and exit the border area. The land roads have been opened between the two countries as far as 400 km from Pontianak-Entikong-Kuching (Sarawak, East Malaysia) and can be reached approximately 6-8 hours of travel. The access is also marked by constructing the National Border Post (PLBN) in

Entikong, West Kalimantan (Kalbar, 2019).

From an economic point of view, West Kalimantan Province still has problems with inadequate infrastructure, lack of competent human resources, and minimal investment or investment from both domestic and foreign (Pontianak Post, 2018) due to the ineffective performance of local governments in overcoming these problems. The investment climate, which is still concentrated in big cities such as the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Sulawesi, has made West Kalimantan



far from the central government's attention (BPS, 2018).

In terms of economy and welfare on Kalimantan, West Kalimantan still lags behind other provinces, East Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, and South Kalimantan. The need for investment in improving the economy and welfare of the people in West Kalimantan Province is urgent. However, in attracting investors' interest, all government and society elements must cooperate in evaluating infrastructure, procedures, and permits that facilitate and support investors to create a conducive atmosphere (Bariyah, 2015).

West Kalimantan has quite a large land area, plus land conditions suitable for plantations, especially for oil palm. This condition supports the entry of oil palm investment. The sectors of interest to investors in West Kalimantan are the trade sector and the manufacturing sector (Yuliasih, 2019). With these conditions, it can be advantageous to advance West Kalimantan at the national and international levels. The West Kalimantan government is obliged to have preparations and strategies to establish better infrastructure, especially electricity infrastructure, a crucial economic

development element (Bariyah, 2015).

Electric power is a critical energy source for human life in lighting needs and production processes that involve electronic goods and industry. The benefits of electrical energy are enormous. However, the energy sources of electricity generation are minimal and non-renewable. Therefore, in preserving it, strategic steps are needed to meet the needs of electrical energy optimally and affordably (Anray, Tenaga Listrik Sebagai Sumbenting, 2018). Indonesia's limited electrical energy source has made energy security in Indonesia deteriorate in recent years. This issue is due to the inability to fulfill electricity needs, where the need for energy is increasing and is not balanced with the available energy. There are often temporary blackouts and sharing of electrical energy alternately by PT. PLN (Persero). Indonesia's dependence on petroleum as an energy source has resulted in many of Indonesia's regions that have not developed other energy sources. Meanwhile, for low-emission geothermal and solar energy sources, the costs are still high (Natali, 2017).

West Kalimantan Province still has problems with electricity infrastructure. Since 2006, blackouts have occurred in rotation in several areas such as Pontianak City and its surroundings to the Kapuas Hulu and Border areas. Even the blackout for the Sintang area can be from early morning until the next morning. PLN for the West Kalimantan Region deliberately reduces the use of diesel fuel, whose stock is running low so that the condition of the two power plants owned by PT PLN for the West Kalimantan Region cannot work optimally. Thus, this condition can make Pontianak City and its surroundings threatened with blackout or total blackout (Anray, <http://www.alpensteel.com/article/131-225-pemadaman-listrik/1338-masalah-kelistrikan-di-kalbar>, 2019).

Pontianak City is the highest electricity user in the West Kalimantan region with a capacity of 110 MW and a peak load of 115 MW because it is the center of the regional government, trade, and housing, where all economic centers are located in this city. All industrial, residential, and commercial areas where several feeders are fed will be blackouts in turns within 3 (three) days. The length of blackout time is during the day, starting

at 06:00 - 16:00 and 18: 00-22: 00 at night. This condition can be detrimental to small to medium-sized entrepreneurs who are highly dependent on electricity, such as internet cafes, printers, cakes, food, beverages, and large industrial factories to disrupt investment activities and the West's economy Kalimantan (Anray, <http://www.alpensteel.com/article/131-225-pemadaman-listrik/1338-masalah-kelistrikan-di-kalbar>, 2019).

In dealing with these problems, the efforts made by the central government in building electricity infrastructure in Indonesia, especially West Kalimantan Province, are by interconnecting electricity with Malaysia, to be precise, the State of Sarawak, which is directly adjacent to West Kalimantan through one of the energy programs in the region. ASEAN, namely the ASEAN Power Grid (APG), believes in the critical benefits of efficient, reliable, and resilient electricity infrastructure in stimulating regional economies and development. Thus, in meeting the increasing electricity demand, large investments in power generation capacity are urgently needed and recognize the potential benefits that can be obtained from the establishment of an integrated system through the APG program under

the ASEAN Vision 2020 adopted at the 2nd Informal ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur on December 2, 1997. Heads of ASEAN Power Utilities / Authorities (HAPUA) is a particular energy agency tasked with ensuring regional energy security by promoting efficient use and sharing resources (ACE, 2017).

The cooperation in the energy sector is also a form of ASEAN's awareness of Southeast Asia's economic conditions, which continue to develop, accompanied by the diversity of resources owned by member countries. Some ASEAN member countries are exporters and importers of energy, but some countries experience shortages in developing energy resources. This cooperation is an ASEAN effort in creating energy integration in ASEAN (ASEAN, Overview, 2014). Thus, the power interconnection cooperation between West Kalimantan and Sarawak is expected to run proportionately to benefit all parties, especially West Kalimantan, experiencing electrical problems. Another advantage of this cooperation is that it can positively impact the potential for economic growth in West Kalimantan Province so that problems, such as the lack of competent human resources and

investment from within the country or foreigners, can be overcome.

## THEORY FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In discussing the problems, the author will use a qualitative descriptive method by providing a clear picture of the impact of the interconnection of electricity between West Kalimantan and Sarawak in increasing the potential for economic growth in West Kalimantan by using secondary data such as books, documents, journals, laws, and internet sites. In analyzing the problem, the author will also take advantage of theoretical and conceptual foundations in directing the focus of research following the field's data and conditions.

### A. Paradiplomacy Concept

Paradiplomacy is the behavior and capacity of non-state actors in foreign relations and cooperation to achieve their specific interests. Diplomatic activities, which put full sovereignty to the central government in the formal constitutional element, have now shifted to the emergence of local or autonomous regional participation in international activities. For the first time, the term paradiplomacy was first introduced to an academic debate carried out

by Basque scientists, Panayotis, Soldatos in the 1980s as a merger of the term 'parallel diplomacy' to 'paradiplomacy,' which means 'the foreign policy of non-central,' according to Aldecoa, Keating, and Bayer. The paradiplomacy that Ivo Duchacek has put forward for this concept is 'micro-diplomacy' (Mukti, 2015).

This paradiplomacy concept also discusses how political politics links to international politics as one of the globalization actors. In his journal *Paradiplomacy*, Stefan Wolff tried to mediate the argument between realists and transformers. According to Wolff, paradiplomacy indicates that the state retains its full form of sovereignty. However, paradiplomacy is used as a mechanism for the state to prosper its people in utilizing power. Wolff considers that the emergence of international actors is not a threat to the state but a trend in which the state must start sharing its power with local actors. Of course, the state can obtain maximum benefits compared to conventional State-Centi diplomacy (Wolf, 2007).

The Paradiplomacy phenomenon initially occurred in Europe, but at this time, paradiplomacy has become commonplace in the life of transnational societies, including

in Indonesia. Many autonomous regions or known as Provincial / District / City governments are actively cooperating with other parties in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) or several other forms of international agreements. According to Mochtar Masoed, autonomous regions in the context of paradiplomacy exist in the intersection of domestic affairs and foreign affairs. The linkage of autonomous regions in international relations is their role as actors (Mukti, 2015).

Therefore, autonomous regions have an essential meaning in studying international relations and must be prioritized since autonomous regions can directly establish foreign relations with foreign parties, both government and non-government. In other words, autonomous regions can bypass through the central government (with the power-giving country's provisions). Not only sub-national entities, but these actors can also take the form of tribal groups, economic interest groups, or multinational companies. Paradiplomacy should understand the people so that foreign cooperation can focus on regional development in several sectors. Paradiplomacy is divided into three types (Santos, 2015):

1. Transborder paradiplomacy  
The diplomacy process by sub-state actors who have direct geographic borders
2. Transregional paradiplomacy  
The diplomatic process by sub-state actors from different countries, but one region
3. Global paradiplomacy  
The diplomatic process by sub-state actors in different regions

Of the three types of paradiplomacy, the interconnection cooperation between West Kalimantan and Sarawak's provinces is included in Transborder Paradiplomacy, where the diplomacy process can be carried out the two regions are geographically direct borders. With such conditions, of course, it can benefit one another.

Meanwhile, according to Lecour's view, paradiplomacy activities are a continuation of the history of integration in each country and can be categorized into 3 (three) (Lecours, 2008):

1. Paradiplomacy is an economic objective, such as expanding the market for developing investment to foreign countries and mutual investment. This relationship does not include the transnational interactions' political elements and is commonly done in the United States and Australia.
2. Paradiplomacy is for some cooperation or multi-purposes between economy, culture, education, health, technology, etc. The type of cooperation or multi-purposes is between economy, culture, education, health, technology, etc. This type refers to a decentralized international cooperation model. Various provinces in several countries such as Germany, Africa, Vietnam, and Poland apply this paradiplomacy.
3. Complex diplomacy in including political motives and a specific regional nationalist identity by conducting foreign cooperation with high enthusiasm to show a specific regional, national identity, and autonomous and different from some regions in their country, countries do Paradiplomacy activities include Belgian Flanders, Catalonia-Spain, Quebec-Canada, and the Basque Country.

Of the three groups above, the implementation of foreign cooperation by the local government or paradiplomacy in Indonesia can

be included in the second category where the local government visits foreign parties using an MoU or what is done by Kalimantan province and Sarawak.

## B. Economic Growth Theory

Economic growth is one indicator of successful development in a regional economy, determined by high growth, indicated by national output changes, using the Gross Regional Domestic Product (PDRB) region (Adisasmita, 2013). Economic growth can also be defined as the growth of people's economic activities that can increase goods and services or increase national income. Economic growth is a process of changing a country's economy on an ongoing basis towards better conditions over a certain period (Adisasmita, 2013).

A critical factor in encouraging the growth of a country's economy is adequate infrastructure development. Economic growth affects people's welfare. It can provide new job opportunities and reduce unemployment. The growth of a country's economy can simultaneously stimulate an acceleration so that development can occur evenly (Angelina, 2019).

According to Kuznets, economic growth is when a country's

capacity in the long-run increases in supplying its population's economic needs. The increase in capacity is due to technological, institutional, and ideological advances regarding the existing demand conditions (Ahmad Ma'aruf dan Latri Wihastuti, 2008).

Economic growth theory is classified into two: classical economic growth theory and modern economic growth theory. The classical economic growth theory is a theory coined by economists such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and W.A Lewis. In classical economic theory, analysis is based on the belief in the effectiveness of free-market mechanisms. Meanwhile, modern economic growth theory has essential characteristics that acknowledge the government's important role in dealing with the free market system's failure. This theory sees that government interference will make the free market system more effective (Quipper, 2019).

One of the modern economic growth theories is the Harrod-Domar theory of economic growth. Domar argues that this theory is a development theory from the short-run Keynes theory to a long-term macro theory, assuming investment expenditure does not affect

aggregate demand, but on aggregate supply experiences an influence on production capacity. In a broader view, the investment will increase capital stock to boost people's ability to produce output. The output is a potential that can be generated from the existing capital stock (Ahmad Ma'aruf dan Latri Wihastuti, 2008).

Economic growth is also influenced by natural resources, the number, and quality of population education, science and technology, social systems, and markets. The openness of a country's economy will have a positive impact on growth. The economy of a country integrated with the global economy has more opportunities to expand the market and increase competitiveness to achieve efficiency. Indonesia was an open economy during the New Order. The Indonesian economy was integrated with the world, so export and import activities were drivers of growth. International cooperation activities carried out by regional governments on the border integrated with other countries can also provide opportunities and opportunities to improve people's welfare. Fewer areas of power will facilitate appropriate and effective policies and decisions to increase GDP per capita (Ahmad Ma'aruf dan Latri Wihastuti, 2008).

In this research, the international cooperation between West Kalimantan and Sarawak in the development of electricity infrastructure is expected to positively impact both regions. The electricity export-import activities carried out are proof of infrastructure development and can improve the investment climate to boost the regional economy, especially for West Kalimantan Province.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

ASEAN believes that the primary function of electricity infrastructure is efficient, reliable, and resilient in stimulating regional economic development and improvement. Large investments in power generation capacity are required To meet the growing electricity demand. In recognizing the potential benefits that can be obtained from the establishment of an integrated system, ASEAN establishes electricity interconnection arrangements in the region through one of the programs under the ASEAN Center for Energy (ACE) called the ASEAN Power Grid (APG) under the ASEAN 2020 vision adopted at the 2nd ASEAN Informal Summit in Kuala Lumpur on December 15,

1997. Development of the APG was first carried out based on bilateral cross-border requirements, then expanded to a sub-regional basis, and finally to a total integrated regional system. It is expected to increase cross-border trade in electricity, which will provide benefits in meeting electricity demand and improving energy services in the region (ASEAN, 2019).

Heads of ASEAN Power Utilities / Authorities (HAPUA) is a power organization (Specialized Energy Body) recognized in the Southeast Asia region. HAPUA was founded in 1981. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in May 2004 by the Department of Electricity Services Brunei Darussalam, Electricité du Cambodge from Cambodia, PT PLN (Persero) Indonesia, Electricité du Laos from Laos, Tenaga Nasional Berhad Malaysia, Ministry of Electricity Myanmar, National Power Philippines Corporation, Singapore Power Limited Singapore, Thailand Power Generation Authority, and Vietnam Electricity. It aims to promote cooperation among its members to strengthen regional energy security through developing interconnections, increasing private sector participation, encouraging

equipment standardization, promoting joint project development, cooperation in human resources, research, development, and improving quality and reliability of power supply system (HAPUA, 2016)

APG is a project instructed by the Head of the Government / ASEAN member countries to achieve ASEAN economic integration, namely creating a regional economic area that is highly competitive in the fields of infrastructure development, energy cooperation, ICT, and SME development, at the 17th AME meeting in Bangkok on July 1997 which later issued the APAEC 1999 - 2004 document covering the implementation of the APG program. The energy ministers of each country signed an MoU in March 2007 to strengthen member countries' cooperation in developing and increasing energy availability in the region (Said, 2019).

This cooperation utilizes every primary source, a single-use electrical energy source such as coal, natural gas, and petroleum, to provide electrical energy based on a power plant construction project in predetermined cooperation. APG is also a collaboration that allows other countries with more



electrical energy sources to transfer their electricity to other countries. Through this APG interconnection project, the government seeks to improve electricity security in remote areas and Indonesia's border areas. Indonesia has ratified the APG MoU in Presidential Decree Number 77 of 2008 concerning the APG MoU Ratification (Said, 2019).

The ASEAN region has abundant energy resources with excellent hydropower potential. It provides an excellent opportunity to efficiently use available energy resources in the ASEAN region, reducing the need for and independence on imported fuels from other regions. An adequate and reliable electricity supply is essential for the economic development of ASEAN member countries. To continue to be reliable and meet the demand for electrical energy, investment capital to install additional generating capacity and transmission lines is needed. This condition shows that lowering the investment capital requirements is by connecting the power system through the ASEAN member countries (ASEAN, 2016).

APG cooperation by Indonesia and Malaysia includes 3 (three) projects: (ASEAN, 2016):

1. The Sarawak-West Kalimantan project

2. The Sumatra-Peninsular Malaysia Project

3. The Sabah-North Kalimantan project

Each of the two countries' leaders between Indonesia and Malaysia had a meeting and discussion before the interconnection. The Indonesian Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources and the Minister of KeTTHA Malaysia in Jakarta on June 26, 2015, agreed to form a technical committee to carry out the project. Sudirman and Panglima Maximus also signed the Joint of the Acceleration of The Implementation of Power Interconnection Projects between Indonesia and Malaysia during the Earth-Centered-Earth-Fixed (ECEFF) meeting on February 12, 2016, in Putrajaya (EDSM, 2016).

Of the three collaborations between Indonesia and Malaysia above, currently, the project between West Kalimantan and Sarawak is already operating. This development cooperation was endorsed by signing an agreement between PLN Planning Director Nasri Sebayang with SEB Chief of Executive Officer Mr. Torstein Dale Sjoweit in Jakarta in July 2011. Second Minister of Planning and Resources Management & Minister of Public Utilities State of Sarawak

The Honorable Datuk Amar Hj Awang Tengah Ali Hasan was the witness for the contract's signing to construct this interconnection network. The points of cooperation between the two power companies were listed in Term Sheets of West Kalimantan-Sarawak Power. The interconnection cooperation between the two regions was carried out by the two countries' national electricity companies. PT. PLN Persero (Perusahaan Listrik Negara) Pusat in Jakarta was the executive agency and PT. PLN for the West Kalimantan as the implementing agency in the field. Meanwhile, Malaysia was assisted by Sarawak Electricity Supply Co. Ltd. (SESCO) under the SEB (ASEAN, 2016).

This interconnection cooperation between West Kalimantan and Sarawak is a form of diplomacy or foreign cooperation called paradiplomacy. Paradiplomacy comes from the behavior and capacity in carrying out foreign cooperation by sub-state or non-state actors, towards their specific interests. In this case, Indonesia and Malaysia are not the main domestic actors, but the national electricity companies of the two countries, which are then delegated to regional branches as implementing agencies in the field, namely West Kalimantan

and Sarawak as outlined in the form of Term Sheets of West Kalimantan-Sarawak Power. The Indonesian government works with Malaysia to build an interconnection project for the West Kalimantan-Sarawak power grid through a 275 VK SUTET between GITET Bengkayang (PT.PLN Kalimantan Barat) and GITET Mambong (SEB Malaysia) as far as 122 km. 86 km of transmission networks are in West Kalimantan, and 35 km are in the Sarawak area, with 345 towers (Pangaribuan, 2016). Two hundred one towers were installed in Indonesia's transmission system (from GITET Bengkayang to the border). Meanwhile, 144 countries are located in the Sarawak region, Malaysia (from GITET Mambong to the border). Together, these transmission lines in the two countries form the first BIMP-Regional as EAGA's flagship project and the Trans Borneo power grid's first Leg (Pangaribuan, 2016).

The interconnection project between West Kalimantan and Sarawak was connected on January 20, 2016. SESCO would import power to PT. PLN Persero (State Electricity Company) West Kalimantan region of 50 megawatts (MW) in stages. During the first interconnection on January 20, 2016,

the connected energy was 20 MW. On May 9, 2016, it increased to 70 MW, then increased to 90 MW, and would increase to 230 MW during peak load times. This cooperation refers to the PEA Agreement, where PT PLN and SESCO agreed to do the export-import of electric power. SESCO's electricity supply would address the power shortage in the West Kalimantan region. Malaysia imported electricity to PLN West Kalimantan to overcome blackouts in the West Kalimantan region, especially in the Equatorial system, in the last two years before connecting this interconnection (Duta, 2016).

This electricity import also restored the West Kalimantan PLN Fuel Mix with savings of up to Rp. 3.5 billion per day. This cooperation re BPP costs from the previous Rp. 2,700 to Rp. 1,700 per kWh. The buying and selling price between PLN and SESCO has also been agreed to be Rp. 900 per kWh without any increase. Payment is made in the form of Malaysian Ringgit according to the agreement of both parties. It is more profitable when compared to using United States dollars. This cooperation is the first electricity cooperation for PT. PLN as well as for SESCO Malaysia. The term of

the interconnection cooperation between PLN and SESCO is divided into two cooperation facilities, namely (ESDM, 2016):

a. First phase (5 years):

In the first phase, PT PLN in the West Kalimantan region imported electricity from SESCO through the take and pay scheme, from 50 MW during Peak Load Time (LWBP) and 230 MW during Peak Load Time (WBP) and would increase incrementally and pay according to the amount of power imported.

b. Second phase (15 years):

In the second phase, both parties mutually exported and imported electric power according to the agreed capacity or in the take or pay scheme. In the second phase of this collaboration, PLN and SESCO would also mutually import and export electric power based on the two electric power systems' economics or economic exchange power transfers using the day-head agreement principle. This principle meant an agreement a day before the power transfer and depended on the two systems' operating conditions.

In obtaining an energy source, Sarawak produced it through a hydroelectric power plant (PLTA) from a large dam in Sarawak's Sabar area. The dam could produce around 6000 MW. With this electricity import, Indonesia would benefit greatly. Before its connection with the Sarawak network, West Kalimantan had only reached 150 MW with an electrification ratio of 57.54%, even though West Kalimantan's economy experienced development with the palm oil industry and also the smelter at that time (IESR, 2013).

With the interconnection cooperation carried out, the electricity condition in West Kalimantan Province has increased with an increase in the capacity of 400 MW so that the surplus is more than 100 MW. These conditions make electricity in West Kalimantan no longer occur in rotation, let alone threatened with the blackout. In the sale of electrical energy by PT PLN in the West Kalimantan region, several customers are social, household, business, industrial, factory, and multi-purpose. In 2016, the six customer groups saw a significant increase, especially in industrial and factory groups. With a surplus of energy in the West Kalimantan system, it provides opportunities

for investors who want to invest in West Kalimantan so that they require a large amount of electrical energy, such as the bauxite mining industry, which requires electricity as a continuity in the production process, so there is no need to build their power plants (BPS, 2015).

Masuknya para calon pelanggan baru tersebut, tentunya memberikan dampak bagi masyarakat sekitar dengan terbukanya lapangan pekerjaan baru sehingga dapat menurunkan angka pengangguran dan meningkatkan angka produksi barang dan jasa yang tentunya akan menambah pendapatan daerah dan meningkatkan potensi pertumbuhan ekonomi di Kalimantan Barat. Hal tersebut ditandai dengan meningkatnya laju pertumbuhan ekonomi di Kalbar di tahun 2016 sebesar 5,20%, dibandingkan tahun sebelumnya yang hanya 4,81% (Maskartini, 2017). Kota Pontianak merupakan ibukota provinsi yang menyumbangkan angka PDRB terbesar. PDRB Kalimantan Barat didukung oleh lapangan-lapangan usaha yang ada di Kalbar, seperti sektor lapangan usaha pertanian, kehutanan, dan perikanan. Ketiga sektor lapangan usaha tersebut tentunya sangat dipengaruhi oleh ketersediaan listrik yang tersedia di Kalimantan

Barat bagi para pengusaha industri tersebut (BPS, 2019).

## CONCLUSION

The West Kalimantan-Sarawak interconnection project aims to support investment in strategic transmission assets linking international boundaries to optimize the power grid by reducing the overall requirement for spare capacity, increasing system reliability, eliminating transmission bottlenecks, and transmitting less expensive power from another area, dealing with regional socio-economic and environmental improvement. Under this project, Sarawak exports additional electricity to West Kalimantan, which will generate additional revenue for Sarawak Energy Berhad (SEB). On the other hand, the power system improves the quality and reliability of the power supply. It helps to diversify the portfolio by stopping old, inefficient plant-based oil-based power in West Kalimantan, thereby reducing CO2 emissions on the Indonesian Island of Borneo. This project will support the potential development of noodles for the West Kalimantan region in the long term.

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# The Corona Case and the Increasing Cases of Racism and Xenophobia against Chinese Ethnic Groups in the World

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## **Abstract**

The development of international relations studies is marked by the increasingly complex global issues that occur in the life of the world community. At present, the research of international relations does not focus on the subject of war and peace. Still, it is developing on more substantial issues about human rights being manifested in daily life. The world community is confronted with the problem of racism related to the realization of human rights. A global phenomenon that has powerful historical roots and occurs in various fields of human life, starting from politics, economics, socio-culture, to sports. Unfortunately, acts of racial discrimination (racism) are increasingly developed by the existence of extremist groups who like violent behavior, physical and non-physical. The coronavirus that spreads in almost all countries in the world makes the number of racism and expressions of hatred towards Chinese people also jumps sharply. It is because the first case of the coronavirus occurred in Wuhan City, the capital of Hubei Province, China. The disease from this virus is then transmitted to people and spread almost everywhere in the world. As a result of the outbreak of this disease, the level of racism and expressions of hatred towards the Chinese people has increased dramatically, primarily through social media. The research method used was a qualitative method with a literature study used secondary data. The results of this study indicate significant increases in racism and xenophobic cases around the world during the Corona Virus.

Understanding of this research may contribute to the awareness of people around the world about racism and xenophobia.

**Keywords:** *Racism, Xenophobia, Ethnic, Chinese, Coronavirus*

### **Abstrak**

*Perkembangan studi hubungan internasional ditandai dengan semakin kompleksnya isu global yang terjadi dalam kehidupan masyarakat dunia. Saat ini, penelitian hubungan internasional tidak berfokus pada masalah perang dan perdamaian. Namun, hal itu berkembang pada isu-isu yang lebih substansial tentang hak asasi manusia yang dimanifestasikan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Masyarakat dunia dihadapkan pada masalah rasisme terkait dengan realisasi hak asasi manusia. Fenomena global yang memiliki akar sejarah yang kuat dan terjadi di berbagai bidang kehidupan manusia, mulai dari politik, ekonomi, sosial budaya, hingga olahraga. Sayangnya, tindakan diskriminasi rasial (rasisme) semakin berkembang dengan adanya kelompok ekstrimis yang menyukai perilaku kekerasan, fisik maupun non fisik. Virus corona yang menyebar hampir di seluruh negara di dunia membuat jumlah rasisme dan ungkapan kebencian terhadap masyarakat Tiongkok juga melonjak tajam. Pasalnya, kasus pertama virus corona terjadi di Kota Wuhan, ibu kota Provinsi Hubei, China. Penyakit dari virus ini kemudian ditularkan ke manusia dan menyebar hampir ke mana-mana di dunia. Akibat merebaknya penyakit ini, tingkat rasisme dan ekspresi kebencian terhadap masyarakat China meningkat drastis, terutama melalui media sosial. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode kualitatif dengan studi pustaka menggunakan data sekunder. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan peningkatan signifikan kasus rasisme dan xenofobia di seluruh dunia selama virus Corona. Pemahaman penelitian ini dapat berkontribusi pada kesadaran orang-orang di seluruh dunia tentang rasisme dan xenofobia.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Rasisme, Xenophobia, Etnis, Tionghoa, Coronavirus*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Coronavirus or 2019-nCoV has claimed hundreds of lives and tens

of thousands infected. This virus is straightforward to spread and first appeared in Wuhan, one of the cities

in China. Rumors about the source of the emergence of this virus range from food to poultry animals. It is because there is no clear information about the origin of the development of the virus (merdeka.com, 2020).

Wuhan is one of the largest cities in China and is a vital transportation area in central China, which is located about 700 miles (1100 km) south of Beijing ((HAN), 2020), about 500 miles west of Shanghai, and 600 miles north of Hong Kong. Wuhan airport has direct flights to major cities in Europe, six weekly flights to Paris, three times to London, and five times to Rome.

In December 2019, a group of cases of “pneumonia with no known cause” was associated with the Huanan seafood wholesale market. This market has thousands of stalls selling various animals, such as bats, fish, birds, chickens, guinea pigs, snakes, deer spots, and other wild animals. After the coronavirus causes the disease, suspicion also arises that it is sourced from animals.

Most coronaviruses circulate among animals. However, six species have evolved and are capable of infecting humans. They are, such as in Middle Eastern Respiratory Syndrome (MERS), Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), and four other coronaviruses causing

mild respiratory symptoms like a cold, from human to human (CDC, 2020). According to DR. Peter Daszak, the president of the EcoHealth Alliance, non-profit environmental health said that the coronavirus has similar genetic sequences to bat animals. According to the world health organization (WHO), the Covid-19 outbreak is a global pandemic. The WHO’s Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus predicts that cases of exposure to the coronavirus will still increase. “In the past few weeks, the number of cases outside China and other countries have tripled (Arnani, 2020).

Reporting from Worldometers, here are some of the countries and regions that have confirmed the Covid-19 case until Thursday (03/12/2020).

No.	State Name	Cases
1	China	80,790
2	Italy	12,462
3	Iran	9,000
4	South Korea	7,755
5	France	2,281
6	Spain	2,277
7	Germany	1,908
8	United State	1,289

No.	State Name	Cases
9	Diamond Princess Cruises	696
10	Switzerland	652
11	Japan	639
12	Norway	629
13	Denmark	514
14	Netherlands	503
15	Sweden	500
16	United Kingdom	456
17	Belgium	314
18	Qatar	262
19	Australia	246
20	Bahrain	195
21	Singapore	178
22	Malaysia	149

Generally, sentiment towards China, especially Wuhan people, are getting thicker as the development of such a hoax is intense. For example, religious sentiments call the Coronavirus outbreak deliberately spread by the Chinese regime to eradicate Muslims in Wuhan. Based on an explanation from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics who launched Wikipedia, the spread of Muslims in Wuhan is not too significant. The data describe that the majority of Wuhan citizens

are Animism. Muslims in Wuhan is only 1.6% of the 11 million of total citizens (tirto.id, 2020).

The wave of racism towards ethnic Chinese also spread internationally. For Example, a Chinese citizen who uploaded a photo of his parents in front of a car got racist comments. “Stay in China until the flu leaves. Thank you,” said a comment from one of the citizens. Meanwhile, several Vietnamese restaurants put “No Chinese” signs outside their restaurants (tirto.id, 2020).

Even in Japan, which is quite close to China, both geographically and racially, the hashtag # *ChineseDon't ComeToJapan* became a trending topic on Twitter. In the southeastern district of Paris, known as a destination for those who enjoy Asian cuisine, the business declined in Pascal Collier’s Vietnamese restaurant, a side effect of the Chinese corona fears that triggered panic. At the same time, it has created xenophobia (dislike or fear of people from other countries, or those considered foreign).

Some customers started asking staff on duty if they were Chinese, based on Collier’s story, whose father-in-law is Vietnamese and works by managing the kitchen and serving traditional dishes. “There is a barrier to psychosis that

is unfounded and unconsciously inherent among people around the Asian and Asian communities,” said the restaurant owner, and experienced a decrease in income of around 40% for the first few weeks of 2020 compared to the same period last year. Similar to the case of Chinese citizens, other Asian communities are the largest community in France. They consist of Cambodians and Laotians, and there exists one of the largest Vietnamese communities abroad - a relic of the former French citizens of Southeast Asia. Asians in France this week made the Twitter hashtag #Jenesuispasunvirus (“I’m not a virus”) to fight racial attitudes. Racist incidents, insults, and insults received support from school playgrounds to supermarkets. Based on the confession of Laetitia Chhiv, who is a member of the association for young people of Chinese descent.” We have a student from China in Strasbourg who was yelled at by a woman who told him not to touch the avocado he wanted to buy,” Chhiv was quoted as saying by Antara. “Racism against Asians spreads faster than the virus (tirto. id, 2020).

Therefore, it is fascinating to understand Racism and Xenophobia of the Chinese ethnic groups that are

overgrowing throughout the world during the Coronavirus outbreak.

## RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research was library research. The data obtained were written data from online and print media. All data collected were intended to get a picture of the community groups associated with racialism cases throughout the world. The researchers chose the case of countries that represent several continents because racism against Chinese is not only happening in Europe or America but also Asia.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Racism

Racism is often used loosely and without much consideration to describe the hatred and negative feelings of an ethnic group or “community” towards other groups, as well as the various actions that result from these attitudes. However, the anticipation of one group against another group is expressed with seriousness and brutality that goes far beyond group-centered prejudice and arrogance (Fredrickson, 2003).

Whereas racism, according to Kwame Anthony Appiah, is understood as the belief with inheritable characteristics possessed

by members of the human species, which enable people to distinguish them into a smaller racial group, such that all members of this race have specific characteristics. Traits and tendencies are similar, so they do not have it together with other members of the race.

Racism is an ideology that justifies the dominance of certain racial groups against other groups. Included in this sense is a feeling of excessive superiority towards certain social groups. Racial discrimination has three levels, such as individual, organizational, and structural. On the individual level, racial discrimination is in the form of racist attitudes and behavior. On the organizational level, racial discrimination is seen when policies, rules, and legislation only benefit certain groups. Structurally, racial discrimination can be traced when one social institution imposes restrictions and restrictions on other institutions (Suharto, 2001).

Racism is closely related to the dominance and subordination of one social group over another. The object of racism is also vulnerable to stereotypes, hatred, and violence (both physical and non-physical), which occur repeatedly. Even if negotiations emerge, minorities are still defeated.

Based on the above definitions, the researchers assume that the behavior of the differentiation of one group, leading to acts of violence can occur anywhere, including during coronavirus outbreak in the world. The presence of immigrant communities from China who are a minority is the object of strong racism targets.

### **Human Security**

Conceptually, there is some debate when discussing the concept of Human Security. However, in this paper, the researchers will present various conceptual views about human security, especially those that apply to European countries.

In Europe, human security is seen as based on human security itself in individuals and society, deciding as “freedom from belief” and “freedom from desire.” Human security threats are related to protection from genocide and slavery and natural disasters, storms or floods, to the most basic rights such as food, health, and housing. The application of the concept of human security was first proposed by the European Security Capability Study Group report in Barcelona. In human security, the welfare of citizens is essential. They can avoid various threats

and also multiple sources, even oppression from the representative state apparatus, disease epidemics, widespread crime, natural disasters, or accidents. (Anggoro, 2011).

In 1994, the UNDP (UN Development Program) declared the concept of Human Security, which included economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. In short, UNDP states, “first, safety from such chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. And, second, protection from the sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs or communities.” In general, the definition of Human Security, according to UNDP, includes “freedom from fear and freedom from want.” The UNDP idea thus directly links Human Security with Human Rights and humanitarian law.

Structurally, the UNDP views represent the European countries’ view because most of the influential countries in the region are members of UNDP with donor status, such as the United Kingdom, which contributed \$233 million, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden contributed more than \$100 million.

Likewise, with the European Union itself, which provided more than \$921 million (\$226 million came from the European Commission and the rest came from European Union member countries) (Paul Sciarone, 2011).

In a broader context, Europe also has a human rights protection process through a mechanism under the umbrella of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) whose membership includes the US and countries in Eastern Europe. In Latin America and Africa, more or less, the same agreements and mechanisms exist, but their effectiveness is still far below the performance and regional mechanisms found in Europe. According to David Beetham, what has been practiced in Europe is an example of the manifestation of cosmopolitan democracy that should be extended to other parts of the world (Beetham, 2007).

Some types of discrimination experienced by people of Chinese descent that we will bring to this journal include:

1. Economics such as the decline in income of Chinese restaurants due to excessive fear of the Coronavirus
2. Socio-culture such as harassment is targeted at bloody

Chinese communities due to extreme fear of the Coronavirus such as bullying in schools and isolation of people of Chinese descent

3. Bullying on Social Media as reported by the Daily Mail, a report from Light, an organization that used to measure the level of toxicity in cyberspace, shows that the expressions of hatred for Chinese people on Twitter have increased, This hate speech is included in the hashtags circulating like #Kungflu, #Chinesevirus, and #communistvirus.

Based on the above perspective, the researchers consider that racial discrimination in the world is part of violations of the international campaign on the protection of humanity, especially related to personal security and community security. In other words, the concept of human security is relevant to the needs of research on the spread of racism cases against ethnic Chinese due to the Coronavirus, mainly when human security is associated with human rights issues. In this case, the researchers want to build a framework for thinking that in the social world, everyone has the opportunity or ability and freedom

to live anywhere. Freedom here is in the sense of being free from fear, threats, and hatred.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The pandemic of coronavirus 2019-20 has succeeded in increasing prejudice, xenophobia, conversion, resistance, and racism towards Chinese people and people in East Asia and Southeast Asia, and appearances throughout the world.

Here are some cases of racism and xenophobia against ethnic Chinese races throughout the world.

### Australia

In Australia, quoted from the January 31, 2020 edition of SBSNews, there were reports about members of the Chinese-Australian and Asian-Australian community. They were targets of humiliation and racism, with many physical attacks and bullying on social media.

At a Woolworths supermarket in Port Hedland, Western Australia, a person reported an incident whereby a staff member removed and refused entry to customers who appeared to be of Asian descent, claiming it was to prevent the spread of the novel coronavirus. A witness to the incident made a complaint upheld by Woolworths. He confirmed that the staff member



had been wrong, apologized for the incident, and said the authorities were conducting a full investigation into the incident (News Y., 2020).

Besides suggestions on social media to cull the Chinese race and “burn down” China to stop the epidemic, there was another persecution on March 20, 2020. A student wearing a mask in Hobart, Tasmania, was told, “You’ve got the virus” and “go back to your country” before being punched, leaving him with a bruised eye and broken glasses. The reason for the attack was partly attributed to the cultural differences in wearing masks in Eastern and Western cultures. Chinese restaurants and establishments in Sydney and Melbourne have seen a dramatic drop in business, with trade declining by over 70%.

According to an online Ipsos MORI poll, 23% of Australian respondents would consider in the future, avoiding people of Chinese origin to protect themselves from coronavirus.

### **South Korea**

South Korean websites have been flooded with comments calling on the government to block or expel Chinese and racist remarks about Chinese eating habits and hygiene.

A popular Seoul seafood restaurant frequented by Chinese tourists posted a sign saying “No entry for Chinese” before taking it down Wednesday after an online backlash (NEWS, 2020).

More than 650,000 South Koreans have signed an online petition filed with the presidential Blue House, calling for a temporary ban on Chinese visitors. Some conservative opposition lawmakers publicly back these steps, and about 30 people rallied near the Blue House on Wednesday, demanding the government ban Chinese tourists immediately.

“Unconditional xenophobia against the Chinese is intensifying” in South Korea, the mass-circulation JoongAng Ilbo newspaper said in an editorial Thursday. “Infectious diseases are a matter of science, not an issue that can be resolved through an emotional outpouring.”

### **The United States**

After news broke that someone attending Arizona State University had the virus, Ari Deng, a Chinese American, said she sat down at a study table on the Tempe, Arizona, campus near five other students (NEWS, 2020).

Deng, who was the only Asian, said the other students began

whispering. “They got tense, and they quickly gathered their stuff and just left at the same time.”

In a new business class, a non-Asian student “said ‘Not to be racist, but there’s a lot of international students that live in my apartment complex. I try my best to keep my distance, but I think it’s a good precaution for all of us to wash our hands,’” Deng said.

“It stings, but I don’t let it take up room in my mind or weigh on my conscience,” she said.

Meanwhile, the University of California, Berkeley’s health services center, removed an Instagram post-Thursday that said, “fears about interacting with those who might be from Asia and guilt about these feelings” were a normal reaction to the coronavirus outbreak.

“No matter how much time we spend in this country, at times we are almost immediately viewed as a foreigner,” Gregg Orton, the national director of the National Council of Asian Pacific Americans, said. “It’s a pretty frustrating reality for many of us.”

### **Hong Kong**

The virus has deepened anti-Chinese sentiment in Hong Kong, where months of street protests

against Beijing’s influence have roiled the semi-autonomous Chinese city (NEWS, 2020).

Last week, Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam suspended ferry and high-speed train services to the mainland and reduced flights between Hong Kong and Chinese cities.

Tenno Ramen, a Japanese noodle restaurant in Hong Kong, was refusing to serve mainland customers.

“We want to live longer. We want to safeguard local customers. Please excuse us,” the restaurant said on Facebook.

### **Europe**

In France, they use the hashtag JeNeSuisPasUnVirus (I am not a virus) on social media. Racist sentiments against citizens of Chinese descent have been reported in several countries, including France and Canada.

In France, residents of Chinese descent were angry when the local newspaper *Le Courier Picard* posted headlines “Alerte Jaune” (Yellow Alert) and “Le péril Jaune?” (Yellow Danger?) with photos of Chinese women wearing protective masks. The newspaper hurriedly apologized, stating they did not intend to use “Asia’s bad stereotypes.”

Meanwhile, in Canada, some media reported racial sentiments towards the Chinese people there, especially in the city of Toronto. Twitter users from Toronto, Terry Chu, and several other mothers worried about the “inevitable wave of racism” as the coronavirus spreads. In York, a suburb of Toronto, several students’ parents circulated and signed an online petition asking students who had just returned from China in the last 17 days to be prohibited from going to school.

Racist sentiments against the Chinese also happened in Canada following the SARS outbreak in 2003. When panic broke out due to the plague, many Chinese businesses in Canada experienced a slump in income (Indonesia B. N., 2020).

### Japan

Many of the Japanese people who have popularized anti-Chinese hashtags on social media to call for a travel ban for Chinese visitors in the midst of them coming to Japan for virus-related treatments. One tweet said, “Please stop Chinese tourists immediately,” while speaking, “I am anxious that my child might catch the virus (NEWS, 2020).”

One candy shop in Hakone, a city which is also a hot spring

in western Tokyo, recently made headlines after posting a note saying, “The Chinese who entered the shop were requested.” On Wednesday, Menya Hareruya, a popular ramen chain in Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido, northern Japan, posted a sign that said: “There is no entry for Chinese tourists.”

### Southeast Asia

Last weekend, several hundred residents in the Indonesian tourist city of Bukittinggi marched to the Novotel Hotel, where some 170 Chinese tourists were staying, protesting their entrance into Indonesia (NEWS, 2020).

They blocked roads near the hotel to prevent the Chinese, who had arrived a day earlier, from getting out of the hotel. Local authorities decided to send the visitors back to China later in the day.

More than 400,000 Malaysians have signed an online petition calling for a ban on Chinese travelers and urging the government to “save our family and our children.”

A former police officer and town mayor said that he burned a Chinese flag on Friday in front of the National Press Club in Manila to protest the problems China has brought to the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries.

It includes the virus and Beijing's claim to disputed islands in the South China Sea.

The Philippine president's office stated, "Let us not engage in discriminatory behavior, nor act with any bias towards our fellowmen. The reality is everyone is susceptible to the virus."

## CONCLUSION

Covid-19 is a new virus becoming a pandemic today and comes from Wuhan, China. Some studies reveal that winged mammals, bats, are the cause of the origin of this virus. Until now, this virus has penetrated 200 countries, with 529,614 total cases. The existence of this virus invites the world to become sentimental towards the people of Asia, especially China. Chinese citizens experience various kinds of discrimination from multiple groups, as some examples presented above. Some countries do openly blacklist Chinese citizens not to visit their countries. It is a form of state responsibility to the community to avoid the spread of the Covid-19 virus, which is increasingly widespread. However, the researchers feel that this method is considered too excessive if they have to discriminate against one party.

The Chinese government's policy to lock all access out of this country is the right action. In addition to avoiding the spread of the virus that is increasingly widespread, the Chinese government also applies 14-day isolation for Chinese citizens and non-citizens who want to enter Chinese territory. Discrimination is not an appropriate action, but the Chinese government's policy can also be considered and applied globally to other countries.

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