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PREFACE

In order to contribute for social and political science's discipline, Published , the Sixth Volume of Andalas Journal of International Studies, No. 2, November 2017. In this Volume, AJIS published the result of the researcher's work in various Topics regarding to International Study Development both theoretically and practically.

Entering the sixth years of publication of this journal, we are grateful and appreciate all of the support and help given by our researcher to publish this journal. At this Number, there are five papers which have different Topics. First paper is about the writing of Inda Mustika Permata dan Bima Jon Nanda about Beauty Market and Violence to Woman in China. Next paper is about Global Political Economy written by Nur Arif Nugraha entitled with Controversies of The Implementation of Carbon Tax Policy for The Australian Economy; Harmful or Beneficial. Then Listia Khairunnisa writing about The Effectiveness of Development Aid of Peace Corps United State of America in Indonesia.

This Number also published the writing of Muhammad Agoes Afiya, Post Graduate Student from Jawaharlal Nehru University entitled Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum: Contribution in the Indo-Pacific Region. The last article was written by Shinta Puspitasari elaborated Arab Spring: A Case study of Egyptian Revolution 2011.

With the biggest gratitude, we would also like to thank the editorial board, who has worked hard in the preparation of these papers, so in the end it can come up to be a printed journal.

Editorial Board

Pasar Kecantikan dan Penindasan Wanita Di Cina

Inda Mustika Permata* dan Bima Jon Nanda**

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ABSTRACT

This study examines about China beauty market associated with beauty perception in their society. The beautiful perception in China differs from time to time, most contradictory to the Mao era; beautiful women are women who did not do self-beautification, while post-Mao era, in line with the opening of the economy, beautiful women associated with white skin, young, and tall. To meet these criteria, women do beauty treatments and buy cosmetics so the demand for cosmetics becomes high. This behavior encourages the rise of cosmetic trading activities in China, so China has become one of the largest beauty market on global scale continues to grow. The rapid growth of the market in China cannot be separated from the Chinese beauty perception of women. Such perception ultimately oppresses women through demands to fulfill the beauty perception that exists in society. Later, beauty perception actually provides a great benefit for beauty companies in China.

Keywords: Beauty, Market, Women, China, Oppression

¹ *Dosen pada program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Universitas Sriwijaya

² **Dosen pada Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Universitas Sriwijaya

Pendahuluan

Cantik merupakan suatu kata yang menggambarkan suatu keindahan. Biasanya cantik selalu dilekatkan dengan perempuan. Oleh sebab itu, tidak jarang perempuan selalu berupaya untuk dianggap cantik, seperti berpakaian dengan mengikuti mode-mode pakaian yang sedang trend, melakukan perawatan wajah dan tubuh, kemudian menggunakan *make-up* untuk memperindah penampilannya, serta yang lebih ekstrim yaitu melakukan operasi untuk mengubah bentuk pada bagian wajah atau tubuh yang dirasa perlu.

Cantik pun memiliki kriteria yang berbeda di setiap daerah dan dari waktu ke waktu. Hal ini seperti dulunya cantik dikaitkan dengan masalah fertilitas atau kemampuan reproduksi. Jadi makin subur wanita atau mampu melahirkan banyak anak maka orang memandangnya makin cantik. Sebab, perempuan dikaitkan dengan Dewi Kesuburan.³ Kemudian, dengan munculnya seorang model asal Inggris yang bernama Twiggy mulai menggeser persepsi tentang wanita yang cantik. Twiggy memiliki tubuh yang langsing dan tinggi semampai.

³ Ayu Ida Savitri, "Perubahan Makna Perempuan Cantik dalam Tiga Masa yang Berbeda Analisis Iklan "Dove" versi "What's The Real Beauty" Menggunakan Teori Konotasi Barthes dan Teori Metafora Odgen dan Richard."

⁴ Hingga saat ini masih banyak kita lihat bentuk tubuh langsing masih diidolakan oleh perempuan.

Di samping itu, tiap daerah juga memiliki versi cantik yang berbeda. Mengutip dari Ella dan Yepa, di Indonesia, perempuan suku dayak yang dianggap cantik adalah perempuan yang tidak hanya memiliki kulit yang bersih, namun juga dari jumlah anting yang tergantung di telinganya sehingga semakin banyak anting yang tergantung, maka semakin cantik perempuan tersebut. Selanjutnya, suku Karen yang berada di wilayah Chiang Mai, Thailand, juga memiliki konsep cantik yang berbeda. Suku ini memiliki persepsi bahwa perempuan yang cantik adalah perempuan yang memiliki leher yang panjang. Oleh sebab itu, para perempuan suku Karen ini mengalungkan leher mereka dengan tumpukan kawat yang terbuat dari kuningan. Tradisi ini mereka lakukan semenjak mereka masih gadis.⁵

⁴ Ella dan Yepa, "Cantik Itu Relatif," *Pikiran Rakyat*, 5 Desember 2004, diakses 29 Oktober 2017, <http://labbatusel.muhammadiyah.or.id/berita/pdf/1228/kecantikanperempuan.html>.

⁵ "Mengenal Suku Karen, Si "Leher Panjang" dari Thailand," *Kompas*, 1 Oktober 2016, diakses 27 Oktober 2017, <http://travel.kompas.com/read/2016/10/01/153200227/mengenal.suku.karen.si.leher.panjang.dari.thailand>.

Berbeda dengan Chiang Mai, Cina pun dulunya memiliki persepsi cantik yang unik. Kecantikan dilihat dari besar kecilnya kaki seorang perempuan. Semakin kecil kaki seorang perempuan, maka akan dianggap semakin cantik. Oleh sebab itu, banyak orang tua yang mengikat kuat kaki anak perempuannya atau memakaikan sepatu yang terbuat dari keramik agar kaki si anak tidak tumbuh membesar. Untungnya, persepsi ini sudah tidak digunakan lagi di Cina, sebab hal ini malah membuat perempuan tersebut tidak bisa berjalan sempurna karna bentuk dan ukuran kaki yang kecil. Dari paparan di atas memperlihatkan bahwa penilaian akan kecantikan perempuan akan berkaitan dengan kondisi lingkungan sosial maupun budaya dimana perempuan itu berada. Tulisan ini nantinya berupaya untuk menjelaskan tentang persepsi cantik di Cina yang berkembang adalah suatu bentuk opresi terhadap perempuan yang merupakan hasil dari konstruksi sosial yang dimanfaatkan oleh industri kecantikan dalam mencari keuntungan.

Industri Kecantikan Global dan Pasar Kecantikan Cina

Industri kecantikan adalah industri yang besar dan berkembang pesat. Majalah Forbes memperkirakan setidaknya 40

startups kecantikan dipelopori oleh wanita; menjadikan wanita tidak hanya pemakai utama, namun juga pelaku utama dari industri yang ditaksir bernilai 445 Milyar Dollar AS secara global pada tahun 2016.¹ Industri kecantikan diperkirakan akan terus tumbuh sehingga diperkirakan pada tahun 2023, nilai pasar industri kecantikan ditaksir sebesar 699.45 Milyar Dollar AS. Pasar industri kecantikan ini menawarkan berbagai macam produk kecantikan seperti perawatan rambut, perawatan kulit, perawatan mulut, *make-up*, parfum dan *deodorant*, sabun, sabun mandi cair, tabir surya, dan produk kecantikan lainnya.²

Berdasarkan laporan penelitian yang dilakukan Amna Abbas bersama *Euromonitor International* tahun 2017, produk-produk seperti perawatan kulit, perawatan rambut, dan peralatan kosmetik adalah produk yang menyumbang nilai terbesar pada pasar kecantikan global. Pasar terbesar dari industri kecantikan berasal dari wilayah Asia Pasifik, dengan nilai 141

¹ Chloe Sorvino, "Why The \$445 Billion Beauty Industry is A Gold Mine For Self-Made Women," *Forbes*, 18 Mei 2017, diakses 27 Oktober 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/chloesorvino/2017/05/18/self-made-wealth-beauty-gold-mine/amp/>.

² "Global Beauty and Personal Care Products Market Forecast 2017-2023," *Business Wire*, 3 Januari 2017, diakses 27 Oktober 2017, <http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20170103005748/en/Global-Beauty-Personal-Care-Products-Market-Forecast>.

Milyar Dollar AS dan pertumbuhan sebesar 5 persen dibandingkan tahun 2016. Disusul oleh Eropa dengan nilai 114 Milyar Dollar AS dengan pertumbuhan sebesar 4 persen, Amerika Utara sebesar 93 Milyar Dollar AS dengan pertumbuhan sebesar 4 persen, Amerika Latin sebesar 59 Milyar Dollar AS dengan pertumbuhan sebesar 9 persen, Afrika dan Timur Tengah sebesar 30 Milyar Dollar AS dengan pertumbuhan sebesar 9 persen.³

Industri kecantikan tidak hanya besar dan terus berkembang, namun pertumbuhannya sendiri terus stabil setiap tahunnya. Dilihat dari pertumbuhannya sebesar 5 persen setiap tahunnya menjadikan industri kecantikan adalah industri yang stabil bahkan pada masa resesi ekonomi sekalipun. Cina sebagai negara dengan penduduk terbanyak di dunia menjadi salah satu pasar industri kecantikan yang disebabkan karena meningkatnya perilaku konsumerisme di Cina terhadap produk-produk kecantikan. Berdasarkan penelitian yang dilakukan oleh *Morgan Stanley Research*, Cina diperkirakan menjadi pasar industri kecantikan paling besar di dunia.

³ Amna Abbas, "The Beauty and Personal Care Market: Global and Regional Overview," *Euromonitor International*, 2017, diakses 27 Oktober 2017, https://www.beautyworldme.com/uploads/editor_ima/ges/file/beautyworld17/amna.pdf.

Berdasarkan penelitian tersebut, pada tahun 2008, Cina menduduki peringkat ketiga setelah Jepang dan Amerika Serikat dalam pasar kosmetik. Cina pada tahun 2008, menyumbang sebesar 12,21 persen dari total nilai pasar kosmetik global, menariknya statistik ini terus meningkat tiap tahunnya. Pada tahun 2017, Cina menyumbang 19,17 persen dari total pasar kosmetik, Cina bahkan telah mengalahkan Amerika Serikat dan Jepang sebagai penyumbang nilai pasar kosmetik secara global. Kelly Kim, Kepala Analisis dari penelitian *Morgan Stanley Research* tentang pasar kecantikan Cina, menyebutkan bahwa pasar Cina berperan dalam industri kecantikan global. Ia juga menyebut, masyarakat Cina tidak hanya mendorong penjualan produk kecantikan yang dijual di Cina, namun juga mendorong penjualan kosmetik yang dijual di negara tetangga Cina seperti di Korea Selatan. Hal ini disebabkan masyarakat Cina mendapatkan produk kecantikan melalui tiga cara, yaitu berbelanja di negaranya sendiri, berbelanja menggunakan metode *E-Commerce*, dan berbelanja langsung di luar negeri.⁴

⁴ Morgan Stanley, "Beauty in the Eye of the Chinese Consumer," 4 November 2016, diakses 27 Oktober 2017, <https://www.morganstanley.com/ideas/china-beauty-market-consumer-boom>

Berdasarkan data statistik dari *National Bureau of Statistics of China*, penjualan retail kosmetik di domestik terus mengalami peningkatan dari tahun ketahun. Pada tahun 2011, penjualan retail produk kecantikan di Cina adalah 111.3 Milyar Yuan, angka ini meningkat tajam pada tahun 2016 dengan penjualan retail menjadi sebesar 222.2 Milyar Yuan. Berdasarkan data tersebut, produk perawatan kulit adalah produk kecantikan dengan nilai pertumbuhan paling besar, produk *make-up* terus mengalami pertumbuhan tiap tahunnya, produk anti penuaan adalah produk kecantikan yang sangat populer.⁵ Cina tidak hanya menyumbang nilai pasar kecantikan paling besar secara global, namun juga pasar kecantikan di domestik pun tumbuh dengan sangat pesat.

Cina dan industri kecantikan kemudian menjadi dua hal yang tidak terpisahkan. Cina telah berhasil mengalahkan Jepang dan Amerika Serikat sebagai pasar produk kecantikan di dunia, ini memperlihatkan bahwa industri kecantikan tumbuh pesat di Cina. Walaupun industri kecantikan Cina adalah industri

dengan nilai ekonomi yang besar, tidak dapat dipungkiri industri tersebut tumbuh karena perilaku dan motif konsumennya untuk mengejar ‘kecantikan.’ Hakikatnya, produk kecantikan digunakan untuk membuat penampilan penggunanya terlihat lebih cantik. Alasan inilah yang membuat produk kecantikan laris-manis di pasaran, namun tidak dapat dikesampingkan bahwa persepsi masyarakat terhadap cantik itu sendirilah yang menjadi pendorong utama lakunya produk-produk kecantikan yang digunakan oleh masyarakat Cina.

Cantik Ideal di Cina

Telah sedikit disinggung di bagian sebelumnya, mengenai persepsi cantik di Cina. Pada potret masyarakat Cina tradisional, kesipitan mata ditekankan untuk memperlihatkan kecantikan dan keturunan yang baik. Mengutip dari novel masyarakat Cina yang populer pada abad ke-18 mendeskripsikan bahwa perempuan yang cantik memiliki mata phoenix dan alis mata seperti daun willow.⁶ Di samping itu, bentuk wajah seperti biji semangka atau telur angsa dianggap sebagai wajah cantik ideal bagi

⁵ HKTDC Research Report, “China Cosmetics Market,” 24 Agustus 2017, <http://www.hktdc.com/business-news/article/China-Consumer-Market/China-s-Cosmetics-Market/ccm/en/1/1X000000/1X002L09.htm>, (accessed October 27, 2017)

⁶ X. Cao, “The dream of the red chamber: Hong loumeng.” Dalam Meng Zhang, “A Chinese beauty story: how college women in China negotiate beauty, body image, and mass media,” *Chinese Journal of Communication*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (2012), p. 439, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17544750.2012.723387>, (accessed October 27, 2017)

perempuan di Cina, kemudian hidung wanita Cina yang cantik adalah yang berukuran kecil, halus dan lembut. Persepsi ini dilatarbelakangi oleh kepercayaan masyarakat Cina bahwa ukuran hidung tersebut bisa menjadi indikator karakteristik seseorang, misalnya saja seseorang yang memiliki hidung yang bulat dan besar diartikan sebagai orang yang memiliki sifat pemalas, sementara orang yang memiliki hidung Aquiline (*hook nose*) dianggap sebagai orang yang tidak baik dan licik. Selanjutnya, Zhang juga menggambarkan masyarakat Cina menggambarkan bahwa kulit yang putih adalah kulit yang ideal, sebab kulit yang putih selalu dihubungkan dengan kelas sosial yang tinggi dan muda, sementara perempuan berkulit gelap dihubungkan dengan kelas sosial yang rendah dan pekerja kasar.⁷

Berbeda pada zaman Dinasti Han, persepsi tentang cantik yang melekat pada kaum perempuan pada zaman pra dan era Mao Zedong memerintah mengalami perubahan yang sangat drastis. Pada zaman tersebut, perempuan diharuskan menolak untuk menghias diri mereka seperti tidak menggunakan *make-up*, perhiasan, rambut yang pendek, serta penggunaan seragam sekolah berwarna hitam, putih, atau biru. Di

⁷ Zhang, pp.439-440

samping itu, pada saat Pemerintahan Mao, mereka menolak praktik masyarakat Cina seperti usaha untuk membuat bentuk kaki perempuan menjadi kecil serta mereka juga menolak adanya pendekatan negara barat terkait proses mempercantik diri (*self-beautification*), ini dimaksudkan agar kaum perempuan mengubah kebiasaannya dan menjadi perempuan modern yang aktif secara politik, nasionalis, dan berpendidikan baik. Penerapan ide-ide ini tentunya mengubah pandangan tentang cantik terhadap kaum perempuan. Hal ini misalnya terlihat pada kisah Fang Zhimin, pendiri *Northeast Jiangxi and Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Soviet*, di mana alasan Fang menikahi Miao Min pada tahun 1927 adalah karena Miao Min adalah sosok perempuan yang mempunyai posisi berbeda terhadap ide *self-beautification* dan menjadi istri revolusioner yang baik; tidak hanya mendukung suaminya tetapi juga berkerja untuk revolusi tersebut.⁸

Bila kecantikan dan pakaian pada era Mao dianggap sebagai sesuatu yang dilarang karena dianggap sebagai kemerosotan dan sesuatu yang sembrono, maka ide ini

⁸ Hung-Yok Ip, "Fashioning Appearances: Feminine Beauty in Chinese Communist Revolutionary Culture," *Modern China*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Jul., 2003), pp.332-334, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3181296>, (accessed October 29, 2017)

menjadi berbanding terbalik pasca pemerintahan Mao. Perempuan kembali dihubungkan dengan kecantikan, muda, dan seksualitas (Yang, 2011). Hal ini terbukti, di mana saat ini Cina telah menjadi pasar kosmetik nomor satu di dunia. Peringkat ini tidak lepas dari wacana yang berkembang di tengah masyarakat mengenai *Nennu* dan *Shunu*. Istilah *Nennu* merupakan istilah yang digunakan untuk perempuan muda yang dianggap sebagai ciri feminim yang paling ideal, dan *Shunu* merupakan istilah yang digunakan untuk menggambarkan perempuan yang lebih matang atau dewasa. Kedua istilah ini digunakan untuk menggambarkan kedua golongan kaum perempuan sebagai konsumen berdasarkan pada kosmetik, pakaian, dan pola-pola konsumsi. Kedua istilah ini berkembang melalui media periklanan, majalah mode, saluran belanja televisi, pelayanan kesehatan dan kecantikan, dll. Media ini yang digunakan dalam menampilkan keunggulan kosmetik, perawatan kecantikan, serta yang lebih ekstrim adalah operasi plastik. Kedua istilah ini secara tidak langsung meningkatkan kesadaran tentang kecantikan yang juga memastikan keberlanjutan pertumbuhan ekonomi Cina melalui industri kosmetik.

Menurut penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Cho, terdapat beberapa karakteristik cantik menurut masyarakat Cina dan Korea Selatan sebagai pasar kecantikan terbesar di Asia: (1) kulit yang putih. Kulit tidak hanya harus seputih mungkin, namun juga harus mulus, bersih, tanpa jerawat. (2) Hidung yang mancung. Hidung yang tidak terlalu datar dan lebar adalah tipe hidung yang paling disukai. (3) Rambut yang hitam, panjang, dan berkilau adalah tipe rambut yang disukai. (4) Bentuk wajah ‘V’, wajah oval yang tirus dan dagu yang lancip adalah tipe wajah yang ideal. (5) Mata yang besar. (6) Tubuh yang kurus. (7) Kaki jenjang yang panjang.⁹

Kecantikan dan Penindasan terhadap Wanita

Persepsi kecantikan merupakan sebuah penafsiran dalam suatu masyarakat terkait suatu standar dalam mendefinisikan arti cantik. Seperti yang telah dijelaskan sebelumnya apa yang disebut cantik tidak akan lepas dari kondisi dan lingkungan seseorang dalam mendefinisikan cantik. Dalam pandangan Feminisme terdapat dinamika yang kompleks antara kekuasaan, ideologi, bahasa, dan juga praktek sosial

⁹ Cho K., “The search for the beautiful woman. A cultural history of Japanese and Chinese beauty”, (UK: Rowan and Littlefield publishers Inc, 2012), p.302

yang membentuk ciri gender.¹⁰ Feminin adalah salah satu bentuk gender yang identik dengan ciri karakteristik perempuan. Lebih lanjut, feminitas identik dengan wacana bagaimana seharusnya perempuan di dalam masyarakat seperti gambaran bagaimana bentuk dan sikap perempuan bagi masyarakat, hal ini kemudian berlangsung secara terus-menerus sehingga membentuk suatu perilaku yang pada akhirnya perilaku tersebut diterima sebagai bentuk ciri gender feminis. Wanita kemudian berperilaku sesuai dengan gender yang dianggap ideal oleh masyarakat, karena ia menganggap seperti itulah ciri seorang wanita yang seharusnya.

Standar sosial budaya dari 'kecantikan' feminim dipresentasikan hampir di semua bentuk media-media populer seperti majalah, televisi, iklan, film, musik, penampilan model, selebritis, dan media populer lainnya.

Menurut Weedon, terdapat pikiran sadar dan tidak sadar (*conscious* dan *unconscious*) dari seseorang dalam melihat dirinya, dan bagaimana seseorang mengerti hubungan penggambaran dirinya dengan dunia. Dunia ini terkadang terbentuk dari

¹⁰ Sumita Sarkar, "Media and Women Image: A Feminist Discourse," *Journal of Media and Communication Studies* Vol.6 Maret 2014, p.49

penggambaran yang ada di dalam media populer sehingga seseorang akan berusaha berperilaku agar terkoneksi dengan dunia tersebut.¹¹ Mulvey berargumen bahwa feminitas adalah sebuah konstruksi sosial, ciri dari sifat feminis tidak lepas dari persepsi laki-laki yang melihat perempuan sebagai objek.¹² Sejalan dengan argumen tersebut Frauk melihat adanya ketidakseimbangan relasi kekuasaan antara yang melihat (laki-laki) dan yang dilihat (perempuan) sehingga berujung pada penjadian wanita sebagai objek. Argumen Frauk didasarkan pada intepretasi media pada penyanyi bernama Cher, seorang wanita yang selama hidupnya menjalani berbagai macam operasi plastik agar sesuai dengan penggambaran media terhadap dirinya. Wanita itu melakukannya tidak lepas dari pandangan, objektifikasi, stigma dari berita, koran dan kanal berita di Jerman dan Amerika Serikat selama masa-masa kepopulerannya.¹³

Setiap budaya memiliki pandangan umum masing-masing dalam melihat ciri feminim dan kecantikan. Menurut Wood,

¹¹ C. Weedon, "Postwar women's writing in German," (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997) p.18

¹² L. Mulvey, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, (1975). Dalam L. Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasure*, (London: Macmillan, 1989), p.14

¹³ F. Frauk, "Making up Cher-A Analysis of the Politics of the Female Body," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol 4, Issue 1 (February, 1997)

menjadi feminim di Amerika Serikat maka seseorang harus menarik, pasif, emosional, peduli terhadap orang-orang di sekitar serta lingkungannya.¹⁴ Setiap masyarakat membentuk sebuah *prototype* ideal dalam menggambarkan ciri spesifik suatu gender serta setiap masyarakat mempunyai penggambaran ciri feminis dan maskulin yang ideal menurut masyarakat itu sendiri. Penggambaran ciri gender yang ideal berdasarkan argumen sebelumnya, tidak lepas dari persepsi-persepsi yang dipresentasikan oleh media populer secara terus menerus. Cina juga mempunyai persepsinya sendiri dalam menggambarkan kecantikan dalam melihat bagaimana ciri feminim seorang wanita seharusnya.

Penggambaran cantik dalam masyarakat Cina terus berubah sesuai dengan persepsi ideal yang berlaku. “Cantik” dianggap sebagai perilaku yang menyimpang dalam doktrin marxist-sosialis pada era Mao Zedong. Setelah revolusi budaya, tindakan untuk tampil “cantik” dicap sebagai perilaku kaum borjuis Barat. Pemerintah Cina melarang praktik untuk mempercantik diri dengan cara operasi, *makeup*, bahkan pakaian yang mencerminkan bias gender. Pada masa

tersebut, operasi plastik hanya dilakukan untuk tujuan medis seperti pengobatan luka bakar dan luka trauma berat. Pengecualian kepada pekerja seni seperti artis dan aktor terkenal dengan izin yang sangat ketat dari Biro Kebudayaan Beijing. Bagaimana “wanita seharusnya” digambarkan oleh pemerintah melalui propaganda yang disebut sebagai “*iron women*” atau “*comrade sister*” dengan foto-foto wanita berambut pendek, berotot, dan mengendarai alat-alat berat seperti traktor.¹⁵ Berakhirnya era revolusi industri pada tahun 1976 menandai dimulainya era modernisasi dan reformasi ekonomi di Cina, dan mulai mengikis peran pemerintah dalam menentukan “bagaimana seorang wanita seharusnya”.

Cantik dalam masyarakat Cina tidak hanya mendefinisikan bagaimana bentuk ideal feminim di masyarakat, namun juga berpengaruh dengan bagaimana masyarakat menilai peran wanita dalam lingkup sosial. Laki-laki di Cina biasanya dinilai berdasarkan bakat dan kemampuannya, sedangkan wanita di Cina sebagian besar dinilai berdasarkan penampilan fisiknya.¹⁶ Berdasarkan penelitian yang dilakukan

¹⁴ J. Wood, *Communication, Gender and Culture*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1999)

¹⁵ Lauren E. Riggs, “The Globalization of Cosmetic Surgery: Examining BRIC and Beyond,” Master Thesis, University of San Francisco, 2012, p. 136

¹⁶ Jiaren Zheng, *New Feminism in China: Young Middle Class Chinese Women in Shanghai*, (Singapore: Springer, 2016), pp.59-60

Zheng terhadap 14 wanita muda kelas menengah di Cina, ia menemukan fakta menarik jika semua responden penelitiannya masih mengaggap penampilan yang mereka miliki sebagai penentu keberhasilan mereka. Bagaimana gaya rambut, berat badan, dan penampilan wajah menjadi penentu utama kesuksesan. Realita wanita Cina yang mengejar ‘cantik’ yang ideal di dalam masyarakat kemudian mempengaruhi peran mereka di dalam masyarakat terutama menyangkut pekerjaan.

Dalam penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Wen, para perempuan di Cina melakukan operasi kecantikan dan mempercantik diri karena alasan-alasan seperti; mencari pekerjaan yang lebih baik, mencari pasangan hidup, membuat pernikahan lebih bertahan, menguatkan status sosial, dan menyesuaikan diri dengan kehidupan perkotaan. Bahkan dalam penelitian Wen, alasan wanita-wanita Cina berusaha untuk meraih “bagaimana wanita seharusnya” didasari adanya diskriminasi kepada wanita yang tidak memenuhi pandangan ideal wanita yang seharusnya. Salah satu responden wanita dalam penelitian Wen mengaku jika ia frustrasi menghadapi pandangan masyarakat terhadap standar kecantikan. Wanita tersebut mengaku jika selama masa kuliah ia

menfokuskan diri untuk belajar karena harapan mendapatkan pekerjaan melalui kegigihannya dalam belajar. Saat wanita yang ‘cantik’ di kelasnya pergi bermain, ia menfokuskan diri belajar di perpustakaan. Namun menurut pengakuannya, wanita ‘cantik’ yang lebih banyak menghabiskan masa kuliahnya dengan bermain, ternyata lebih mudah mendapatkan pekerjaan dibandingkan dirinya yang telah belajar dengan serius. Akhirnya ia berkesimpulan, jika ingin mendapatkan pekerjaan, ia harus tampil ‘cantik’ terlebih dahulu. Wanita di Cina seperti salah satu responden penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Wen, akhirnya terdiskriminasi atas persepsi feminisme yang dikonstruksi masyarakat, persepsi ‘cantik’ yang ideal menurut masyarakat Cina. Dalam pengalaman Wen sendiri saat menghadiri *jobfair* di salah satu wilayah di Cina, banyak pekerjaan yang membagi lowongan pekerjaan dalam kategori khusus pria (teknisi dan manajemen) dan khusus wanita (pekerjaan yang bertatap langsung dengan klien). Dalam beberapa persyaratan pekerjaan yang ditulis dalam beberapa lowongan, pelamar wanita harus dapat memenuhi standar tinggi dan wajah yang menarik.¹⁷

¹⁷Hua Wen, "Being Good-Looking is Capital":

Gambaran “wanita ideal” telah mempengaruhi pandangan masyarakat di dalam ruang lingkup umum. Keinginan untuk memenuhi permintaan sosial tentang bagaimana seseorang harus tampil secara ideal telah mempengaruhi bagaimana seorang individu bersikap. Salah satu fakta yang menarik ditemukan dalam penelitian Lindridge dan Wang, salah satu korespondennya memperlihatkan bahwa pengaruh dari ruang-ruang pribadi seperti keluarga juga mempengaruhi wanita Cina untuk dapat tampil sebagai “wanita yang ideal.” Sesuai yang disampaikan salah satu korespondennya bahwa ia harus tampil ‘cantik’ tidak lepas dari dorongan keluarganya, ibu dari salah satu responden wanita dalam penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Lindridge dan Wang menyarankan anaknya untuk tampil cantik agar anaknya dapat sukses dalam hidup.¹⁸ Koresponden penelitian Lindridge dan Wang, memperlihatkan bahwa keinginan seorang individu yang ingin memenuhi tuntutan tampil sebagai seorang wanita karena adanya pengaruh dari ruang pribadinya yakni keluarga. Berbeda dengan responden

Lindridge & Wang, salah satu koresponden Wen, mengejar kecantikan disebabkan karena lingkungan pekerjaan (ruang umum) yang lebih memberikan kesempatan kepada perempuan yang tampil seperti “wanita yang seharusnya”. Walaupun koresponden Lindridge dan Wang mendasari tindakannya karena adanya keluarga (ruang pribadi) yang menjadi pendorong, namun tetap dapat dilihat perilaku tersebut muncul karena adanya persepsi ‘cantik’ yang ideal dalam masyarakat.

Kecantikan dalam perkembangannya di Cina tidak hanya berbicara soal tampil ideal menurut pandangan masyarakat, namun telah merambah pada peran seorang wanita nantinya dalam kehidupan sosial. Salah satu contohnya seperti yang telah dijabarkan di atas, menjadi cantik akan membuat seorang wanita lebih mudah dalam mendapatkan pekerjaan, standar kecantikan kemudian menekan wanita-wanita untuk harus memenuhi standar tersebut. Merujuk kepada pernyataan Weedon, wanita secara sadar dan tidak sadar kemudian berusaha memenuhi standarisasi cantik agar dapat terkoneksi dengan dunia. Seperti salah satu responden penelitian Wen, ia mengakui kompetisi dalam mencari pekerjaan di Cina sangat ketat. Anak perempuannya harus mampu bersaing di dunia pekerjaan Cina

Cosmetic Surgery in China Today," *Asian Anthropology*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, 2009.

¹⁸Lindridge, Andrew M. and Congying Wang, "Saving 'Face' in China: Modernization, Parental Pressure, and Plastic Surgery." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* Vol.7, No.6, 2008, pp 496-508

dengan cara memaksimalkan penampilannya, ia menyebut jika anak perempuannya dapat tampil cantik, itu akan menjadi investasi bagi anaknya di masa depan. Persepsi kecantikan tersebut kemudian diwujudkan dengan cara mengkonsumsi produk-produk kecantikan, seperti produk perawatan wajah, rambut, kosmetik dan produk kecantikan lainnya yang dapat memenuhi persepsi masyarakat Cina atas apa yang disebut cantik. Cina adalah pasar produk kecantikan yang berkembang pesat, perkembangan tersebut tidak lepas dari keinginan masyarakatnya terhadap ciri feminim wanita Cina. Menjadi cantik kemudian menjadi cara agar seorang wanita dapat terhubung dengan dunia tempat ia berada, menjadi cantik menjadi cara seorang wanita dapat mendapatkan tempat di dalam lingkungan sosial, cantik menjadi kebutuhan yang harus dapat terpenuhi.

Industri Kecantikan dan Persepsi Kecantikan

Produk kecantikan adalah produk dari industri yang berkembang pesat di Cina. Produk-produk kecantikan tersebut laku karena adanya standarisasi seperti apa ‘cantik’ yang ideal bagi masyarakat Cina. Produk kecantikan adalah produk yang dipakai langsung oleh konsumennya, dimana perusahaan akan berusaha

mengkomunikasikan produk yang mereka hasilkan sebaik mungkin kepada target konsumen. Orientasi ini dapat diobservasi dan dianalisis dengan melihat implementasi dan eksekusi dari *Global Strategies*. *Global Strategies* diartikan sebagai cara sebuah perusahaan berkompetisi di pasar global dan memainkan peran vital dalam menentukan performa bisnis dalam pasar global. Perusahaan yang menggunakan *Global Strategies* akan mengartikulasi sumber daya, *Research & Development* (R&D), dan *marketing* yang terkoordinasi secara global. Sebab marketing adalah proses yang dianggap berinteraksi langsung dengan target konsumen, strategi marketing adalah komponen paling vital dalam *Global Strategies*.¹⁹

Berdasarkan penelitian yang dilakukan Mihajlovic, Pontiggia, Vesconi terhadap empat perusahaan global yang bergerak di industri kecantikan, yakni L’Oréal Paris, Estée Lauder Companies, LVMH Moët Hennesy, dan Olay, perusahaan kecantikan tersebut berusaha melakukan standarisasi produk yang mereka hasilkan terhadap persepsi kecantikan di pasar Cina. L’Oréal melakukan pendekatan

¹⁹ Zou S., Cavusgil S. T., “Global strategy: a review and an integrated conceptual framework”, *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 30, No. 1, (1996).

branding dalam melakukan penetrasi ke dalam pasar Cina. Nama L'Oréal di-branding dengan slogan "Keanggunan dari Eropa", Lancôme's sebagai perusahaan yang dibawa oleh L'Oréal, maka untuk melakukan penetrasi ke Cina, dinamai dengan nama Cina yang berarti "Gadis muda yang tengah mekar". Dalam strategi marketing L'Oréal dengan gencar menggunakan model dan selebritis Cina sebagai duta produk kecantikan L'Oréal. L'Oréal kemudian menjadikan artis Cina, Gong Li sebagai bagian dari strategi pemasaran dengan dua tujuan yaitu merepresentasikan wanita Cina dan 'mendorong' mereka untuk mengejar kecantikan melalui produk yang ditawarkan oleh L'Oréal. Kampanye pemasaran dilakukan secara besar-besaran melalui media populer seperti TV dan majalah. L'Oréal sukses di Cina dengan cara mengerti dan memahami persepsi kecantikan seperti apa yang ideal bagi masyarakat Cina, strategi ini kemudian terbukti sukses.²⁰

²⁰Tatjana Mihajlovic Andrea Pontiggia Tiziano Vescovi, "The Beauty Ideal in Chinese Luxury Cosmetics: Adaptation Strategies of Western Companies," *Research Gate*, (2017), pp. 10-11, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316685480>, (accessed October 30, 2017)

Produk pemutih wajah dan produk perawatan rambut adalah produk kecantikan L'Oréal yang laris di pasaran Cina. Keberhasilan L'Oréal di Cina tidak lepas dari strateginya untuk dapat menyesuaikan produk-produk kecantikannya dengan persepsi kecantikan masyarakat di Cina. Secara tidak langsung pandangan cantik yang sebenarnya menekan perempuan di Cina justru memberikan keuntungan yang besar bagi perusahaan kecantikan seperti L'Oréal. L'Oréal menggunakan strategi pemasaran dengan menggunakan publik figur yang dianggap sebagai gambaran 'cantik' yang ideal bagi masyarakat Cina. L'Oréal menjadikan Fan Bingbing sebagai duta produk kecantikannya. Ia dipilih karena ia merupakan artis Cina yang sangat terkenal. Ia juga mempunyai wajah dan ciri fisik ideal bagi apa yang dipersepsikan 'cantik' oleh masyarakat Cina; kulit yang putih dan bersih, mata yang besar, wajah oval, dan kaki tinggi jenjang. Perempuan di Cina yang telah mempersepsikan cantik kemudian melihat Fan sebagai simbol kecantikan yang ideal. L'Oréal kemudian adalah perusahaan yang mendapatkan keuntungan dari persepsi tersebut.

Estée Lauder Companies adalah perusahaan kecantikan lainnya yang ada di Cina. Perusahaan ini menguasai 30 persen

sektor perawatan kulit dengan produk kecantikan premium. Produk utama Estée Lauder Companies di Cina adalah pemutih wajah. Pada tahun 2005 Estée Lauder Companies mendirikan pusat riset di Shanghai, Estée Lauder Companies Asia Innovation Center, tujuan pendirian pusat riset ini agar perusahaan dapat lebih mengerti permintaan produk kecantikan dari konsumen Cina. Pada tahun 2014, Estée Lauder Companies meluncurkan Osiao Asia Skin Institute, produk yang merupakan hasil kolaborasi peneliti yang berbasis di New York dan Shanghai. Produk tersebut lahir dari penelitian yang dilakukan selama lima tahun penuh dalam mencari rahasia 'kulit putih yang bersinar'. Estée Lauder Companies menggunakan strategi yang sama dengan L'Oréal yaitu memasarkan produk kecantikan yang dianggap dapat memenuhi persepsi kecantikan masyarakat Cina. Estée Lauder Companies juga menggunakan artis Cina sebagai duta produknya, pada tahun 2010 model Liu Wen didaulat sebagai duta produk Estée Lauder. Berkembangnya perusahaan kecantikan di Cina tidak lepas dari usaha perusahaan tersebut dalam memenuhi persepsi kecantikan yang berkembang di dalam masyarakat Cina.

Kesimpulan

Pasca pemerintahan Mao, Cina telah muncul sebagai pasar utama produk-produk kecantikan. Pertumbuhan pasar kecantikan global terbesar berada di benua Asia dan Cina menjadi pasar dengan tingkat pertumbuhan yang terus stabil. Perusahaan-perusahaan kecantikan terus melakukan penetrasi pasar di Cina dengan memasarkan produk-produk yang sesuai dengan persepsi cantik masyarakat Cina. Persepsi ini ternyata berujung kepada penindasan kaum perempuan. Penindasan ini justru memarjinalkan perempuan di ruang publik, misalnya dalam pekerjaan. Tuntutan masyarakat Cina atas penampilan perempuan yang ideal akhirnya membuat perempuan mencari cara agar mereka dapat tampil sesuai dengan persepsi ideal masyarakat. Lakunya produk-produk kecantikan di Cina tidak lepas dari fenomena ini. Perusahaan-perusahaan kecantikan global memanfaatkan persepsi cantik ini untuk mendapatkan profit yang besar. Oleh sebab itu, pasar Cina yang besar sebenarnya hadir karena adanya persepsi cantik yang menekan perempuan untuk memenuhi persepsi tersebut di masyarakat.

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**Controversies of the Implementation of Carbon Tax Policy for the Australian Economy:
Harmful or Beneficial?**

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ABSTRACT

Australian government had an experience in carbon tax policy implementation and evidently, it did not work out since it was enacted for the first time in 2012. The background of this policy was the Kyoto Protocol in 2007. In the beginning, Australia and United States considered as resistant countries. However, the government finally implemented carbon tax policy in 2012. There were many debates around this issue, especially two major parties, Labour and Liberal. After some considerations, the Australian government decided to repeal this policy in 2014. This study will focus on controversies around the implementation of carbon tax policy. The first part will describe the background of carbon tax policy. The next part will expose on positive impacts of the policy implementation on the Australian economy, while the following part will focus on negative impacts on household expenditures. The final part will conclude which actions the government should decide either continues or terminates carbon tax policy.

Keywords: *implementation, carbon tax policy, environment, household, economy*

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Introduction

The implementation of carbon tax in Australia always raises controversies among citizens. Since the first time of its implementation in 2012, there are some people who support that policy while others oppose it. As a decision maker, Australian government stated that carbon tax is a key to economic and environment reform. However, its opposition said that carbon tax might harm the Australian economy.

The background behind the implementation of carbon tax policy was a ratification of Kyoto Protocol on 12 December 2007. Through this ratification, Australia placed itself as an international community member, which has a commitment to save the environment. This is an interesting issue because at the beginning, Australia and United States were often considered as resistant countries, which refuse to ratify this protocol. As a follow up from that protocol, the Australian government implemented a domestic policy to respond the issue.

In general, carbon tax is a price that imposed manufacturing industries to pay per tonne of carbon they release to the atmosphere. As an initial cost, it will be set at \$23 and it will increase gradually until 2015. The first implementation of carbon tax

policy began in 1 July 2012 (Clean Energy Regulator, 2012).¹ This policy has been implemented until it was repealed on 17 July 2014.

In this essay, I will argue that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian economy because of some aspects. I will compose this essay into four sections. First is the contribution of carbon tax to the government revenue. In this part, I will argue that carbon tax may contribute to the government revenue because it becomes an additional source of revenue from the government. On the other hand, it also has an impact on the people's lifestyle. Second is the positive impact of carbon tax policy to the environment. In this section, I will elaborate that implementation of carbon tax will have a significant contribution to the environment because manufacturing companies are forced to use a cleaner technology in production process. However, they might shift their burden to the consumers as a result of carbon tax. Third is the drawback of carbon tax implementation on the cost of living. In this part, I will discuss that carbon tax will increase the daily cost of living, because

¹ Australian Industry Group. *Selling price intentions in response to the carbon tax*, Sydney, Australia: Australian Industry Group 2012, pg 3.

manufacturing companies will directly suffer from its implementation. On the other hand, carbon pricing is a way to fight the climate change. Finally, I will explain the influence of carbon tax on business sectors. In this section, I will contend that there might have a declining growth from business sectors as a consequence of carbon pricing because they have to pay more on production costs. However, it also raises a good point that they have to think alternative strategies to increase their income.

The Contribution of Carbon Tax to Government Revenues

The question arises as to whether we should accept that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian Economy.² This essay will consider a number of perspectives to determine whether to support or reject this contention. Indeed, since the first time of carbon tax policy implementation in July 2012, it has already raised some controversies among the Australian people. When people heard about the term “tax”, their mind thinks about the additional cost that they have to pay in the future. It is a

²Adams, P., Dixon, J., & Dixon P. “Carbon tax won't harm economic growth”, (2012), <http://www.independentaustralia.net/2012/environment/carbon-tax-wont-harm-economic-growth/>, (accessed 10 October 2016).

nature of people that they have an economic principle, to get the maximum result with the minimum cost. Thus, in terms of the new policy implementation such as taxes, the first thing in their mind is likely to resist.

One reason to accept that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian Economy is the suggestion that carbon tax may contribute to government revenues. In general knowledge of taxation, there are two aspects of imposing tax. First is a budgetary aspect, which means to generate revenues. Second is a regulatory aspect, which means to regulate something that will have a law enforcement effect to tax subjects. Any means of revenue sources will contribute to the federal budget, including the carbon tax. An implementation of carbon tax policy, which is the polluter will have to pay \$23 per ton of carbon released to the atmosphere will result in some additional revenues for the government. This reason is supported by a fact that government will have an additional source of revenue from carbon pricing. In Schedule of Budgeted Income and Expenses Administered on Behalf of Government, there are some interesting point to consider, Australian government is estimated to have an additional revenue of 7.54 billion, 8.34 billion, 9.27 billion from

carbon tax revenue in 2013, 2014, and 2015 respectively.³ Those amounts are as a result of imposing carbon tax policy to the public. Furthermore, the revenue from carbon tax will contribute to the federal budget as a whole. In a fiscal policy context, an ability to collect revenue from taxes shows the government independence to run its operation. The main responsibility for government is to ensure the provision of social policy to its citizen. Therefore, the implementation of carbon tax policy, which gives a certain contribution to the federal budget will also give benefits for the people live within the country. As a result, government can utilize the revenue earned from taxation to build public facilities such as health and education. As a developed country, Australia has a strong confidence in implementing a new policy to the citizen because a long standing history has shown that they have an essential foundation to economy. Moreover, the government also can allocate tax revenues to provide social security and household assistance package, which will be discussed and elaborated later in the following paragraph.

³ Australian Government. *How Australia's carbon price is working: One Year On*, Australia: Department of Industry, Innovation, Climate Change, Science, Research and Tertiary Education, 2013, pg. 16.

Another consideration from the government to implement carbon tax policy is to support the economic and environment reform in conjunction with the climate change. Carbon pricing is one way for government to solve the problem of climate change. In this case, the government may gain two benefits from it. First, the Australian government may have an economic support for the federal budget. Second, the government may gain a sustainability environment for the better future. To illustrate this, imposing new taxes in every country may result in controversies and resistances from citizens. However, in the government's view, there is a potential revenue from imposing taxes. The government has an obligation to utilize its capability to earn revenues to meet the budget requirement. This is the reason why the Australian government enacted the carbon tax from 1 July 2012 after the long controversial debates around it. Australia is a country with the highest carbon emission among developed countries in the world with 1.5 percent of world emission. Australian government argues that the implementation of carbon tax is needed to reach the limit of greenhouse effect, which is their obligation. The Australian carbon tax implemented in Australia is higher than the

similar tax imposed in European countries.

An objection to the claim that carbon tax will give a contribution to the government revenue is that Australian people have to pay more expensive than before on their cost of living. The first reaction when this government policy was implemented is there are so many reactions and protests from people who will directly suffer from the policy implementation. In a psychological context, it is natural to observe the human behaviour when there is a controversial issue, people tend to stand up and fight against for it, particularly when it concerns people's daily life. A slight change and different in a completely regular activities, may result in an instability of their financial matters. The low-income families are likely to suffer more than others because of an increase of living cost. These families have to struggle more in maintaining their life because of carbon tax.⁴ They have to be more cautious in allocating their income to spend on. They should be more selective in choosing purchased items because the choice is getting narrower. There are two options, to cut unnecessary costs or to find another source of revenue instead of their

⁴Miriam. Lyons, *Living with The Carbon Tax*. Sydney, Australia. <http://cpd.org.au/wpcontent/uploads/2012/08/Living-with-the-Carbon-Tax-final.pdf>

regular income. The first choice is easier than the second one because they can do it right away without spending more time. Families can choose whatever aspect that need to be gotten rid of from their monthly spending. Of course, they cannot move away the basic necessities such as food and bills. Secondary and tertiary needs are logical aspects to consider in a selection process. The second choice is harder to do because they need some time to think and find another source of revenue to support their daily life. The effect of global financial crisis is still exist although the current condition is better now. It is hard to find a job without an adequate qualification and skills. Job demand is more than job supply itself.⁵ Therefore, it resulted in a complicated situation.

Positive impacts of carbon tax to the environment

Another reason to believe that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian economy is that the policy implementation may have positive impacts to the environment. This is based on

⁵ Philip Wen. (2011). Jobs at risk from carbon tax: CSR chief. (2013), <http://www.smh.com.au/business/jobs-at-risk-from-carbon-tax-csr-chief-20110707-1h3yf.html>, (accessed on 10 October 2016).

an idea that government will push manufacturing companies to invest on a cleaner technology. Every implementation of a new policy should have both sides of the story. There is a positive aspect while on the other side there is also a negative one. This is what happened when government enacted the carbon tax policy. As a consequence of this implementation, manufacturing companies, whether they like it or not, they have to find another way in using a cleaner technology. If they cannot afford in doing it, they will keep paying carbon tax as a result of carbon they released from the production process. Actually, this is one of a function of tax as a regulatory aspect instead of as a budgetary aspect. It proves that the implementation of carbon tax policy can also encourage positive elements of other fields. It will not only benefit for the economy, but also for the environment. For instance, in order to lower the carbon tax that manufacturing companies have to pay to the government, they should reduce the emission from the production process. This means they are challenged to be more creative and innovative in using an eco-friendly technology to process the raw material to the finished goods. There are two advantages of using cleaner technology for the environment. First, the advantage for the

company is they can save money from producing less carbon from the production process. In essence, carbon tax is imposed progressively. This means, the more company creates carbon the more they pay carbon tax. As a result, there is a simultaneous benefit if the company utilizes cleaner and eco-friendly technology. In one hand, they can manage budget efficiency because of cost saving from less carbon tax paid to the government. On the other hand, they can allocate the fund saved from it. Second, the advantage for the environment is the company can participate and support the sustainable environment. The company participation is one of manifestation of corporate social responsibility. The environment feasibility study is the main crucial aspect to consider when a company is established at the beginning. The business process within companies should have not disturbed the environment stability and harmony. Therefore, it is an obligation for each company to pay attention on this issue. They are demanded not only consider the economic aspect of their operation, but also the environment aspect. Government encourages them to notice the importance of environment for their business.

Nonetheless, the opposing view that manufacturing companies will shift the

burden as a result of carbon pricing to consumers provides an interesting perspective to consider. As it has already mentioned above, carbon pricing has a huge impact on a company's business process. Consequently, it raised some alternatives for them to avoid the impact of carbon tax. One logical explanation would be shifting their burden resulted from an increasing cost on production to consumers. Inevitably, consumers have to pay more expensive to buy goods produced by the company. There is a non-mutualism relationship in his case. When a company gets a benefit from moving away its additional cost, at the same time consumers have to suffer from an increasing price of goods and products. On balance, it seems more reasonable to reject this reason. In an economic activity, there is always supply and demand. The economic transaction occurs when supply meets demands at one point, which is named equilibrium point. This means there should be a mutualism relationship between producers and consumers. In economic law, a failure to meet supply and demand will result in instability of economic transaction. There are many forms of instability such as an increasing price or declining price and the availability of products.

Some effects of carbon tax on daily cost of living

A consideration against the issue that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian Economy is that carbon tax policy will increase daily cost of living. Following the explanation above, consumers will suffer from the government policy implementation because the burden shifting of an additional cost resulted from the company to the consumer. Therefore, there is a serious implication on a daily cost of living from the Australian people. There is an increase in household expenses such as gas and electricity bills. It is not surprising because a carbon tax policy influences directly to manufacturing and energy companies. Implementing carbon tax policy means an additional cost that people have to cover in daily living instead of basic necessity. However, to deal with an increasing cost of living as a result of carbon tax, government has introduced a solution, household assistance package. This package is one way to help eligible households suffered from any impacts resulting from the carbon pricing. It includes tax reforms, increases to government pensions and benefits, and new payments.⁶ Household

assistance package is a part of clean energy future program. The mechanism of this program is very simple. Eligible families do not have to do anything because this assistance will be paid automatically to their bank account. The direct benefit received from this government assistance is for the low-income families who suffered from the policy implementation. The declining in purchasing power as a result of carbon tax is lifted by the household assistance package.⁷ This program shows a responsive action from the government to provide social policies for citizens. In addition, this objection is supported by the claim that manufacturing companies directly suffer from the carbon pricing. Manufacturing companies, which directly suffer from the policy implementation, are mining, steel, and energy companies. This is because they produce carbon from their business process. To operate their production, those companies need fuel to run the machine. It means they have a direct influence from the

carbon tax policy implementation. Consequently, they have no choice to increase the cost of production and let consumers pay for it.

Nevertheless, the rebuttal that carbon pricing is a way to fight against the climate change must be considered to determine whether the objection is indeed acceptable. The Australian government has a strong commitment to implement carbon tax policy. The climate change issue is a very crucial in the global world present time. Some countries in the world have implemented the same policy as a means to solve the climate change problem. They impose carbon tax to their citizen as a form of responsibility in conserving the environment. Australia, as the highest country with carbon emission in the world concerns about this issue seriously. Initially, to articulate this, the government introduced the carbon tax issue before implementation. However, the government's idea gained so many protests and resistance from the public. It is logical if there is a new policy was introduced to the public. Furthermore, government kept doing an intensive and serious observation regarding the implementation of carbon tax. They take many aspects into account to consider this policy starting from economic, social, and

⁶ Department of Human Services, 2013.

⁷ Ron Boswell, "Australia's expensive carbon tax is hitting households and businesses in the hip pocket and costing jobs" (2013), <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/opinion/australia8217s-expensive-carbon-tax-is-hitting-households-and-businesses-in-the-hip-pocket-and-costing-jobs/story-fnihsr9v-1226673651121> (accessed October 10, 2016)

environment. The consultation from academics and experts in every areas related to the carbon tax was also done by the government. The main objective of this policy is to fight against the climate change issue that will have a negative impact for the people in the future. In another perspective, carbon tax policy is also one way to prevent human from harming the environment.

The impact of carbon tax on business sectors

Finally, there is another significant objection to the claim that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian economy: business sectors might have a declining trend of growth. As a result of an increasing price of products, there might be a tendency of declining growth of company operations. This is logical because an increasing price of products will make consumers more selective in buying goods and services. This could become even worse when consumers decide not to buy at all. The competition among business sectors is highly increasing in recent years. Businesses sectors such as tourism and automotive are two simple examples to illustrate. The first thing to discuss in this section is a tourism business. There is a direct impact of carbon tax policy to this tourism business, starting from an

increasing price of airline tickets, hotel or accommodation, entries to tourist objects. The implementation of carbon tax policy might slow this business operation. This is because consumers have to spend more on tickets and accommodation costs related to their tour. For the company, the fewer tourists utilize their service, the less income they will earn. In the long run, it will have a negative impact on their sustainability. Moreover, tourism business is sensitive to the slight policy implementation from the government. Apart from carbon tax, the security issue is also the main cause that will slow this business down. The second aspect to discuss is an automotive business. This is very interesting because an automotive business is not only an emerging business in developing countries, but also in developed countries such as Australia. Automotive business is a very complex business because it involves many divisions from the preparation of raw material, processing, assembling, until finished products. The impact of carbon tax is obvious in this industry because companies use fuel to run its machineries. The demand for automotive products such as motorcycles and cars are actually still high if there is no carbon tax policy.

However, since its implementation, this business shows slow progress in their operations. People are likely to shift their attention to shift their choice not to buy because of an increasing price. They have two options. First, they may postpone their purchase while waiting for their financial condition is getting better. Second, they may allocate the fund they have to buy another product that they need more. To support this view is the reason that some industries have to pay more for production costs. The implementation of carbon tax policy raises a dilemma among companies, which get a direct impact. Again and again, the financial situation regarding their daily operations may likely be threatened with this policy implementation. An increasing cost of production is a big enemy for most companies. It is logical that to gain a maximum profit, companies have to minimize the cost whatever it takes. However, in this case, an increasing cost is unavoidable. They have to suffer from this policy implementation. Another dilemma is they have to decide right away about the price determination. In the end, consumers will always be as a victim of the government policy.

Australian business community welcomed the federal government's decision

to remove the carbon tax and emissions trading scheme switched to a year earlier. However, the mining industry worried about plans to float new schemes. Federal Opposition parties said the transition more quickly it will not change the impact of the imposition of a carbon price on households. The Australian Government announced it would leave the carbon tax price a year ahead of schedule and move to an emissions trading scheme next year. The decision means that the carbon price is set \$ 24.15 per ton would fall to between \$ 6 and \$ 10 per ton.

However, the government still had not detailed how billions of dollars to pay costs as a result of that decision. The Australian Industry Group stated that the lower carbon price would benefit the business community. This is an initial step, but it will be brought forward to this year, and even the discussion to be carried out on how best to determine the carbon price. Carbon price burden the mining industry and many mining operations in Queensland had reduced or stopped altogether due to the policy, according to the Minerals Council of Australia.

While acknowledging Labour Party policies about reducing emissions as a mistake, Rudd admitted that his party has

addressed a number of major challenges, especially in the economic field. Prime Minister Kevin Rudd admitted if the party leader, the Labour Party does not have a mandate to introduce a carbon tax completely (Crowe, 2013).⁸ Abbott said the coalition government would abolish the carbon tax altogether and answer questions about emissions problems with more tangible action. While acknowledging the error, Kevin Rudd insisted that his party has provided a number of answers to the big issue, such as in the economic sector and employment.

In rebuttal, it is suggested that they have to think alternative strategies to increase their income. This is an interesting point to argue because the implementation of carbon tax policy, whether companies like or not; it will force them to think more seriously regarding their ongoing operations. They are demanded to be more creative and innovative in developing new ways to improve their performance. It is very attractive to observe when companies try their best effort to deal with the financial

problem. Some companies will act defensively while others may act more offensive in dealing with the situation. The creative way to increase their income is to diversify their product into other products that may result in producing more income for the company. This is one of the examples of companies, which is creative and innovative in developing their operations. They do not easily give up from the difficult situation upon them because there is one main aspect to consider in running the company, to maximize the profit the minimum resources.

Conclusion

In summary, it would be more reasonable to accept the contention that the implementation of carbon tax policy does not harm the Australian economy. The strongest line of reasoning for this view is based upon both economic and environment consideration. In an economic context, carbon tax will give an additional source of revenue to federal budget as a whole. This is in line with the government's responsibility to search some sources of revenue to fund its daily operations. It is essential to consider the two main basic functions of tax, as a budgetary aspect and a regulatory aspect. In this case, carbon tax acts both ways. On one

⁸ David Crowe, "Why Kevin Rudd will never terminate carbon tax", 2013 <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/climate/why-kevin-rudd-will-never-terminate-carbon-tax/story-e6frg6xf-1226680449065>, (accessed October 10, 2016).

hand, the implementation of carbon tax will contribute to the revenue addition of the federal budget. On the other hand, it will also act as a regulatory means to fight against climate change issues.

There is another crucial aspect to consider regarding the implementation of carbon tax policy. The implementation of carbon tax will have a multiplier effect on business sectors because it will stimulate the creativity and innovation within the company. The best thing is the implementation of carbon tax may not only maintain a healthy competition among companies around Australia, but also in a global level. They have to manage and improve their competitive advantage of products they offered among all companies in Australia. If they fail, they are no longer surviving in the business world.

However, every policy implemented by the government could not satisfy public needs. It is not impossible for government in the future to revise this policy. Government may reduce the carbon tax or even decide not to implement at all. In the end, every government in the world has the same objective, to provide a social welfare to all citizens.

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Efektivitas Bantuan Pembangunan *Peace Corps* Amerika Serikat Di Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this research is to explain the U.S. Peace Corps' aid effectiveness in assisting Indonesia from year 2010 to 2017. This research utilizes the five principles and twelve indicators of Paris Declaration as tools to explain the aid effectiveness. The method of this research is descriptive-analytical and uses interviews and observation as primary resources, also using books and articles as secondary resources. The result of this research shows that principles of Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness in Peace Corps Indonesia is almost effective in Local Alignment Principle, Harmonization Principle, and Mutual Accountability Principle. In addition to Policy Ownership Principle, English learning is not yet considered as a priority. Moreover, there are some differences in development plan and real activities that makes it become unoperational strategy. In Managing for Result Principle, since 2010, the amount of students, teachers and communities whose interact with the volunteer of Peace Corps keep increasing but there is no official framework that shows development result oriented.

Keywords: *Peace Corps, Peace Corps Indonesia, foreign aid, United States, Bappenas*

³⁵ *Alumni Jurusan Ilmu hubungan internasional

Pendahuluan

Bantuan luar negeri merupakan fenomena yang sangat dinamis hingga saat ini. Dari awal implementasinya sejak pasca-Perang Dunia II, isu yang mengiringi terus bergerak dan tidak bisa dilepaskan dari dinamika politik internasional yang terjadi. Hal yang paling mempengaruhi isu bantuan luar negeri dewasa ini adalah tujuan pembangunan (development goals) yang dirumuskan oleh donor-donor internasional. Development goals menjadi acuan negara-negara donor dalam memformulasikan program-program bantuan yang akan disalurkan.¹

Peace Corps merupakan suatu agen bantuan pembangunan Amerika Serikat untuk negara-negara dunia ketiga dalam agrikultur, pendidikan, kesehatan, pembangunan ekonomi masyarakat, lingkungan dan pembangunan pemuda.² Dibentuk pada tanggal 1 Maret 1961 oleh Presiden John F. Kennedy, *Peace Corps* memiliki tujuan untuk:³

1. Membantu warga dari negara yang berminat untuk memenuhi kebutuhan

mereka akan tenaga terampil baik laki-laki maupun perempuan;

2. Membantu memperdalam pemahaman warga penerima bantuan tentang masyarakat Amerika Serikat;
3. Membantu memperdalam pemahaman warga Amerika Serikat tentang bangsa lain.

Peace Corps berbeda dengan *Agency of International Development*, *U.S. Red Cross Junior*, *Chamber of Commerce* atau badan bantuan lainnya. Peace Corps berbentuk badan independen yang terdiri dari sukarelawan yang berasal dari latar belakang ras, jenis kelamin, umur dan pekerjaan yang berbeda untuk disebarluaskan hingga ke seluruh dunia.⁴ Sukarelawan Peace Corps menggunakan waktu dan kemampuan mereka dengan bekerja sama selama dua tahun sebagai guru, penasehat usaha, konsultan teknologi dan informasi, kesehatan, penyuluh HIV/AIDS, serta pekerja pertanian.⁵ Mereka juga belajar meleburkan diri mereka ke dalam budaya negara tempat mereka bekerja serta berpartisipasi dalam proyek dan aktivitas pembangunan dan pelayanan yang

¹John Degenbol Martinussen dan Endberg Pedersen. *Understanding International Development Cooperation*. (London: Zed Books Ltd. 2003). hal 25.

² Tentang *Peace Corps*. <http://www.peacecorps.gov?index.cfm?shell=about> (diakses tanggal 2 November 2016).

³ *The Peace Corps. A Comprehensive Agency Assessment* (Peace Corps, Washington). 2010.

⁴ Direktorat Politik dan Komunikasi Bappenas, *Laporan Fasilitasi Pelaksanaan Program Peace Corps di Indonesia Tahun 2015*, 2015.

⁵ *Peace Corps Indonesia. Laporan Tahunan 2012*. (Peace Corps Indonesia: Surabaya). 2012.

dirancang untuk masyarakat.⁶ Hingga saat ini *Peace Corps* telah tersebar di 140 negara dengan jumlah relawan lebih dari 220.000 orang.⁷

Sebagai negara yang memiliki hubungan baik dengan Amerika Serikat, Indonesia menjadi salah satu tujuan implementasi kebijakan *Peace Corps*.⁸ Indonesia menjalin kerja sama dengan *Peace Corps*, dengan ditandatanganinya *Memorandum of Understanding* pada tanggal 8 Maret 1963 dan mulai dilaksanakan pada tanggal 14 Maret 1963 (*Peace Corps Tahap I*)⁹ Indonesia pada saat tersebut menjalin kerja sama ini atas permintaan untuk memberi pelatihan bidang olahraga dan pendidikan fisik.¹⁰ Tiga tahun *Peace Corps* dijalankan di Indonesia, pada tahun 1965 bantuan pembangunan dihentikan karena politik Indonesia sedang tidak stabil.¹¹

Setelah lebih dari 40 tahun pemutusan kerja sama *Peace Corps* dengan Indonesia, pada tanggal 16 Oktober 2006, Pemerintah Amerika Serikat, melalui Duta Besar Amerika Serikat di Jakarta, mengadakan pertemuan dengan Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) yang kembali menyampaikan tawaran bantuan pembangunan di Indonesia.¹² Melalui surat Menteri Negara PPN/ Kepala Bappenas No. 6461/M.PPN/10/2006 kepada Duta Besar Amerika Serikat di Jakarta dan surat No. 6463/M.PPN/10/2006 tanggal 31 Oktober 2006, pemerintah Indonesia telah menyampaikan penghargaan dan membuka diri terhadap kerja sama internasional sekaligus mengundang *Peace Corps* untuk membangun kembali programnya di Indonesia.¹³

Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) *Peace Corps* akhirnya ditandatangani kembali pada tanggal 11 Desember 2009 (*Peace Corps Tahap II*).¹⁴ Pencapaian ini merupakan hasil dari perkembangan penting hubungan bilateral Indonesia di bawah kepemimpinan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Fast Facts. <https://www.peacecorps.gov/news/fast-facts> (diakses tanggal 2 November 2016).

⁸ <http://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/RI-AS-Sepakati-Kerjasama-i-Peace-Corps-i-dan-i-Interfaith-Dialogue-i.aspx> (diakses tanggal 10 April 2017)

⁹ Direktorat Politik dan Komunikasi Bappenas. *Laporan Fasilitasi Pelaksanaan Program Peace Corps di Indonesia Tahun 2015*. (Bappenas: Jakarta). 2015.

¹⁰ Rekso Graha & Suzie Sudarman. "Program *Peace Corps*: Implementasi *Smart Power* Pemerintah Amerika Serikat di Indonesia". *Jurnal Prisma Vol. 35, No. 1* (2016).

¹¹ <http://www.pressreader.com/indonesia/jawa-pos/20141006/282424167459426> (diakses tanggal 10 April 2017).

¹² Direktorat Politik dan Komunikasi Bappenas. *Laporan Fasilitasi Pelaksanaan Program Peace Corps di Indonesia Tahun 2015*. (Bappenas: Jakarta). 2015.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *Memorandum of Understanding*. http://treaty.kemlu.go.id/uploads-pub/1304_USA-2009-0301.pdf (diakses tanggal 23 November 2016)

dan Amerika Serikat di bawah kepemimpinan Barrack Obama yang ditandai dengan disepakatinya *Comprehensive Partnership* pada bulan November 2010.

Kerjasama Peace Corps dan Indonesia dilandasi prinsip yang menekankan kesetaraan posisi dan manfaat yang diperoleh. Dari segi kesetaraan posisi, kedua pihak mempunyai hak dan kewajiban yang sama sebagaimana telah dicantumkan dalam *Paris Declaration* dan *The Jakarta Commitment*. Dari aspek manfaat, selayaknya kedua belah pihak memperoleh manfaat yang bersifat resiprokal.¹⁵

Oleh karena itu, berdasarkan fenomena yang dipaparkan, maka penting untuk melihat perubahan fokus implementasi Peace Corps Tahap I (1963-1965) menjadi Peace Corps Tahap II (2010-2015) serta melihat efektivitas bantuan pembangunan Peace Corps menggunakan *Paris Declaration*.

Kerangka Pemikiran

Aid Effectiveness secara sederhana dapat diartikan sebagai efektifitas bantuan pembangunan (*development aid*) dalam mencapai pembangunan manusia dan

ekonomi, atau juga dapat diartikan sebagai target-target pembangunan.¹⁶ Agensi-agensi donor dan lembaga-lembaga *think tank* internasional terus menerus mencari cara-cara baru untuk memperbaiki dan meningkatkan efektivitas bantuan, termasuk dalam *conditionality*, *capacity building*, dan usaha untuk meningkatkan *governance*.¹⁷ Isu mengenai *aid effectiveness* ini mendapat perhatian semenjak munculnya banyak laporan mengenai kegagalan usaha bantuan luar negeri dalam upaya pembangunan, terutama di wilayah Afrika dan Asia Selatan.

Salah satu organisasi yang berkomitmen menangani masalah bantuan luar negeri adalah *OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)*.¹⁸ Pada tahun 2005, OECD menginisiasi pertemuan *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*.¹⁹ *Paris Declaration 2005* merupakan sebuah titik tolak munculnya kesadaran untuk lebih memperhatikan

¹⁵ Direktorat Politik dan Komunikasi Bappenas. *Laporan Fasilitasi Pelaksanaan Program Peace Corps di Indonesia Tahun 2016*. (Bappenas: Jakarta). 2016.

¹⁶ Shaka Mahottama, *Analisis Terhadap Implementasi Bantuan World Bank Dalam menekan Angka Kemiskinan di Indonesia Periode 2000-2010*. (Tesis: Universitas Indonesia). 2012.

¹⁷ D. Kauffman. "Aid Effectiveness and Governance: The good, the bad, and the Ugly", World Bank Outreach. (Februari 2009).

¹⁸ Tentang OECD <http://www.oecd.org/about/> (diakses tanggal 6 April 2017)

¹⁹ Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/parisdeclarationandaccraagendaforaction.htm> (diakses tanggal 6 April 2017).

pertanggungjawaban atas aliran bantuan luar negeri di berbagai negara. Selama ini, usaha bantuan luar negeri seringkali dikritik tidak efektif dan hanya akan berfungsi sebagai alat pihak donor dalam mencapai tujuannya di negara penerima.

Pertemuan ini mengumumkan lima prinsip dasar *aid effectiveness*, yaitu:²⁰

1. Kepemilikan Kebijakan (*Policy Ownership*), yang mengharuskan bagi negara berkembang untuk memiliki kebijakan dan strategi pembangunannya sendiri, serta mengelola usaha pembangunan mereka di lapangan.
2. Keselarasan Lokal (*Local Alignment*), yang mengharuskan bagi para pendonor untuk memberikan bantuan sesuai dengan kebijakan dan strategi pembangunan negara berkembang, dan apabila memungkinkan harus selalu memprioritaskan lembaga dan institusi lokal dalam pengelolaan bantuan.
3. Harmonisasi (*Harmonization*), yang mewajibkan bagi para donor untuk melakukan koordinasi dalam pemberian bantuan kepada negara berkembang, agar bantuan yang ada tidak tumpang tindih dan menyusahakan pemerintah negara penerima bantuan.

4. Pengelolaan Berbasis Hasil Pembangunan (*Managing For Results*), yang mewajibkan semua pihak yang berpartisipasi dalam bantuan untuk mengutamakan dan memperhatikan hasil dari bantuan tersebut, tidak hanya sekedar penyaluran teknis, melainkan mengembangkan metode, alat dan mekanisme untuk mengetahui apakah bantuan tersebut benar-benar memiliki hasil yang positif bagi kehidupan masyarakat penerima.
5. Pertanggungjawaban Bersama (*Mutual Accountability*), para donor dan negara berkembang harus mempertanggungjawabkan penggunaan dana dan pelaksanaan bantuan secara transparan satu sama lain, kepada masyarakat, serikat parlemen, mengenai dampak dan hasil dari bantuan tersebut.

Kelima prinsip *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* kemudian dilengkapi dengan 12 indikator yang dapat digunakan untuk menganalisis apakah implementasi prinsip-prinsip tersebut terpenuhi.

²⁰ Join Evaluation of Paris Declaration. Phase 2: Final Report. 2010.

Tabel 1.1 Prinsip-prinsip Paris Declaration

No	Prinsip Paris Declaration	Indikator	Parameter
1	Kepemilikan Kebijakan (<i>Policy Ownership</i>)	1.1 Kepemilikan strategi yang bersifat operasional.	Kemandirian negara penerima bantuan dengan menunjukkan kemampuannya untuk menentukan sendiri strategi dan arah pembangunan sesuai kepentingan dan kebutuhannya.
2	Keselarsan Lokal (<i>Local Alignment</i>)	2.1 Terdapatnya penguatan kapasitas lokal melalui koordinasi dukungan. Menghindari implementasi program yang tumpang tindih. 2.2 Terdapatnya sistem manajemen keuangan publik dan <i>procurement</i> yang dapat diandalkan. 2.3 Adanya penggun	Negara tidak terikat dan tidak serta merta bergantung kepada donor yaitu dengan mendahulukan kepentingan lokal.

		<p>aan sistem manajemen keuangan publik dan <i>procurement</i> nasional.</p> <p>2.4 Kepastian bahwa aliran bantuan mengutamakan prioritas nasional.</p> <p>2.5 Bantuan memiliki sifat mudah diprediksi.</p> <p>2.6 Bantuan bersifat tidak mengikat, <i>minimum conditionalities</i>.</p>	
3	Harmonisasi (<i>Harmonization</i>)	1.1 Adanya prosedur umum dalam aliran bantuan luar negeri. 1.2 Adanya <i>joint mission</i> dan <i>joint country analytic works</i> .	Adanya koordinasi dukungan dalam pemberian bantuan agar bantuan tidak tumpang tindih.
4	Pengelolaan yang berorientasi pada hasil pembangunan (<i>Managing for</i>	4.1 Adanya kerangka kerja yang berorientasi pada hasil-hasil pembang	Setiap program dan evaluasinya mengacu kepada hasil pembangunan di mana masyarakat dapat menikmati hasil dan program pembangunan

	<i>results</i>)	unan.	tersebut dengan dibentuknya kerangka pengelolaan hasil pembangunan.
5	Pertanggungjawaban bersama (<i>Mutual Accountability</i>)	5.1 Adanya mekanisme pertanggungjawaban bersama antara pemerintah dan donor, terutama dalam hasil-hasil pembangunan.	Adanya pertanggungjawaban dengan diterbitkannya laporan dalam waktu tertentu.

Sumber: *Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration, Making Aid More Effective 2010*

Prinsip dan indikator yang terdapat dalam *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* akan digunakan dalam bab pembahasan dalam penelitian mengenai efektivitas bantuan pembangunan Peace Corps di Indonesia.

Efektivitas Bantuan Pembangunan Peace Corps Amerika Serikat Di Indonesia

A. *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*

Paris Declaration merupakan sebuah titik tolak di mana muncul kesadaran dalam memperhatikan pertanggungjawaban atas aliran bantuan luar negeri di berbagai negara. Pertemuan *Paris Declaration*

dilakukan pada 2 Maret 2005.²¹ Selama ini, usaha bantuan luar negeri seringkali dikritik tidak efektif dan hanya akan berfungsi sebagai alat pihak donor dalam mencapai tujuannya di negara penerima. Negara penerima pun tidak kalah disorot, mengenai penggunaan bantuan luar negeri tersebut, negara-negara berkembang umumnya menjadi perhatian karena bantuan tersebut rawan dikorupsi.²²

B. Penerapan Prinsip-prinsip *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* dalam Pelaksanaan Program Peace Corps

Seperti yang sudah dijelaskan dalam Bab 1, penelitian ini akan menggunakan prinsip-prinsip yang dihasilkan dari pertemuan *Paris Declaration* tahun 2005. Berikut prinsip-prinsip *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* beserta indikator yang menjelaskannya.

Pembahasan yang dilakukan berdasarkan prinsip-indikator yang ditetapkan *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* demi memudahkan menganalisis efektivitas bantuan pembangunan Peace Corps Amerika Serikat

²¹ Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness Report, High Level Forum, 2005

²² Does foreign aid make NGOs corrupt? <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/may/01/aid-local-ngos-dishonest-development> (diakses tanggal 5 Juni 2017)

di Indonesia. Pembahasan akan dibagi ke dalam lima sub bab berdasarkan prinsip *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* yang dibahas bersama dengan indikator-indikator terkait prinsip tersebut.

Prinsip Kepemilikan Kebijakan (*Policy Ownership*)

Kepemilikan sebuah negara atas kebijakan pembangunannya menjadi sebuah prinsip penting tersendiri dalam efektivitas bantuan luar negeri. Prinsip ini menjelaskan bentuk kemandirian dari negara penerima bantuan dengan menunjukkan kemampuannya untuk menentukan sendiri strategi dan arah pembangunan sesuai kepentingan dan kebutuhannya.

Strategi pembangunan Indonesia terlihat dengan adanya Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang (RPJP) dan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah (RPJM) dalam siklus 5 tahunan.²³ RPJMN 2010-2014 adalah rencana pembangunan berjangka lima tahun ke-2 dari empat RPJMN yang perlu disusun untuk menjabarkan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional (RPJPN) 2005-2025 yang berjangka 20 tahun. Strategi pembangunan

pemerintah Indonesia yang khusus pada peningkatan pendidikan adalah diterbitkannya Rencana Strategis Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional (RSKP) tahun 2010-2014, yang berisikan garis besar kegiatan untuk mencapai visi dan misi serta strategi dan arah kebijakan pembangunan pendidikan.

Indikator yang terkait pada prinsip ini adalah kepemilikan strategi pembangunan yang bersifat operasional. Terlihat bahwa setiap program yang dijalankan oleh pemerintah memiliki petunjuk teknis dan petunjuk pelaksanaan yang disesuaikan dengan program. Kerja sama Peace Corps dengan Bappenas dalam pelaksanaannya memiliki alur strategi operasional mengenai bagaimana mekanisme relawan melakukan aktivitas di daerah di mana mereka ditempatkan. Kegiatan Peace Corps dapat dilakukan dengan efektif karena Indonesia mempunyai kepemilikan kebijakan (*policy ownership*) yang tertuang dalam Rencana Pembangunan pemerintah Indonesia.

Prinsip Keselarasan Lokal (*Local Alignment*)

Prinsip keselarasan lokal dalam *Paris Declaration* memiliki indikator terbanyak, karena digunakan untuk mengukur apakah sebuah negara benar-

²³ Visi Dan Arah Pembangunan Jangka Panjang (PJP) Tahun 2005 – 2025, Kantor Menteri Negara Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/ Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional

benar masih terikat dan tergantung kepada kepentingan donor atau mendahulukan kepentingan lokal. Prinsip ini penting untuk mengukur dan memastikan bahwa kapasitas lokal memadai dalam mendukung kepemilikan kebijakan sebuah negara.

Dalam usaha penguatan kapasitas lokal melalui koordinasi dukungan. Kerja sama Peace Corps dan Indonesia berusaha menghindari implementasi program yang tumpang tindih dengan memastikan tugas pokok dan fungsi masing-masing pihak. Dalam naskah pengaturan pelaksanaan, diatur tugas dan tanggung jawab para pihak.

Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional RI wajib berkoordinasi dengan Dinas Pendidikan Provinsi dan Kabupaten/Kota serta dengan sekolah untuk memastikan Dinas Pendidikan Provinsi dan Kabupaten/Kota serta sekolah melaksanakan kewajibannya sesuai dengan Pengaturan Pelaksanaan ini; melakukan *monitoring* dan evaluasi terhadap kegiatan relawan sesuai dengan pelaksanaan Pengaturan Pelaksanaan; dan berkoordinasi dengan institusi-institusi Pemerintah Indonesia terkait untuk mendukung kerja relawan.

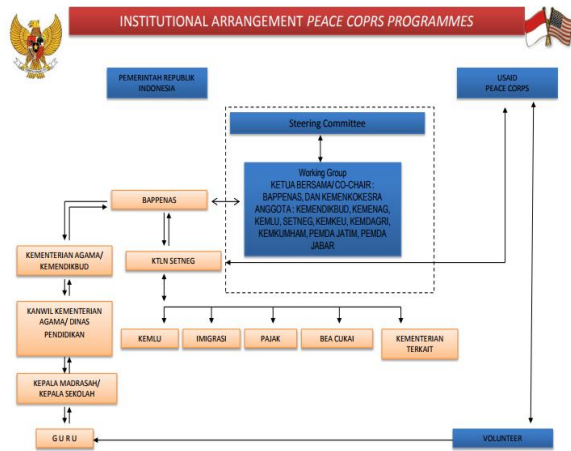
Harmonisasi

Pemerintah Indonesia dan Pemerintah AS membentuk *Joint Steering*

Committee antar instansi atau kementerian yang terdiri dari Kedutaan Besar AS di Jakarta, Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional RI, Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, Kementerian Sekretariat Negara RI, Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional RI, Kementerian Agama RI, dan instansi pemerintahan atau kementerian lainnya yang terkait pelaksanaan program Peace Corps di Indonesia.

Hubungan kelembagaan dalam koordinasi pelaksanaan Peace Corps terjalin sesuai dengan kesepakatan yang disepakati oleh kedua pihak baik pemerintah Indonesia maupun pihak Peace Corps. Berikut rancangan institusional Program Peace Corps yang menjadi panduan koordinasi implementasi Peace Corps di Indonesia yang terlihat dari Gambar 4.1.

Gambar 4.1 Rancangan Institusional Program Peace Corps



Sumber: Laporan Fasilitasi Bappenas 2015

Pelaksanaan program Peace Corps di Indonesia selama tahun 2010-2017 tidak bisa dilepaskan dari koordinasi yang baik antara Pemerintah Indonesia dan Peace Corps Indonesia. Koordinasi di antara Kementerian/Lembaga anggota Tim Pengarah²⁴ dan Tim Teknis²⁵ berjalan dengan lancar, di mana anggota Tim Pengarah dan Tim Teknis terlibat aktif dalam berbagai pertemuan dan kegiatan lainnya yang terkait dengan kerjasama Peace Corps.

²⁴ Tim Pengarah beranggotakan pejabat setingkat Eselon I sebagai pengambil keputusan dalam tahap perencanaan, pelaksanaan, monitoring dan evaluasi.

²⁵ Tim Pelaksana terdiri dari pejabat setingkat Eselon II ke bawah yang mempersiapkan dan menyusun bahan-bahan yang diperlukan oleh Tim Pengarah.

Sebagaimana telah dikemukakan, Pemerintah Indonesian dan Pemerintah AS membentuk *Joint Steering Committee* terdiri dari institusi pemerintahan terkait untuk menentukan arah kebijakan serta menyetujui dan memantau program-program kerja sama teknik Peace Corps dan kegiatannya di Indonesia. *Joint Steering Committee* yang bertemu paling sedikit satu kali dalam setahun bertugas membentuk *Working Groups* yang akan membantu *Steering Committee* dalam tugas-tugas pemantauan dan peninjauan kembali:

*The Joint Steering Committee shall establish working groups to assist steering committee in supervising and reviewing the implementation of the Peace Corps technical cooperation programs and activities in Indonesia.*²⁶

Program serta kegiatan-kegiatan terperinci Peace Corps dimaksud akan dituangkan ke dalam naskah *Implementing Arrangement*:

*Details on programs and activities of Peace Corps in Indonesia shall be defined in an Implementing Arrangement to be agreed by the Parties, which shall be subject to and be in conformity with the MoU.*²⁷

Naskah *Implementing Arrangement* memuat rincian program dan kegiatan Peace

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid

Corps di Indonesia yang perlu disepakati bersama oleh Pemerintah Indonesia dan AS sesuai dengan Nota Kesepahaman tentang program Peace Corps antar kedua pemerintahan. Sebagaimana dijelaskan dalam MoU:

*Such Implementing Arrangement should specify, inter alia, the objective, program of cooperation, the function of working group, financial arrangement, and other details relating to specific undertaking of all participants involved.*²⁸

Paparan di atas memperlihatkan bagaimana Pemerintah Indonesia serta Pemerintah AS sepakat menyusun naskah *Implementing Arrangement* untuk mengatur pelaksanaan program-program kerja sama teknik Peace Corps dan kegiatan-kegiatannya di Indonesia, termasuk fungsi *Working Group*, pengaturan pendanaan, dan perincian lainnya terkait kewenangan seluruh pihak yang terlibat.

Prinsip Pengelolaan Yang Berbasis Pada Hasil Pembangunan

Prinsip ini mengukur hasil pembangunan di mana masyarakat sebagai target program-program pembangunan tersebut. Prinsip ini pada dasarnya mengukur apakah setiap program dan evaluasinya mengacu kepada kondisi hasil

pembangunan di mana masyarakat sebagai *stakeholder* utama dapat menikmati hasil dan program-program pembangunan tersebut. Dalam prakteknya, diharapkan baik donor maupun *recipient* memiliki kesepahaman atas indikator apa saja yang diharapkan dapat diukur atau dicari tahun dalam evaluasi bersama.

Pemerintah Indonesia melalui Bappenas mengakui bahwa perkembangan untuk melaksanakan prinsip ini berkembang dengan lambat.²⁹ Hal ini disebabkan karena adanya perbedaan pandangan dan koordinasi antara pemerintah dengan donor mengenai fokus evaluasi hasil program. Dalam hal ini, pemerintah masih lebih terpaku dalam melihat *achievement* dan masing-masing sektor melalui program-programnya.

Laporan Peace Corps Indonesia menjelaskan capaian relawannya dalam melaksanakan tiga tujuan Peace Corps. Tujuan pertama mengenai pertukaran dalam bidang teknis, sejak tahun 2010 di dalam ruang kelas di Jawa Barat dan Jawa Timur ada lebih dari 200 relawan telah bekerja dengan lebih dari 1.660 guru untuk

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Peraturan Menteri Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/ Kepala Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia Nomor 5 Tahun 2016 [Http://Birohukum.Bappenas.Go.Id/Data/Data_Perment/Salinan_Perment%20ppn-Kepala%20bappenas%20nomor%205%20tahun%202016.Pdf](http://Birohukum.Bappenas.Go.Id/Data/Data_Perment/Salinan_Perment%20ppn-Kepala%20bappenas%20nomor%205%20tahun%202016.Pdf)

meningkatkan kefasihan berbahasa, rasa percaya diri, dan keterampilan dalam Bahasa Inggris siswa.

Sejak 2010, lebih dari 177.000 siswa yang diajar oleh relawan Peace Corps dan guru mitra mereka telah mengalami peningkatan dalam pengetahuan dan kemampuan mereka dalam menggunakan Bahasa Inggris.³⁰ Di luar kelas, relawan dan guru mitra bekerja sama untuk membangun keterampilan siswa melalui klub Bahasa Inggris, kompetisi, proyek-proyek khusus, dan pengajaran informal di masyarakat. Sejak 2010, hampir 61.000 siswa telah terlibat dalam kegiatan ekstrakurikuler Bahasa Inggris yang dilakukan oleh relawan Peace Corps, dengan lebih dari 42 persen siswa memperlihatkan peningkatan kemampuan Bahasa Inggris sebagai hasilnya.

Sejak 2010, relawan juga telah mengadakan berbagai kegiatan kemasyarakatan yang menggambarkan dan memperluas tujuan kerangka kerja proyek Peace Corps di Indonesia. Dalam tujuh tahun, hampir 200 kegiatan dalam bidang pengembangan pemuda, lingkungan, kesehatan, pendidikan dan bidang lainnya telah memberikan manfaat kepada lebih dari

7500 anggota masyarakat.³¹ Dalam hal ini ada satu fokus khusus pada pemuda Indonesia, yang membangun jiwa kepemimpinan, pengambilan keputusan, dan keterampilan hidup melalui berbagai kegiatan masyarakat yang digerakkan oleh relawan Peace Corps dan mitra mereka di berbagai institusi.

Dalam laporan tentang pencapaian tujuan kedua mengenai meningkatkan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang warga negara Amerika oleh warga negara Indonesia, Peace Corps menyebutkan bahwa dua dari tiga tujuan Peace Corps adalah mendorong pemahaman dan pertukaran lintas budaya antara masyarakat Amerika dan negara tujuan di mana mereka bertugas. Sejak hari pertama relawan tiba di negara tujuan untuk memenuhi komitmen dua tahun mereka, mereka langsung diterjunkan ke dalam budaya dan Bahasa Indonesia. Mereka tinggal dengan keluarga sepanjang masa penugasan mereka. Relawan mempromosikan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang masyarakat Amerika melalui interaksi sehari-hari dengan mitra pengajar, rekan kerja, siswa, keluarga dan teman.

Relawan yang memiliki latar belakang usia, ras, suku, dan sosial yang berbeda mewakili keberagaman budaya

³⁰ Annual Report Peace Corps Indonesia 2015

³¹ Ibid.

Amerika. Dengan begitu, mereka bisa berbagi tradisi dan juga nilai-nilai budaya Amerika dengan berbagai cara yang kreatif. Baik itu melewati pelajaran tentang sejarah Amerika, menjadi tuan rumah untuk Hari Raya *Thanksgiving*, atau bermain *football* Amerika dengan siswa-siswa mereka, relawan menciptakan kesempatan bagi siswa untuk mendapatkan pengalaman lintas budaya yang unik, baik secara formal maupun informal.

Dalam laporan tentang pencapaian tujuan ketiga mengenai meningkatkan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang warga negara Indonesia oleh warga negara Amerika, Peace Corps menyebutkan bahwa sebagian besar relawan Peace Corps aktif terlibat dalam pencapaian ini selama dan setelah masa kerja. Sebanyak 87 persen rata-rata relawan merasa bahwa pekerjaan serta interaksi dengan masyarakat dan sekolah membantu pencapaian tujuan tersebut. Lebih dari 65 persen relawan memiliki blog atau situs pribadi yang mereka perbaharui secara regular untuk berbagi pengalaman dan kesan tentang Indonesia atau masyarakat Indonesia; lebih dari 75 persen relawan menggunakan media sosial seperti *facebook*, *twitter* dan *instagram* untuk berbagi cerita; dan 40 persen relawan telah menerima

kunjungan oleh teman dan keluarga ke komunitasnya.³²

Salah satu program bernama *World Wise School* juga merupakan salah satu cara untuk berbagi pengalaman dengan guru dan siswa di Amerika.³³ Program sahabat pena ini menjembatani ruang kelas di Indonesia dan Amerika dimana siswa-siswa dapat saling bertanya sehingga mewujudkan pola lain dari koneksi antar-masyarakat.

Prinsip Pertanggungjawaban Bersama

Pertanggungjawaban bersama diukur dari diterbitkannya laporan berkala dalam rentang waktu tertentu. Bappenas menerbitkan laporan kerjasama dengan Peace Corps pada tahun 2010, sebagai bagian dari pertanggungjawaban dari sudut pandang pemerintah.

Laporan Bappenas berbentuk laporan kegiatan fasilitasi pelaksanaan program Peace Corps di Indonesia yang diterbitkan satu kali setahun yang memperlihatkan apakah tersalurkannya fasilitasi Bappenas dalam mendukung koordinasi yang baik di antara instansi-instansi pemerintah yang terkait dengan program Peace Corps. Melalui fasilitasi ini diharapkan program Peace Corps dapat berjalan secara optimal,

³² Ibid.

³³ Wawancara dengan *Country Director* Nina N. Favor, 22 Juni 2017

berkelanjutan dan bermanfaat bagi kepentingan masyarakat Indonesia pada umumnya dan masyarakat Provinsi Jawa Timur dan Provinsi Jawa Barat pada khususnya.

Laporan Peace Corps berbentuk laporan tahunan yang diterbitkan satu kali setahun. Laporan tersebut berisi pencapaian yang telah dilakukan relawan Peace Corps baik dalam lingkungan siswa, lingkungan guru dan masyarakat. Laporan tahunan ini juga berisi penjelasan pelatihan yang diterima, penjelasan proyek-proyek apa yang dilakukan sampai kepada dampak yang dirasakan relawan Peace Corps setelah menyelesaikan program Peace Corps yang didukung dengan beberapa testimoni RPCV (*Return Peace Corps Volunteer*).

Laporan-laporan program ini memiliki standar yang telah ditetapkan sebelumnya, dan Peace Corps memiliki aturan standar mengenai laporan program yang ada. Laporan ini harus dikirimkan kepada masing-masing pihak untuk keperluan evaluasi dan *reporting*.

C. Efektivitas Bantuan Pembangunan Peace Corps di Indonesia

Setelah melakukan penelitian berdasarkan subbab-subbab di atas, maka penulis menyimpulkan bahwa bantuan pembangunan Peace Corps cukup efektif

apabila dilihat dari sudut pandang *Paris Declaration*.

Berikut rekapitulasi hasil temuan penelitian yang diolah oleh peneliti atas keefektifitasan Peace Corps di Indonesia berdasarkan prinsip-prinsip yang disepakati dalam *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* yang dapat dilihat dalam Tabel 4.2.

Tabel 4.2 Rekapitulasi Keefektifitasan Peace Corps di Indonesia

Prinsip Paris Declaration	Hasil Temuan
Kepemilikan kebijakan - Kepemilikan strategi yang bersifat operasional	Perencanaan dan strategi pemerintah Indonesia sudah ada dan berjalan, dengan adanya RPJP, RPJM dan RSKP. Namun untuk RSKP, dalam usaha pembangunan pendidikan, pengajaran Bahasa Inggris belum menjadi prioritas utama. Masih adanya perbedaan rancangan pembangunan dengan yang dilakukan di lapangan membuat strategi yang dilakukan belum

Listia Khairunnisa | Efektivitas Bantuan Pembangunan Peace Corps Amerika Serikat di Indonesia

<p>Keselarasan Lokal (<i>Local Alignment</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terdapatnya penguatan kapasitas lokal melalui koordinasi dukungan. Menghindari implementasi program yang tumpang tindih. - Terdapatnya sistem manajemen keuangan publik dan <i>procurement</i> yang dapat diandalkan. - Adanya penggunaan sistem manajemen keuangan publik dan <i>procurement</i> nasional. - Kepastian bahwa aliran bantuan mengutamakan prioritas nasional. - Bantuan memiliki sifat mudah diprediksi. - Bantuan bersifat tidak mengikat, minim <i>conditionalities</i>. 	<p>operasional.</p> <p>Koordinasi yang baik antara pihak Peace Corps dengan pihak pemerintahan Indonesia yaitu Kementerian PPN/Bappenas. Baiknya koordinasi dicapai karena sudah ada pembagian tugas dan tanggung jawab serta alur koordinasi yang jelas. Prioritas nasional Indonesia memang menjadi fokus utama dalam pelaksanaan program Peace Corps. Relawan mengabdikan dirinya untuk pembangunan Indonesia khususnya peningkatan pendidikan. <i>Conditionalities</i> yang diberikan kedua pihak cukup banyak, namun persyaratan dan kewajibannya dijelaskan secara jelas.</p>	<p>(<i>Harmonization</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adanya prosedur umum dalam aliran bantuan luar negeri. - Adanya <i>joint mission</i> dan <i>joint country analytic works</i> 	<p>melalui Bappenas dengan Peace Corps memiliki harmonisasi yang baik. Motif dan kepentingan dapat dijalankan kedua pihak dengan baik.</p>
		<p>Pengelolaan yang berorientasi pada hasil pembangunan (<i>Managing for results</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adanya kerangka kerja yang berorientasi pada hasil-hasil pembangunan. 	<p>Sejak tahun 2010 jumlah siswa, guru dan masyarakat yang berinteraksi dan merasakan bantuan pembangunan yang diberikan Peace Corps terus meningkat namun tidak ada kerangka kerja yang berorientasi pada hasil-hasil pembangunan.</p>
		<p>Pertanggungjawaban bersama (<i>Mutual Accountability</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adanya mekanisme pertanggungjawaban bersama antara pemerintah dan donor, terutama dalam hasil-hasil pembangunan 	<p>Mekanisme pelaporan antara pemerintah dan Peace Corps sudah ada dan diterbitkan secara berkala. Proses monitoring dan evaluasi juga dilakukan pemerintah lewat Bappenas.</p>
<p>Harmonisasi</p>	<p>Pemerintah</p>		

Sumber: diolah oleh peneliti

Hasil temuan di atas memperlihatkan pengaplikasian *Paris Declaration on Aid*

Effectiveness dalam implementasi Peace Corps di Indonesia menggunakan prinsip dan indikator yang sudah disepakati. Hasil temuan disimpulkan dari proses studi pustaka dan wawancara.

KESIMPULAN

Program Peace Corps pernah dilaksanakan di Indonesia pada masa Orde Lama melalui MoU yang ditandatangani pada tanggal 8 Maret 1963 dan mulai dilaksanakan pada tanggal 14 Maret 1963. Program ini kemudian berhenti pada tahun 1965. Pada tanggal 18-19 Februari 2009, telah dilakukan pertemuan antara Menteri Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat dengan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia membahas *Comprehensive Partnership* serta kesiapan Amerika Serikat untuk mengirimkan kembali Peace Corps ke Indonesia. Pemerintah Indonesia melalui Kementerian Luar Negeri menanggapi hal ini secara positif. Melalui serangkaian pembahasan antara Pemerintah Indonesia dan Amerika Serikat, *Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)* Peace Corps akhirnya ditandatangani pada tanggal 11 Desember 2009, sedangkan dokumen *Implementing Arrangement (IA)* atau pengaturan pelaksanaan program telah ditandatangani masing-masing oleh Peace Corps dan

Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional (kemudian Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan) dan Kementerian Agama pada tanggal 15 Juni 2011.

Menurut Bappenas, Indonesia mengharapkan kerjasama dengan Peace Corps dilandasi prinsip yang menekankan kesetaraan posisi dan manfaat yang diperoleh. Dari segi kesetaraan posisi, kedua pihak mempunyai hak dan kewajiban yang sama sebagaimana telah dicantumkan dalam *Paris Declaration* dan *the Jakarta Commitment*.

Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness merupakan sebuah upaya bersama negara-negara dunia untuk menetapkan indikator-indikator pengukuran keefektivitasan suatu bantuan luar negeri. Di Indonesia diteruskan dengan dibentuknya *Jakarta Commitment* yang menekankan keikutsertaan Indonesia menjadi negara yang mendukung keefektivitasan bantuan luar negeri.

Aktivitas bantuan luar negeri yang dilakukan oleh Peace Corps, berdasarkan prinsip-prinsip dan indikator-indikator *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*, peneliti menemukan bahwa dari prinsip kepemilikan kebijakan, perencanaan dan strategi pemerintah Indonesia sudah ada dan berjalan, dengan adanya RPJP, RPJM dan

RSKP. Namun untuk RSKP, dalam usaha pembangunan pendidikan, pengajaran Bahasa Inggris belum menjadi prioritas utama.

Prinsip keselarasan lokal memperlihatkan koordinasi yang baik antara pihak Peace Corps dengan pihak pemerintahan Indonesia yaitu Kementerian PPN/Bappenas. Baiknya koordinasi dicapai karena sudah ada pembagian tugas dan tanggung jawab serta alur koordinasi yang yang jelas. Prioritas nasional Indonesia memang menjadi fokus utama dalam pelaksanaan program Peace Corps. Relawan mengabdikan dirinya untuk pembangunan Indonesia khususnya peningkatan pendidikan. *Conditionalities* yang diberikan kedua pihak cukup banyak, namun persyaratan dan kewajibannya dijelaskan secara jelas.

Dari prinsip harmonisasi, pemerintah melalui Bappenas dengan Peace Corps memiliki harmonisasi yang baik. Motif dan kepentingan dapat dijalankan kedua pihak dengan baik. Dari prinsip pengelolaan yang berbasis hasil pembangunan, sejak tahun 2010 jumlah siswa, guru dan masyarakat yang berinteraksi dan merasakan bantuan pembangunan yang diberikan Peace Corps terus meningkat. Dari prinsip pertanggungjawaban bersama, mekanisme

pelaporan antara pemerintah dan Peace Corps sudah ada dan diterbitkan secara berkala. Proses monitoring dan evaluasi juga dilakukan pemerintah lewat Bappenas.

Dari prinsip dan indikator yang dihasilkan oleh *Paris Declaration*, dapat dilihat bahwa aktifitas yang dilakukan Peace Corps sudah cukup efektif pada Prinsip Keselarasan Lokal, Prinsip Harmonisasi dan Prinsip Pertanggungjawaban Bersama, hanya ada kekurangan di Prinsip Kepemilikan Kebijakan dan Prinsip Pengelolaan yang Berorientasi Pada Hasil Pembangunan. Pada Prinsip Kepemilikan Kebijakan, RSKP (Rencana Strategis Kementerian Pendidikan) dalam usaha pembangunan pendidikan, pengajaran Bahasa Inggris belum menjadi prioritas utama. Adanya perbedaan rancangan pembangunan dengan yang dilakukan di lapangan membuat strategi yang dilakukan belum operasional. Pada Prinsip Pengelolaan yang Berorientasi Pada Hasil Pembangunan, sejak tahun 2010 jumlah siswa, guru dan masyarakat yang berinteraksi dan merasakan bantuan pembangunan yang diberikan Peace Corps terus meningkat namun tidak ada kerangka kerja yang berorientasi pada hasil-hasil pembangunan.

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Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum: Contribution in the Indo-Pacific Region

Mohd. Agoes Afiya⁶⁹

Abstract

This research attempted to analyse the effectiveness of the new policy under the President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) which is called as “Global maritime fulcrum” or *poros maritim dunia* as approach in contributing Indo-Pacific region stability. The policy has strong maritime sense linkages inspired by Indonesia's past maritime kingdom such as Majapahit and Sriwijaya glory, hence the new government try to revive the maritime identity in the nation-state to achieve national interest not only for domestic development but importantly also for stability in the region. As the relatively new policy at the time, the research try a preliminary assessment within two years of Jokowi administration. The effectiveness of this policy will be assessed no how the policy were implemented dan responded to deal with challenges in the Indo-Pacific region including the domestical sphere. The discussion will be followed with the concluding remarks for suggestion on the policy including evaluations as well as recommendations.

Key Words: Maritime, Indo-Pacific, Indonesia, Joko Widodo, Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF), Sea Toll.

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Research Method

In the research would use qualitative approach which combine descriptive and analytical method. The study seeks analyze the basis of the Indonesian foreign policy from its dual focus on *bebas dan aktif* to one that is more focused on engaging across a wide range of issues. The research aims to explain (how and why) the relations between the foreign policy and the objective of the global maritime fulcrum can contribute toward stability in Indo-Pacific region. In data collection, library research as well as primary and secondary sources would be gathered from reports, agreements, declarations, books, articles, newspaper and electronic websites. Given that the topic is relatively new, the scholar also seeks to enhance his work through expert interviews which will contribute as primary sources as well.

Understanding Global Maritime Fulcrum Policy

The background behind Indonesia government under Jokowi administration on the foreign policy of “*Poros maritim dunia*” or global maritime fulcrum (GMF) has several motivating factors on why the new

government chooses as one of its primary motto on foreign policy in international arena. First, not surprisingly in the historical background, it is believed that the ancestor of Indonesian mainly that the Sriwijaya and Majapahit empires at 14th century and 16th century six hundred developed powerful fleets to conquer not only in local seas in Indonesia region but it expanded upto the southern Thailand and the Philippines, this became the source of the spirit of Indonesia maritime identity which is being reiterated in the country to enact the GMF policy today¹. Second, geographically, Indonesia is the world's largest archipelagic state with vast territory which has 1,826,440 square kilometres of land and 2.8 million square kilometres of water with 92,877 sq. km of inland waters with 18,108 islands. Further, the country expanded its territory under the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) by 7.9 million square kilometres (Cribb & Ford, 2009). Another factor makes this become more significant, because its strategic value from natural resources such as timber,

¹ Geoffrey Till, “Indonesia as a growing maritime power: possible implications for Australia”, Sea Power Centre, Issue No. 4, 2015

petroleum, natural gas, tin, nickel, copper, coal and even fisheries.²

Third, in terms of geo-strategic position, Indonesia lies in the very strategic and dynamic location, which situated between two oceans, namely Indian ocean and Pacific Ocean. In this position, Indonesia could be seen as “bridge” of the two oceans where lies between Indian Oceans in the Asian continent and the Pacific in Australian continent which is possessed four from the seven the world major maritime sea lanes of communication (SLOC's) namely Sunda Strait, Makassar Strait, Lombok Strait and more importantly is Malacca strait which plays very important role for movement trade for several countries. Within this reality, it reflects within Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia's ‘strategic centrality’ related with economic, political and military linkages particularly from major until middle power such as the United States, India, Australia, China Japan and South Korea which vitally considering the stability, foreign policy and geopolitical thinking in Jakarta.³

² Geoffrey Till, 2015

³ Evan A Laksmana, “The enduring strategic trinity: explaining Indonesia's geopolitical architecture”, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Centre for Strategic and International Studies and Indonesian Defense University, Jakarta (2011).

In the context of Jokowi's administration, to understand the global maritime fulcrum (GMF) policy foreign policy background on today's challenges, could be tracked it in the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla 2014's vision, mission and action program on the title “Jalan perubahan untuk Indonesia yang berdaulat, mandiri dan berkepribadian” (alteration/revolution way for Indonesian sovereign, independent and personality) as candidate of president and vice-president in the election time. According to Jokowi's vision on Indonesia he stated that to establish Indonesian as sovereign, independent and identity based on *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation),” which for him could be achieved through his missions namely:

1. Achieving identity as an archipelagic country by securing maritime resources and maintaining territorial sovereignty for sustainable and independence economically.
2. Realizing advanced society, sustainable and democratic state based on law.
3. Strengthening maritime nation identity as well as *bebas-aktif* as

- foundation of foreign policy.
4. Improving Indonesia human resource quality to achieve high development, progressive as well as prosperity.
 5. Strengthening national competitiveness.
 6. Projecting Indonesia as maritime power, advanced and independent nation-state based on national interests.
 7. To create the society based on (Indonesia) cultural personality.⁴
2. Maintaining and managing marine resources, by the development of a sustainable fishing industry by sovereignty on marine food sector.
 3. Prioritizing maritime connectivity and infrastructure development. The program including developing logistical networks and deep seaports, establishing maritime tourism industry, constructing sea highways along the coast of Java and shipping industry.
 4. Intensifying maritime diplomacy. This by inviting partner countries to work together on maritime and marine issues in order to reduce and mediating dispute as well as conflicts factors such as territorial disputes, illegal fishing, smuggling, piracy, violations of sovereignty and marine pollution.
 5. Strengthening Indonesia's maritime defense capability. The aim is not merely to maintain Indonesia maritime sovereignty and its natural resources, but also ensuring the safety and peace of the region maritime security.⁵

The concept of global maritime fulcrum is also mentioned in the East Asia Summit (EAS) when he was delivering speech in November 2014, Jokowi elaborated the notion by listing the five pillars of the maritime fulcrum, he outlined five missions that would act as the pillars supporting the maritime- fulcrum doctrine:

1. Rebuilding Indonesia's maritime culture. Indonesia as biggest archipelagic country with 18,000 islands, should realize that the oceans as part of national identity and prosperity which means by good ocean management therefore determines Indonesia's future.

⁴ ibid

⁵ Joko Widodo. Speech to 9th East Asia Summit, Naypyidaw, 13 November 2014. www.beritasatu.com/nasional/224809-ini-doktrin-

Indonesia maritime potential as the design of Indonesia geopolitical architecture is called as the 'strategic trinity' which consisted with three main aspect namely (1) geo-politics (including socio-political aspect); (2) geo-strategy (including security-military aspects); and (3) geo-economics (including economic-resources aspects).⁶ The GMF coincide with the "strategic trinity" which both of concept similarly focused on political, economy and defence architecture within today's Indonesia state affair and can project comprehensive national maritime policy.

Challenges in the Indo-Pacific Region to the GMF Policy

The Indo-Pacific today which become more relevant and significance today. There are at least two definitions regarding the concept of Indo-Pacific, *first*, geographically, it means as "triangular spanning of two ocean" where Indonesia in between the strategic the Indian and Pacific Ocean as well as at the heart of geographical position notable maritime powers in the

region particularly Australia in the southeast, Japan in the north and India in the southwest.⁷ *Second*, more importantly geo-strategically, the region increasingly interdependence in security and economic linkages which interrelated geopolitical linkages among the nation-states where every significant change will affect other element in the region (Passarelli, 2014).

As far as the region play significant role in the world economic as well as strategic gravity, there are some serious challenges to the region today. From Indonesian perspective, the former indonesia's Foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa believed that peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region is instrumental in allowing regional countries to pursue economic development, progress and prosperity, however, he underlined three main challenges to the region: *First*, challenges stemming from 'trust deficits'; *Second*, the challenge of unresolved territorial claims; *Third* is the challenge of managing change in the Indo-Pacific region

jokowi-di-ktt-asia-timur.html (Accessed 11 December 2014).

⁶ F.P Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002

⁷ Rory Medcalf, "Powers in the Middle: Japan, India, Russia, Australia, South Korea," IISS Strategic Dossier: Regional Security Assessment 2014: Key Developments in Asia-Pacific Security, ed. Tim Huxley, London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2014.

which could not be resisted (Natalegawa, 2013).⁸

Putting Marty's argument in line with the facts that the region has specific problems namely, *first*, the South China Sea dispute which Today, South China Sea dispute becomes the most disturbance issues in the Indo-Pacific and could be considered as the most challenging issues which may affect other aspect in the region. China's assertiveness movement in regard to direct maritime territorial disputes with other countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia, Japan, Brunei, the Philippine in the South China Sea and in some extent Indonesia under the background of natural resources interest in the South China Sea particularly fisheries, hydrocarbon as well as territorial extension potentially increase regional strategic tensions driven in large part, not only to the region stability order, but also including Indonesia.⁹

Second, Non-traditional security threat including terrorism, illegal fishing, drugs, piracy. Non-traditional security threat

becomes increasingly occurred in the Indo-Pacific region. Non-traditional security (NTS) issues is defined as threat which emerges from non-military source which endanger the livelihood and survival of the people as well as a nation-state. The form of NTS issue is varied from food shortages, resource scarcity, climate change, irregular migration, infectious disease, natural disasters up to people smuggling, drug trafficking, and transnasional crime .¹⁰ In the Southeast Asia region, the regional stability increasingly is disrupted by the transnational crime as part of non-traditional issues.

Third, Global power shifting. The Indo-Pacific region becomes the fulcrum of global geopolitics defined in large part by United States continued role as "predominant power" as well as its strategic role followed by the expanding emerging powers interest such as India and China in the given geographical imporantce.¹¹ In this expanding interests among emerging and predominant powers, there are significant regional security convergences and different degrees of strategic balancing between these

⁸ Marty Natalegawa, An Indonesian perspective on the Indo-Pacific. at the Conference on Indonesia in Washington, D.C. Speech was delivered on 16 May, 2013.

⁹ Rolf Steve & John Agnew. "Sovereignty regimes in the South China Sea: assessing contemporary Sino-US relations." Eurasian Geography and Economics, 2016. 57:2, 249-273, DOI: 10.1080/15387216.2016.1234403

¹⁰ Govind Gaurav, "Emerging Powers and Re-Imagining Global Order: Rising Rivalry Between United States, China and India In Indo-Pacific", International Journal of Research in Economics & Social Sciences, Volume 4, Issue 9, 2014

¹¹ *ibid*

major players in Indo-Pacific region, which will rise rivalry between US, China and in some extent India to build regional as well as the new global order. The twenty first century is already witnessing the 'Rise of South' particularly 'China and India' to global prominence with their sustained growth and fast economic development have shown toward developed North countries and to the predominant power of the present day. The increased global profile of China and India and their power projection jump in international system have established both as a great power and key player of new unfolding game of 'global power shift'.

Furthermore, As GMF has strong economic aspect to implement it successfully, some thinker believes that the most challenging hurdle for GMF is from domestic challenges in the country itself particularly in political, economic and strategic aspects. Jokowi mentioned three fundamental problems of Indonesia, the first is corruption, second is an inefficient bureaucracy, and the last is infrastructure. Second, weak infrastructure and financial. Infrastructure development gap still happened in Indonesia, currently economic development programs among regions in Indonesia are still focus in Java Island. This is evident from the contribution rate of

economic growth in Java which reached 58%. Third, underdeveloped naval and coast guard. Indonesia relatively far for ideal force particularly in Air Force (TNI AU) and Naval Force (TNI AL) within its vast territory. The Chief General of Indonesia National Army (TNI) Gatot Nurmantyo underlined that the strength of the army and main weaponry system (Alutsista) in several outer islands and Indonesia's border is still minimal which affected on national security and defense. This could be a problem for TNI if the state of territory could not controlled against any countries.¹²

The GMF Policy Implementations and Responds to the Region Challenges

The key Implementation of global maritime fulcrum fundamentally in realizing the global maritime fulcrum is to support the president's ambition could be realized through the concept of sea toll over the next five years. The sea toll is a six-lane highway freeway which will connect the ports throughout Indonesia. by the sea tolls, it is expected that the Indonesian people in

¹² Muhammad Fasabeni, "Alutsista Minim, Pertahanan Indonesia Rentan", *Gresnews.com*. Retrieved from: <http://www.gresnews.com/berita/politik/1902412-alutsista-minim-pertahanan-indonesia-rentan/0/#sthash.54BdRGxt.dpuf> (accessed December 24, 2014).

various part of the archipelago will no longer experience the scarcity of commodities. In its implementation, sea toll program starting from 2015 and until June 2016, there are six sea toll lanes from western to eastern Indonesia, as the Government has established 24 ports as Marine Link Nodes with support 47 non-commercial ports and 41 ports are under construction. The government's target is to have 100 ports built by 2019. The government also provided ships which are 3 ships by 2015 and 30 vessels are targeted by 2016. In addition to the construction of ports, the development of airports is also accelerated as "air bridge". By 2016, nine airports have been developed to have higher standards, and six airports have been officially opened by 2016.¹³

As result of this basic implementation of GMF, rice price in East Indonesia costs down 22 percent compared to before the sea toll operated. Sugar price is reduced 28 percent compared to before the sea tolls, bulk cooking oil is reduced 15 percent, wheat flour 29 percent, chicken meat 28 percent, eggs 49 percent, plywood

17 percent, cement 22 percent. The Minister of Transportation, Budi Karya assessed that this program could had an impact on the decline in the price of goods 10% to 50%. However, this program will continue to be developed until it can be felt equal price in various regions.¹⁴

In responding to regional challenges in Indo-Pacific, the GMF policy has responded the challenges. *First*, respond to South China Sea dispute, President Jokowi stressed Indonesia's unchanging stance over the conflict that can play as contributor for stability and peace in the South China Sea security. In another word, Jokowi wants all parties should prioritize peaceful settlement of disputes.¹⁵ Within ASEAN circle, Jokowi encourage the ASEAN members and China to respect the International Law, particularly the United Nation on Law of Sea or UNCLOS in 1982. Jokowi urges the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC), encouraged the implementation of the South China Sea

¹³ Dedy Afrianto, "Bagaimana Perkembangan Proyek Tol Laut? Ini Kata Jokowi", Okezone Finance, Retrieved from: <http://economy.okezone.com/read/2016/08/16/320/1464931/bagaimana-perkembangan-proyek-tol-laut-ini-kata-jokowi> (Accessed August 16, 2016),

¹⁴ Estu Suryowati, "Menhub: Proyek Tol Laut Butuh Penyempurnaan", Kompas.com. Retrieved from: <http://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2016/08/27/184445526/menhub.proyek.tol.laut.butuh.penyempurnaan> (Accessed August 27, 2016)

¹⁵ Erick Tanjung, & siswanto, "Bahas Laut Cina Selatan, Jokowi Panggil Luhut dan Ryamizard", Suara.com. retrieved from: <http://www.suara.com/news/2016/06/13/150934/bahas-laut-cina-selatan-jokowi-panggil-luhut-dan-ryamizard> (Accessed June 13, 2016),

'Code for Unlimited Encounters at Sea' (CUES) and Communication (Hotline Communication) in the South China Sea as well as the real implementation of the EAS Statement on Enhancing Regional Maritime Cooperation agreement on 2015.

Second, on his approach to manage the rivalry in the global power shifting, Indonesia's status as middle power could be considered to use two approaches to manage the global power shifting in the region, namely by multilateral approach and bilateral approach. In multilateral approach, Indonesia uses ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asia Nations) with several mechanisms by involving the member and partner countries to build coalitions in multilateral forums such ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), ADMM Plus (ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting) and importantly EAS (East Asia Summit) to reduce domination and rivalry of the great power. Indonesia also testified its commitment in the Indian Ocean Rim (IORA) by contributing to build the India Ocean architecture within its chair tenure during 2015-2017 as part of president Jokowi's *Nawa Cita* (nine strategic program) within global maritime fulcrum (GMF), this role was reflected in Indonesia initiation and involvement to promote economic market

and investment within the IORA commitment. In Bilateral level engagement, Indonesia under President Jokowi explores another strategy to reduce regional challenge by engaging China mainly in economic aspect and United States in defense aspect for bilateral level strategy. This statement reflected that Jokowi puts balance relations between two powers in order avoid dependency to sole one power as well as balance relations.

Third, Respond to Non-Traditional Security Threat which will be divide into three part. First, terrorism, In the government's efforts to tackle terrorism, the government strengthened the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) as the main instrument undertakes two approaches namely continuously making efforts to control and reduce radicalism by soft approach and hard approach. Based on BNPT reports, the agency has arrested 170 suspected terrorists during 2016. The number has increased 107 percent compared to 2015 which is 82 cases. In the counter-terrorism operation throughout 2016, 33 suspected terrorist died and 40 others have been convicted by the court. It is proven that the Indonesian authorities succeeded in thwarting the nine terrorist acts throughout 2016 that the world has appreciated.

To overcome illegal fishing, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) as the front guard. Several strategies were formulated by KKP Minister Susi Pujiastuti to develop marine and fisheries sector based on three pillars, namely sovereignty, sustainability, and prosperity. The KKP implemented moratorium and fishery reforms to restore the exploitation of fish to a reasonable level as it lasts for a long time and it is proven that the impact of the KKP's moratorium policy has succeeded in reducing fish exploitation by 35 percent (Widyanita, 2016). The effort to enforce the IUU eradication is under the coordination of "Task Force 155."

Associated with the development of the national fishery industry, Jokowi said that the government has started construction of Central Marine and Fisheries Integrated (SKT) Strait of Lampa which will be completed in the end of 2016 followed by 10 other areas. By those regulation, the rate of fish exploitation in Indonesia has decreased between 30 and 35 percent, thus enabling to increase the national fish stock from 7.3 million tons in 2013 to 9.9 million tons in 2015. Even Throughout the first half of 2016, domestic fishery products increased 7.34 percent over the same period last year. During the implementation of the foreign

ship moratorium policy of November 2014-November 2015, there was a decrease of production in the fishing port of foreign/foreign ships where the worst incident occurred in the Tual Fisheries Port (VAT) of Tual, Southeast Maluku by 99 percent to 149 tons in 2015, on the contrary with 10 local shipbuilding ports rose by 76 percent in 2015 (Widyanita, 2016). The Task Force 115 Throughout 2016 has conducted the arrest of 781 fishing illegal vessels mostly from Vietnam. Since Susi has served as a minister, KKP has sunk 236 fishing boats (Suara, 2016).

Third, Drugs problem. National Narcotics Agency (BNN) as the spearhead of the government fighting against illegal drugs. The entry of narcotics into the country relatively easy, especially due to the length of the coast of Indonesia which affect the surveillance of the small ports. Based on the BNN report which dealing with drug cases, the prevalence of narcotics abuse rates in student groups addicts that have been decreased in the last ten years. In 2006 the number reached 8.1 percent, when in 2016 decreased more than half to 3.6 percent. According to BNN, prevention and rehabilitation is one of the key efforts in reducing the prevalence of narcotics abuse. The drug case also related to money

laundering case, from drug trafficking that has been revealed by BNN, with the confiscation of assets reached Rp 263 billion, derived from 21 cases of 30 suspects. Throughout 2016, the number of narcotics cases reached 807 with the suspects arrested by BNN around 1238 people, consisting of 1,217 Indonesian and 21 foreign nationals. Compared to the 2015 report, the number of cases and suspects in 2016 has increased significantly. By 2015, decisive action has been made with the execution of deaths against 14 drug dealers. The National Narcotics Agency (BNN) has urged the Attorney General to immediately execute 148 death sentences on narcotics cases in the country in 2017.¹⁶

Fourth, piracy and sea robbery. The TNI AL created special task force for maintain security along the waters of the Malacca Strait to the South China Sea. The task force called as Western Fleet Quick Response (WFQR) under the command of the western fleet (Koarmabar). According to International Fusion Center (IFC), Singapore-based sea safety forum stated that crimes in the Malacca Strait fell by 80%

over the past 5 years from 300 cases in the Malacca Strait in 2012, this achievement has become the best achievement in the last 5 years. Even, Irawan ensure that throughout 2017, the waters of the Strait of Malacca and Kepri in zero piracy incidents. The declining number of piracy and sea robbery in the Riau Islands and Malacca Straits also has gained recognition from the Malaysian Government through the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (APMM / MMEA).

In responding to the Domestic Challenges, the Jokowi administration to solve domestic main problem. In responding corruption, inefficient bureaucracy and regulations, the government's leading effort to prevent corruption is through the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). In 2016, KPK conducted 96 investigation activities, 99 investigations, and 77 prosecution activities, both new cases and the rest of the handling of cases in the previous year. In addition, the execution of 81 judicial decisions that have permanent legal force. More than 497.6 billion rupiah has been put into the state treasury in the form of PNBP (non-tax state revenue) from corruption cases. In the Coordination and Supervision of Fields of Action, the KPK has coordinated 163 cases, from 76 cases

¹⁶ (n.a.). "Pelaksanaan Hukuman Mati Tidak Akan Surut", Media Indonesia. Retrieved from: <http://mediaindonesia.com/news/read/46705/pelaksanaan-hukuman-mati-tidak-akan-surut/2016-05-23> (Accessed May 23, 2016),

targeted in 2016. While supervision is conducted on 201 cases, out of 156 targeted cases. Among the cases handled, there are 17 cases resulting from Direct Corruption Operation (OTT), which in 2016 is the highest number of OTT in KPK history.¹⁷

A significant effort in reducing bureaucratic inefficiency was the government issued 13 packages of economic policy. President Jokowi also officially abolished thousands of local regulations (perda) that hampered economic growth and contradicted the regulations made by the central government by canceling 3,143 local regulation in provincial level. In addition, the government achieved success in reducing loading and unloading time in ports (dwelling time) currently on average for 3.3 days (Antara, 2016). In Priok port dwell time reaches 3,1-3,2 days.¹⁸ Compare to

2013, the dwelling time had reached 6.7 days.¹⁹

Second, responding weak infrastructure and financial. President Joko Widodo stated that the acceleration of development is necessary. Acceleration of development includes two things, logistics infrastructure including roads, ports, airports, and railways and the acceleration of strategic infrastructure development includes power generation, telecommunications, irrigation, and public housing. The government has also announced the construction of 2,650 kilometers of roads, 3,258 kilometers of railways, 24 ports, 15 new airports, it is also being built train for urban transportation such as Mass Rapid Transportation (MRT), Light Rail Train (LRT), as well as commuter line. In addition, the electrical infrastructure in which targeted an addition 20,000 MW is expected to be realized until 2019. In agriculture sector 2016, an acceleration of completion of 22 reservoirs under construction, 8 new reservoirs, 387 new retention basin and rehabilitation of 71 retention basins. The expansion plan of

¹⁷ (n.a), "Capaian dan Kinerja KPK di Tahun 2016", Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi. Retrieved from: <https://www.kpk.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/3832-capaian-dan-kinerja-kpk-di-tahun-2016>

¹⁸ Eduardo Simongkir, "OJK: Hingga September, Kredit Perikanan Lewat Program Jaring Capai Rp 17,6 T", Detik Finance. Retrieved from: <https://finance.detik.com/moneter/3339546/ojk-hingga-september-kredit-perikanan-lewat-program-jaring-capai-rp-176-t> (Accessed November 7, 2016),

¹⁹ Chandara G Asmara and Dusep Malik, "Menhub Yakin Desember 2016, Dwelling Time Dua Hari Tercapai", Viva. Retrieved from: <http://m.viva.co.id/berita/bisnis/821079-menhub-yakin-desember-2016-dwelling-time-dua-hari-tercapai> (September 12, 2016).

agricultural area and rice field is 144,613 hectares. The government also will build and rehabilitate tertiary irrigation networks for 200 thousand hectares of paddy fields.

As infrastructure investment is needed at least Rp 6,500 trillion, which is only 25% or around Rp 1.638 trillion investment requirement could be provided from national budget (Suprpto, 2014). Government efforts to meet the infrastructure budget generally use two strategies other than foreign debt. Firstly, the Government has slashed unnecessary budgets by enlarging fiscal space derived from reductions in energy subsidies and then the funds uses for infrastructure development to finance the financial gap of government infrastructure. Second, financing for infrastructure development utilize the non-governmental budget such as private sector, state-owned company (BUMN), as well as government-private sector cooperation under the government guarantees. In 2016, BUMN investments are targeted at Rp 410.2 trillion, of which there are 62 strategic projects with a project value of Rp 347 trillion. The value of BUMN investment will continue to be enlarged with the result that in 2019 could reach up to Rp764 Trillion. While the other 75% financing should be sought from other

parties such as state-owned companies and private parties.

Third, responding underdeveloped naval and coast guard. To realize the world's maritime fulcrum requires strong sovereignty through the strength of the Indonesian military, mainly the Naval Force (TNI AL) as well as related institution such as Bakamla (the Marine Security Agency or Coast Guard) to ensure security and law enforcement in the territory of Indonesia. President Joko Widodo targets by 2024, TNI could meet the minimum basic strength of defense posture for the Army, Air Force, and Navy. Based on data obtained the total value of the budget of the arms spending reached about US \$ 7.74 billion until 2019. In detail, *first*, the Army procurement plan to have heavy weapons such as tanks, helicopters of invasion and special infantry weaponry with a total budget US \$ 1.51 billion. *Second*, the navy will purchase marine weapons, such as submarines, warships, maritime surveillance system for security of potentially conflicting sites, and other weapons under the budget approximately US \$ 3.27 billion. *Third*, the Air Force will procure fighter jets, heavy transport aircraft, missile defense systems and radar systems with a total budget value of up to US \$ 2.85 billion. In this case, it has

begun to appear that the government is seriously increasing the capability of Indonesian defense (Kontan, 2016). Therefore, to realize the global maritime fulcrum vision in the defense aspect is required TNI AL or Indonesia Naval Force strategy in the amid limited defensive budgets to protect Indonesia's sovereignty with four main strategies namely: (i) Modernization of the major weapon system (alutsista); (ii) Restructuring of marine fleet command; (iii) The domestic defense industry; (iv) Maritime surveillance; (v) Maritime defense diplomacy; (vi) Strengthening Indonesia Coast Guard (Bakamla).²⁰

Conclusion

Within two years Jokowi administration assesment has reflected the approach of GMF in the regional stability which could be considered by strengthening economic development and defence capability in domestic level while in the same time balancing the great power rivalry by multilateral and bilateral act in international level. This approach could be understood because of the implementation

of *bebas-aktif* principle under global maritime fulcrum foreign policy. Another important aspect is that Indonesia plays middle power role which tends to pursue multilateral diplomacy on constructive manner to approach issues of regional stability and management.

Despite relatively good progress in the implementation of GMF, there are three potential projections in the future to increase regional stability possibilities today, namely:

1. Increasing maritime organization participation including IORA or other forums to resolve the non-traditional as well as traditional threat in maritime issues and to increase good coordination with other countries.
2. Creating grand design of Indonesia's maritime policy which encompasses all potential maritime aspect of Indonesia such as tourism, maritime infrastructure, energy, defense and others to sustain the policy as path of the country.
3. Collaboration between GMF and OBOR to overcomes financial problem & increasing confidence building to manage China assertiveness in SCS. Other

²⁰ See:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkApphZzA4Y>
a CNN Indonesia Interwiev with Head TNI AL Ade Supandi

cooperation with other maritime countries also have potential collaboration to increase Indonesia maritime policy development.

The effectiveness of the policy toward domestic challenges, such as (i) corruption, Inefficient Bureaucracy & Regulations; (ii) weak infrastructure and finance; and (iii) underdeveloped naval & coast guard, seems in the good progress, however the corruption still as the main problem of the country to develop better. The corruption become more difficult task when backed by political party which will possible to weaken the KPK in the parliament process. Another challenge is the financial source to implement infrastructure program of GMF which tend to highly dependent to the private and foreign countries loan to build the infrastructure while the government also try to increase domestic loan or collaboration with private investment. The Indonesia Coast Guard (Bakamla) as new agency importantly need to be upgraded to defend Indonesia's sovereign water from any intrusion particularly from non-state actor to reduce NTS threats toward the country.

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Arab Spring: A Case Study of Egyptian Revolution 2011

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ABSTRACT

Egyptian Revolution, also known as Arab Spring or Arab Uprising, was a shock for international community because Egypt has been seen as one of the strongest military state in North Africa region. Experts and observers even suggested that this revolution is the biggest event since the Cold War. No one ever saw this coming; yet, the Revolution happened, and it succeeded to topple President Hosni Mubarak from power. Indeed, prior to the revolution, there are factors that became the preliminary incidents as well as problems that led to the revolution, and most of these factors came from within the country. Nevertheless, this revolution has given idea to other states with repressive regime in the North Africa region, which started the ‘domino effect’ in Middle East and North Africa region. As for Egyptians, though successfullnes of the revolution brought positive outcome for them, the negative result also followed as well as responses from international community. The objective of this paper is to examine the Egyptian Revolution that led to the end of Hosni Mubarak regime.

Keywords: *Arab Spring; Egyptian Revolution; President Hosni Mubarak; ‘domino effect’; Middle East and North Africa region.*

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Introduction

It is well known to the world that in Middle East-North Africa region, repressive regime has endured for decades, and Egypt is not an exception. In fact, according to Freedom House's data of 2007, Egypt was one of the countries in Africa region that became "more repressive but remained within the same category".¹ Indeed, this was not the first time for Egyptians to revolt against Mubarak: they have been doing this since long ago², but they never succeeded. Then suddenly, there was uprisings throughout Middle East-North Africa region that startled the experts and observers. Started in Tunisia, this demonstration then spreaded throughout the Middle East-North Africa region, brought a destruction to the dictatorship by people's demands to topple the regime (for example, in Tunisia and

Egypt) and an unrest situation to all of the authoritarian regimes in Middle East-North Africa countries. In Egypt's case, this is the first time Egyptians succeeded their revolt against Mubarak.

Research Method

This research paper applies a qualitative analysis by using journals, books, news reports, commentaries, etc. As the main sources to illustrate the critical debates. Since there are series of Arab Spring, this paper will limit its discussion to Egyptian Revolution on 25 January 2011 until the fall of Hosni Mubarak. In order to do so, the discussion on this paper is divided into two sections.

Substantially, this essay will discuss about the Egyptian 25 January revolution and how the world responds to it. In essence, this essay will be divided into two sections. The first section will describe the situation during Arab Spring in Egypt, including the reason behind the event. The second section will discuss the impact of the Arab Spring on Egypt, and how western countries responded to this event. In the last, this essay will be ended by a conclusion in which I will argue that Egyptian Revolution, as part of Arab Spring, is one of the biggest event after the Cold War given how this

¹ Paul D. Williams, 'Thinking about Security in Africa', *International Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 6, 2007, p. 1023.

² Prior to the revolution, there were a lot of demonstrations; the recent demonstrations are the Kefaya Movement and The April 6 Movement. The April 6 Movement was the one that inspired the youngsters in Egypt to use social media (Facebook and Twitter) for the first time to gather people under the name "We Are All Khaled Said". This name was used in order to honour a businessman named Khaled Said who died on June 2010, and also marked the brutality of policemen. (Mohamed Elshahed, 'Breaking the Fear Barrier of Mubarak's Regime', *The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Website*, <http://www.ssrc.org/pages/breaking-the-fear-barrier-of-mubarak-s-regime/>, consulted 8 January 2014).

event got responses from all over the world, and yet, with its own characteristic.

The 'Arab Spring'

'Arab Spring' or 'Arab Uprisings' or 'Arab Awakening' is a term that used to describe a series of protests and demonstrations that happened in North Africa-Middle East countries since the late 2010.³ This event started in Tunisia on 18 December 2010 after the death of Muhammad Bouazizi from Sidi Bouzid⁴, then spread throughout Middle East-North Africa countries such as Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, Algeria, Morocco, etc.⁵ (also known as a 'domino effect'); however, it is Egypt that introduce the term of 'Arab Spring' to western media after its revolution

on 25 January 2011. 'Arab Spring' started in the middle of winter, which made it seemed irrelevant if we called the event that happened as 'Arab Spring'⁶; yet, this is the term that western media popularized, which based on a tide of democracy in the wake of Iraq incursion on 2005.⁷ Moreover, because of the 'domino effect' that characterizes it, the term of 'Arab spring' itself is also often referred to European Revolution in 1848 and 1989 by media and experts such as Henry E. Hale, Jack A. Goldstone, etc.⁸

Nevertheless, Jack A. Goldstone in his article *Understanding the Revolutions of 2011: Weakness and Resilience in Middle Eastern Authocracies* argued that we should not assume those cases as the same⁹. They are the same revolution, but with different purpose. While European revolution in 1848 was about people's demand to overthrow the traditional monarchy regimes, and 1989 was intended to end the Communist regime, the Arab spring has its own characteristics that

³ UCDP, 'Arabian Spring', *Uppsala Conflict Data Program Website*, 23 December 2011, www.ucdp.uu.se/database/, consulted on 28 November 2013, p. 2.

⁴ He burnt himself with combustible liquid after the humiliation he got in front of governor's office, and died on 4 January 2011 (International Crisis Group, 'Popular Protests in North Africa and the Middle East (IV): Tunisia's Way', *Crisis Group Middle East/North Africa Report*, no. 106, 28 April 2011, p. 3.). This incidents then stimulated anger from Tunisians and, after it has been aired through media, thousands of Arab people around the continent. As a result, the Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT) conducted a demonstration on Saturday 18 December 2010. This event ended with a flight of President Ben Ali into an exile in Saudi Arabia where he finally gets his punishment for violence and murdering around hundreds of rebels. (Jeremy Bowen, *Arab Uprisings: The People Want the Fall of the Regime*, London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd., 2012, p. 35-46.)

⁵ Abdelkader Abdelali, 'Wave of Change in the Arab World and Chances for a Transition to Democracy', *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2013, p. 198.

⁶ Stephan Rosiny, 'The Arab Spring: Triggers, Dynamics, and Prospects', *German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) Focus*, no. 1, 2012, p. 2.

⁷ UCDP, p. 3.

⁸ Henry E. Hale, 'Regime Change Cascades: What We Have Learned from the 1848 Revolutions to the 2011 Arab Uprisings', *The Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 16, 2013, p. 332.

⁹ Jack A. Goldstone, 'Understanding the Revolutions of 2011: Weakness and Resilience in Middle Eastern Authocracies', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 3, 2011, p. 8.

differentiate it with European Revolutions. Arab Spring is a revolution which purpose is to overturn modern sultanate throughout the continent, but not necessarily change or overthrown the government. Another difference is while revolution in Europe was actuated by external forces, in Egypt, it was internal factors that became the engine of revolution.¹⁰

In Egypt, revolution started on 25 January, which was a national holiday. It is a Police Day: the day when Egyptians recall a British attack on a police station in Ismailiyya in 1952. President Mubarak himself declared in 2004 that 25 January is a symbol of “patriotism and sacrifice”, so Egyptians could show their admiration towards police.¹¹ However, Egyptians did not think the same: for them, police was merely a very corrupt, ill trained, has no respect towards human rights¹², and a brutal instrument of President Hosni Mubarak. Now, Egyptians have had enough of police brutality, and they wanted the Emergency Law to be

eliminated. A successful Tunisia’s revolution eleven days before buoyed Egyptian (anti-Mubarak) activists; gave them spirit and hope to organize and convene people through Facebook and Twitter to protest against Hosni Mubarak. However, Egyptian security service has prepared: government spread police officers, Central Security Forces (CSF) troops, and agents as civilians around the Ministry of Interior on Sheikh Riham Street through Tahrir Square.¹³

These anticipations seemed a successful tactic from Minister of Interior, Habib al Adly; conversely, it was not. The law enforcement officers may have access to some access routes, but beyond those routes, it was the people who took control. As a result, around noon, people from all across Egypt poured into the streets and moved towards Tahrir Square and parliament. They took a route through the ancient Qasr al-Nil bridge, infiltrated security barriers, and lined up in small groups through the Nile Corniche from the southern and northern district whilst shouted for *Karama* (dignity) and *Hurriyah* (freedom)¹⁴.

¹⁰ Noha Bakr, ‘The Egyptian Revolution’, in Stephen Calleya and Monika Wohlfeld (ed.), *Change and Opportunities in the Emerging Mediterranean*, 2012, http://www.um.edu.mt/data/assets/pdf_file/0004/150394/, consulted on 2 November 2013, p. 68-69.

¹¹ Steven A. Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 281.

¹² Spindel, Chad, ‘The People Want to Topple the Regime: Exploring the Arab Spring in Egypt, Syria, and Jordan’, *Sage Open*, November 2011, p. 3

¹³ Cook, p. 282.

¹⁴ Ann M. Lesch, ‘Egypt’s Spring: Causes of the Revolution’, *Middle East Policy Council Website*, 2013, <http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/egypts-spring-causes-revolution>, consulted 16 September 2013.

As a response, the police fired tears gas to stop the demonstrators, but they countered back by throwing stones and bricks. In the late afternoon, it seemed like nearly 90.000 people occupied the Tahrir Square (Liberation Square) which became a headquarters of the revolution¹⁵. By night, the demonstrators were suppressed to Qasr al Aini Street, and half miles back to the Square by hundreds of troops from CSF who used shields, batons, and metal pipes. What astonishing from that night was while most of young policemen worked hard to control the riot in Tahrir Square, senior police officers enjoyed and celebrated their Police Day-break in the Semiramis Intercontinental Hotel, not far away from Tahrir Square.¹⁶ Moreover, according to Minister of Interior, until 26 January, they have arrested around 500 people.¹⁷ On 27 January, government

cut the internet and mobile services¹⁸, and on 28 January, situation was getting critical: hundreds of thousands of people throughout the country conflicted with the police and central security forces, and even tried to take over the Ministry of Interior.¹⁹ This situation was too overwhelming, caused the police finally stepped back and military took over the situation at night, which gave an impression that Mubarak has lost his control over the country.²⁰ Indeed, this situation was marked as a turning point in Egyptians revolution.

On Saturday 29 January early morning, Mubarak made a speech, addressing to the nation that he will dismiss the government and form the new government in the next day, but he will stay as a president.²¹ Later that day, Mubarak dismissed the government and designated two military personnel: Omer Suleiman (National Intelligent Chief)

¹⁵ This is why Egyptian Revolution is also known as Tahrir Revolution. For the demonstrators, Tahrir square did not symbolize their freedom and emancipation (because 'Tahrir' means 'Liberation' in Arabic), but it was a symbol of public space degradation under 30 years of Mubarak's regime. They chose this place for mass gathering simply because they share this public space together and protect it from regime's tyranny. After the revolution, Tahrir square then symbolizes the changing in society. (Ahmad Shokr, 'The Eighteen Days of Tahrir' in Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing (ed.), *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, London: Verso, 2012, p. 42).

¹⁶ Cook, p. 284.

¹⁷ Sherine El Madany and Yasmine Saleh, 'Egypt on Edge as Demonstrations Turn Violent', *Reuters Website*, 26 January 2011,

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/01/26/>, consulted 31 October 2013.

¹⁸ Mona El-Ghobashy, 'The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution' in Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing (ed.), *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, London: Verso, 2012, p. 35.

¹⁹ Cook, p. 285.

²⁰ Jeremy M. Sharp, 'Egypt: The January 25 Revolution and Implications for U.S Foreign Policy', *Congressional Research Service Report*, 11 February 2011, p. 3.

²¹ Yasmine Saleh and Dina Zayed, 'Highlights: Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's Speech', *Reuters Website*, 29 January 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/01/29/us-egypt-mubarak-speech-id USTRE07S0SA20110129>, consulted 6 November 2013.

as his Vice President, and Ahmad Shafiq (Civil Aviation Minister) as Prime Minister.²² However, Egyptians did not want it. They wanted Mubarak to step down. Yet, until 30 January 2011, Mubarak still resisted to retreat, while damage from the revolution has advanced: around 300 people have been killed, Egyptian stock market has collapsed, trading has stopped, and most of all, Egyptian tourism has crashed.²³ It was obvious that the longer revolution continues, the more damage will happen.

On Monday 31 January 2011, Egyptian army announced that they will not use force against Mubarak. It seemed as the end of Mubarak regime, yet he still resisted. In that morning, the new Vice President Omer Suleiman announced on Egyptian television, on President Hosni Mubarak behalf, that they will conduct a new parliamentary election in district.²⁴ In response, African Union demanded a fair election in Egypt.²⁵ Moreover, still in the same day, Mubarak ordered his new Prime Minister for the continuation of government subsidies and price reduction.²⁶

²² Sharp, p. 3.

²³ Sharp, p. 3.

²⁴ Sharp, p. 6.

²⁵ Mikael Eriksson and Kristina Zetterlund, 'Dealing with Change: EU and AU Responses to the Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya', *FOI Website*, January 2013, <http://www.foi.se>, p. 41.

²⁶ Anonymous, 'Timeline: Egypt's Revolution',

In addition, on Tuesday 1 February 2011, Mubarak made his second appeal to the nation by saying that he will amend the constitution, especially article 76 and 77 regarding the presidential. At the end of his speech, Mubarak said,

*"Hosni Mubarak who speaks to you today is proud of the long years he spent in the service of Egypt and its people. This dear nation is my country, it is the country of all Egyptians, here I have lived and fought for its sake and I defended its land, its sovereignty and interests and on this land I will die and history will judge me and others for our merits and faults."*²⁷

This appeal was apparently able to win people's sympathy since they asked the rioters to end the demonstration.²⁸ However, this situation was not lasted long: people's rage generated again on the following day and 3 February when violent clash happened around Tahrir Square between pro-

Aljazeera Website, 14 February 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201112515334871490.html>, consulted 6 November 2011.

²⁷ Anonymous, 'Hosni Mubarak's Speech: Full Text', *The Guardian Website*, 2 February 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/02/president-hosni-mubarak-egypt-speech>, consulted 6 November 2013.

²⁸ Rana Muhammad Taha, Hend Kortam, and Nouran el-Behairy, 'The Rise and Fall of Mubarak', *Daily News Egypt Website*, 11 February 2013, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/02/11/the-rise-and-fall-of-mubarak/>, consulted 6 November 2013.

democracy protesters and Mubarak's opponents.²⁹ At least, 1.500 people were injured, and at the end of the day, three of them died.

Since that day, demonstrations kept to continue, demanding Mubarak to step down with the level of violent increased every day. Then, finally, on 11 February 2011, after 18 days of demonstration and violent, Vice President Suleiman announced that President Hosni Mubarak stepped down after 29 years 120 days of his presidency, handed over his power to Supreme Council of the Egyptian Armed Forces.³⁰ In 18 days revolution, approximately 846 Egyptians were killed whereas around 6467 rioters were wounded.³¹

This phenomenon was definitely exceptional. Egypt seemed strong and normal; what happened in Tunisia was not a guarantee that Egypt will follow the same path. Even Egyptians were still unsure about what will happen in their country one day prior to the revolution.³² There is no doubt that this incident brought a shock to the world since no one expecting this event will happen in Egypt. In its publication,

POMEPS supports this opinion by stating that

*“What made January 25 extraordinary was not that Egyptians protested against Mubarak regime – that had been happening for a decade. What made it extraordinary was that for the first time, hundreds of thousands of ordinary, non activist Egyptians joined them on the streets to demand the overthrow of the regime”.*³³

Moreover, Lisa Anderson (in her article *Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya*), added that the pattern of Egyptian revolution was also unique: it was driven by the youngsters and city people.³⁴

Still, 25 January Revolution was not coming out of the void. There are three preliminary demonstrations that led to the biggest revolution in one of North Africa powerful state. One of these demonstrations is the Kefaya Movement. Kefaya means “enough” in Arabic. This movement was established in the early 2000s in order to criticize the Mubarak administration for doing nothing on the second Israeli intifada

²⁹ Anonymous, ‘Timeline: Egypt’s Revolution’.

³⁰ Taha Özhan, ‘New Egypt versus the *Felool*: Struggle for Democracy’, *Insight Turkey*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2013, p. 13.

³¹ Bakr, p. 68.

³² Cook, p. 282.

³³ POMEPS, ‘Arab Uprisings: The State of the Egyptian Revolution’, *Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)*, 7 September 2011, p. 3.

³⁴ Lisa Anderson, ‘Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya’, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 3, May/June 2011, p. 2.

in Palestine. This has happened since 1979 Camp David Agreement; however, in the early 2000s, around ten thousands students were demonstrating at Cairo University for the violent continuation of Israel troops towards Palestinians.³⁵ This movement continued during 2003, and in 2004 and 2005, it organized a series of demonstration, demanding for the termination of Mubarak regime and country's emergency law.³⁶

In 2008, the youth activists from Kefaya Movement established an April 6th Youth Movement, which helped workers of a weaving company to protest to the government. This group succeeded to gather around 70.000 participants on Facebook under the name of "We Are All Khaled Said".³⁷ This name was used in honor of Khaled Said, a middle class man who died under the police brutality in Sidi Gaber, Alexandria on 6 June 2010.

Indeed, there are reasons behind that revolution apart from the successful Tunisia's revolution; the first is social problems. In his article, *The Reasons for and the Impacts of the Egypt Revolution*, Liao

Baizhi discloses that Egypt is the highest density country in the Arab region with around 80 million people with "a child born on average every 23 seconds".³⁸ This high birth rate caused many problems in the society from environment to unemployment. Concerning the unemployment, Egypt indeed has a quite high unemployment rate; yet, not so high compared to the US and many European countries.³⁹

Still, Egypt's unemployment rate was very high (8-11 per cent) compare to 2007 unemployment rate that only 8.9 per cent, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).⁴⁰ Most of people who suffer are young people under 29 years-old with partition: 18 per cent with high educational background, and around 40-50 per cent with university degree. Moreover, there is a high differentiation between male and female concerning job's opportunity, with 9 per cent for male and 19 per cent for female until 2011.⁴¹ Each year,

³⁵ Ali Sarihan, 'Is the Arab Spring in the Third Wave of Democratization? The Case of Syria and Egypt', *Turkish Journal of Politics*, vol. 3, no. 11, 2012, p. 70.

³⁶ Dina Shehata, 'The Fall of the Pharaoh: How Hosni Mubarak's Reign Come to an End', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 3, 2011, p. 28.

³⁷ Shehata, p. 28.

³⁸ Liao Baizhi, 'The Reasons For and the Impacts of the Egypt Revolution', *Contemporary International Relations*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2011, p. 120.

³⁹ Andrey V. Korotayev, Julia V. Zinkina, 'Egyptian Revolution: A Demographic Structural Analysis', *Entelequia*, no. 13, 2011, www.eumed.net/entelequia, consulted 7 November 2013, p. 145.

⁴⁰ Earl (Tim) Sullivan, 'Youth Power and the Revolution' in Dan Tschirgi, Walid Kazziha, and Sean F. McMahon (ed.), *Egypt's Tahrir Revolution*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2013, p. 69.

⁴¹ Nadia Ramsis Farah, 'The Political Economy of

around 700.000 fresh graduate students competed for around 200.000 jobs with most of them failed.⁴² Without job, these young people has no income to finance their family or do what they want to do in their lives like other people. This situation then explains why most of the protesters were youngsters. The second reason is economic unrest. Prior to 25 January revolution, Egypt's economy was growing: economy has increased up to 7% in 2006-2008 (from 1981-2011, economy has grown 4,5 fold), exports in Egypt have tripled, and total cumulative foreign investment has reached 46 billion dollars in 2006-2009.⁴³ Overall Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Egypt also showed an improvement: increased from 1.355 dollars in 1981 to 6.200 dollars in 2010⁴⁴. During the financial crisis, Egypt economy was growing as well; annual economic growth rates was a little bit slow (from 7,2% to 4,6%), but it was still an

achievement.⁴⁵ Yet, those improvements did not benefit all the Egyptians: according to the CIA World Factbook, in 2010, inflation rate in Egypt was extreme at 12,8%⁴⁶ compare to 2009 with 18,3%⁴⁷; moreover, approximately 2,5 million Egyptians lived on 2 dollars per day, and around 35-40% Egyptians lived below 2 dollars per day.⁴⁸ In addition, gap between the rich and poor was also astonishing: whereas around 20% Egyptians lived under poverty line, 2-3% of populations were labelled "rich" or "upper class". Furthermore, Mubarak himself had saving around 40 billion dollars while his wife and sons kept 3-5 billion dollars in their personal account.⁴⁹ When people deprecated this economic inequality, Mubarak arbitrarily either sent them to the jail or killed them. These facts then led to another cause of revolution: corruption, which

Egypt's Revolution' in Dan Tschirgi, Walid Kazzuha, and Sean F. McMahon (ed.), *Egypt's Tahrir Revolution*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2013, p. 55.

⁴² Duncan Green, 'What Caused the Revolution in Egypt?', *The Guardian Website*, 18 February 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/feb/17/what-caused-egyptian-revolution>, consulted 2 January 2014.

⁴³ Bakr, p. 58.

⁴⁴ Ali Sarihan, 'Is the Arab Spring in the Third Wave of Democratization?: The Case of Syria and Egypt', *Turkish Journal of Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1, Summer 2012, p. 75.

⁴⁵ Korotayev and Zinkina, p. 140.

⁴⁶ Find the Data, 'CIA World Factbook 2010', 8 October 2013, <http://cia-world-fact-book.findthedata.org/l/1146/Egypt>, consulted 6 January 2014.

⁴⁷ Find the Data, 'CIA World Factbook 2010', 22 October 2013, <http://cia-world-fact-book.findthedata.org/l/15/Egypt>, consulted 6 January 2014.

⁴⁸ Sarihan, p. 75.

⁴⁹ Sarihan, p. 75-76.

attained its peak: Egypt is ranked 80 in the world.⁵⁰

Another sector that generate the revolution is political unrest. Unlike monarchies where the sovereignty is hereditary, Egypt is a republic with authoritarian regime, which means presidency for life. Mubarak has governed Egypt for a very long time, and he intended to pass it to his son. This means that there is no chance for another competitor⁵¹. Furthermore, there was a suspicion that parliamentary election in 2010 was unfair in favour of the NDP (Mubarak's party), which intended to secure the position for Mubarak's son⁵². Added these to the fact that Mubarak handled the situation during the revolution by using brutality (he utilized tears gas, rubber bullets, and water cannons), he only generated people's wrath, not alleviated it.⁵³

Also, there was a factor from outside the country, namely Tunisian Revolution. This may not necessarily give direct impact to Egyptian Revolution, but this event was a trigger for Egyptian Revolution since the same thing has happened in Egypt. Mohammed Al-Bouazizi's story in Tunisia

and Khaled Said's story in Egypt have been the trigger for revolution to happen. Though what happened to both of them, Said especially, was not the first time in Egyptian brutal history, both of them represented middle class people who tried to make a living without any help from the government.⁵⁴ Since the middle class was the people who suffered the most, they felt related to Al-Bouazizi and Said.

Tunisia, like Egypt has a strong military tradition, yet Tunisians were succeeded to overthrow President Ben Ali's regime. This then gives hope for all the Egyptians to do the same.⁵⁵ When we see the factors that generated Egyptian revolution one by one, the revolution seemed unreasonable. However, when these factors are combined together, revolution will be something that unavoidable.

Impacts of and Responds for Arab Spring to Egypt

During the Cold War, Middle East was one of the most crucial battlefield for the United States and Soviet Union: they were competed for influence, supplied weapons,

⁵⁰ Bakr, p. 64.

⁵¹ Bakr, p. 66.

⁵² Dina Shehata, 'The Fall of the Pharaoh: How Hosni Mubarak's Reign Came to an End', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 26, 2011, p. 29.

⁵³ Bakr, p. 66.

⁵⁴ Abeer Yassin, 'Understanding the Egyptian Revolution: People and De-Securitization', DOI: 10.7763/IPEDR, Vol. 48, no. 32, 2012, p. 150.

⁵⁵ Mustafa Kamel al-Sayyid, 'What Went Wrong with Mubarak's Regime?' in Dan Tschirgi, Walid Kazziha, and Sean F. McMahon (ed.), *Egypt's Tahrir Revolution*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2013, p. 25.

cash, and political support⁵⁶. This situation lasted until the United States won the war and become the most powerful player in the Africa continent, which means that the United States and other Western countries can control the Africa continent.⁵⁷

Therefore, what happened in Egypt and other Middle East countries indeed gives impact to how Western countries see Egypt as well as impact to Egypt's foreign policy.

In terms of economy, Arab Spring has brought a huge impact to Egypt: Egyptian foreign exchange reserves plummeted up to around 21 billion dollars compared to before the revolution.⁵⁸ This was also followed by deteriorations in foreign investment in Egypt (fall until 4,8 billion USD for fiscal year 2010/2011) and Egypt stock exchanges; in addition, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) also showed a decline of 65 million USD, which is the lowest level in Egypt's FDI.⁵⁹

In terms of foreign policy, it seems like there is no significant changes in Egyptian's foreign policy. However, the new transitional government that run by SCAF, has stated that Egypt intends to improve its relations with Iran since both countries have

no formal relationship.⁶⁰ This, as Halawa stated in *Egypt Independent Website*, has shown by Egypt allowing Iranian ships to sail through Suez Canal in February, just after Mubarak stepped down. Halawa then further explain that local newspaper even had preached that Iran has designated its ambassador to Egypt, which later denied by the Iranian government. Moreover, relationship with Iran is overlapping with reconciliation between Palestinian factions (Fatah and Hamas), which is pivotal in Egypt's foreign policy.

There are two consequences if Egypt succeeded to pull this policy: on the one hand, this normalization with Iran could help Palestinian reconciliation; on the other hand, it could construct tension between Egypt and Egypt's oldest ally, namely Saudi Arabia. Considering this affair, Egyptian senior diplomat then stated that there will be no major changes in foreign policy. In his statement, he also mentioned that Egypt still keeps a careful alliance with Western countries and other Arab states, is still maintaining a good partnership with Israel, is not normalizing relations with Iran, and

⁵⁶ Bowen, p. 13.

⁵⁷ Bowen, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Doaa S. Abdou and Zeinab Zaazou, 'The Egyptian Revolution and Post Socio-Economic Impact', *Topics in Middle Eastern and African Economies*, vol. 15, no. 1, May 2013, p. 98.

⁵⁹ Abdou and Zaazou, p. 98-99.

⁶⁰ Omar Halawa, 'New Egyptian Foreign Policy Challenges Regional Alliances', *Egypt Independent Website*, 20 April 2011, <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/new-egyptian-foreign-policy-challenges-regional-alliances>, consulted 8 November 2013.

still keeps track of good relations with Nile Basin countries.⁶¹

Since this was a big event in Arab world, response comes from not only regional communities but also international communities. From regional communities, respond comes from African Union (AU). As noted before, the African Union wanted Egypt to conduct a free election, and a government that respects people's rights. However, it was just a statement. Though AU has several policy in regards of the "unconstitutional regime change", it did not view the Egyptian revolution or Tunisian revolution as such of situation, which then explain why AU has not reacted properly; in fact, AU only reacted when the demonstration has become more violent.⁶² Lack of instrument and proper action made AU becoming a dormant player in the region.

As for international response to Egypt's revolution, Egyptian revolution is a surprise. Since Egypt is still an important player in Middle East for Western countries, response came from everywhere. From European Union (EU), for example, response came as

a support for human rights and democracy transition so that it can proceed in a peaceful way. In order to do this, the EU has provided technical assistance to help the authorities to manage an election in Egypt. As for the economic transition, the EU has provided around 449 million Euro for the period 2011-2013. Furthermore, EU and Egypt also approved to scrutinize together the possibilities of deeper trade and investment relations, including a chance for a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA).⁶³

In addition, the response is not only come from European Union, but also from the United States. As the US ally, Egypt has got advantages from the US since 1980; as a return, Egypt is also the most important partner for the US peace process with Israel.⁶⁴ Therefore, what happened in Egypt indeed disrupted what the US and President Hosni Mubarak has built since 1980. With today's revolution in Egypt, the US indeed needs to think a new approach that suitable for US-Egypt relations in the long term.

⁶¹ Dina Ezzat, 'Egypt's Foreign Policy a Year after the Revolution', *Ahram Online*, 26 January 2012, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/114/32770/Egypt/-January-Revolution-continues/Egypt-foreign-policy-a-year-after-the-revolution.aspx>, consulted 8 November 2013.

⁶² Eriksson and Zetterlund, p. 45.

⁶³ European Union, 'EU's Response to the "Arab Spring": The State-of-Play after Two Years', *European Union*, A 70/ 13, 8 February 2013, www.eeas.europa.eu, consulted 26 September 2013, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Philippe Droz-Vincent, 'A Post-Revolutionary Egyptian Foreign Policy?... Not yet', *The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF)*, July 2012, p. 1.

During the Revolution, the US has demanded for President Hosni Mubarak to step down. However, during this transition process, what the US can do is supporting Egypt like the EU and not interfering in the election process.⁶⁵ As for financial support, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had proposed 150 million dollars for emergency aid (military assistance) to Egypt when she visited Cairo on February, and 250 million dollars for economic assistance.⁶⁶

Moreover, response also comes from Asian countries, such as China. Different with other countries mentioned above, China responded the revolution by limiting its people to get any details of information about Egyptian revolution.⁶⁷ Since China and Egypt has quite a similar system⁶⁸, China is clearly worried about the impact of Egyptian Revolution to itself. Added to the fact that China has also challenges from

surrounding countries (for example, North Korea, Japan, etc.), Chinese government definitely wants to avoid bigger conflict from inside the country.

Conclusion

In summary, Egypt is a country that has suffered under dictatorship and corrupt regime for many years. This lengthy period was characterized by poverty, unemployment and political unrest. These characteristics then created a wide gap between the rich and poor people. As mentioned before, this is not the first time for Egyptians to revolt against their government, but this is the first time they gathered together to revolt against their government. Egyptian revolution was a shock for international society. As outsiders, people always perceive situation in Egypt was under control. Yet, revolution happened, and Peter Jones in his article even has categorized it as one of the biggest events after the Cold War, and it is not without reason: Egyptian Revolution, as part of Arab Spring, was a big event given the number of people who joined it, the shock, impacts, and responds from regional and international society.

Indeed, a successful Tunisia's Revolution eleven days earlier was a generator for Egyptians to start their own revolution and

⁶⁵ Emad El-Din Shahin, 'The Arab Spring and Western Policy Choices', *Peace Policy Website*, 6 July 2011, www.peacepolicy.org, consulted 16 September 2013.

⁶⁶ Uri Dadush and Michele Dunne, 'American and European Responses to the Arab Spring: What's the Big idea?', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 4, p. 133.

⁶⁷ Nuh Yilmaz, Taha Özhan, et al., *SETA Policy Report: The Anatomy of Egyptian Revolution: From 25th January to the New Constitution*, no. 9, January 2012, p. 35.

⁶⁸ Both China and Egypt has enjoyed the improvement in terms of economy with social gap in one side and political dissatisfying on the other side. This has created unrest situation in public. (Nuh Yilmaz, Taha Özhan, et al., p. 36).

changed their government. Yet, how it started was different, and Egyptian Revolution has its own characteristic: it was dominated by youngsters and city people, not activists. In addition, impact from this event to Egypt was also huge, not only in terms of economy, but also politics. Since this is such a big event, there is no doubt that this will also bring responses from both regional and international communities such as the United States, European Union, African Union, etc.

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