THE 3RD BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (ICON-IR)

NAVIGATING THROUGH THE YEARS OF LIVING DANGEROUSLY: NEW ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Panel 1: Global Governance

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time   : 13.45 – 16.45 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.04 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel05
Moderator : Adhi Bhaskara, MPACS.
Discussant : Mangadar Situmorang, Ph.D & Irawan J.H, Ph.D

Presenters:

1. Diandra Ayu Larasati (Gadjah Mada University)
Effectiveness and Robustness of An International Regime: The Dilemma of Arctic Council's Significance After 2022 Russian Military Aggression to Ukraine.

Abstract:

This paper is a case study in regards to how the significance of Arctic Council (AC) would be undermined by the currently ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine. After Russia started its military aggression to Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the other seven Arctic littoral states declared their condemnation to Russia's action. As a part of this stance, they also suspended all of their activities in the AC. This paper is conducted through qualitative research method, in which the resulting interpretation of the implications of the seven littoral Arctic states' action towards Russia-led AC is assessed through how those actions would affect the AC in both of effectiveness and robustness as indicators of a regime's significance (Hasenclever et.al, 2004).

This paper finds that AC's significance as an international regime would be compromised, both in the effectiveness and robustness aspects of the regime. With seven littoral Arctic states deciding to postpone any activities regarding their involvement in said international regime, it is inevitable that the effectiveness of the regime would suffer, because activities in AC's working groups and task forces require cooperation between various stakeholders, including but not limited to more than one member states per activity. With seven of them currently absent, Russia as AC's 2021-2023 chairmanship would have little to achieve. This then also threatens AC's robustness that hinges on its commitment to not partake in security concerns. Thus, the action of the seven littoral states that is based on Ukraine's security concerns contradicts one of AC's core values.

Key Words: Russia, Ukraine, Arctic Council, International Regime

2. Lukas Tambunan (Embassy of Poland, Jakarta)
The Urgency to Reform United Nations Security Council Study Case: Ukraine – Russia War.

Abstract:

Almost 120 days since the first day of Russian invasion to Ukraine, there is still no single indication that the war will stop. Many leaders, including Indonesia has repeatedly called that the war must be stopped. Within the last three months, energy and food crisis are emerged and must be addressed immediately. This kind of situation needs immediate action, mainly taken by the United Nations, in particular by United Nations Security Council (UNSC). As there are so many demands from developing countries that the war has to be stopped, it is still unclear whether the status of eastern part of Ukraine should be restored before the invasion or whether it will be declared as Russian territory. This paper aims to analyze the role of the UNSC on dealing with the Russia–Ukraine War, taking into consideration the previous case which happened in 2014. Using the constructivist theory, this paper conclude that UNSC should take further and serious steps to deal with this problem. Furthermore, as the situation in Ukraine also deteriorate, by the end of the day the urgency to reform the UNSC must be taken.

3. Jusmalia Oktaviani, Teguh Puja Pramadya (Jenderal Achmad Yani University)
Fostering Global Unity and Synergy: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Remarks at the 1st FMCBG Indonesia.

Abstract:

This study examines Indonesia's attitude and position as the G20 Presidency through Critical Discourse Analysis from Joko Widodo's opening remarks at the 1st FMCBG (Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors) Indonesia event. This study also seeks to show how Joko Widodo has made and positioned Indonesia as an active player and promoter in fostering global unity and synergy.

The fact that this is being studied at a time when global conditions are uncertain as a result of Russia's war on Ukraine, which caused a number of important countries to oppose Russia's involvement on the agenda of the G20 Summit in Bali, makes this a particularly fascinating topic to investigate.

This study takes a qualitative approach and conducts research through methodologies that are based on critical discourse analysis. The researchers use the concept proposed by Norman Fairclough to examine the relationship between the discourse structures and the social structures that are present in Joko Widodo's speech.

Keyword: critical discourse analysis, G20, presidency, ideology, global

4. Rivaldi Zakie Indrayana (Parahyangan Catholic University)
The Changes of the World's International Aviation after The September 11, 2001 Attacks.

Abstract:

The face of the world's international aviation has significantly changes at this last 20 years especially after the 9/11 attack into the WTC Building and Pentagon in New York also Washington DC, U.S.A because of the commercial flight hijacking by the Middle Eastern Al-Qaeda's Terrorist. As it is known, hijacked planes get destroyed and kill all passengers with the crews after hitting those buildings until we know that the actual main problem was about the flight safety. So, how can it change before and after the 9/11 attacks? It needs a big attention from the airline company because safety is the priority. And then here, I will try to talk more about the changes of the flight commercial safety rules before and after the 9/11 attack started from the rule about the people who were allowed to enter the cockpit. Before that, passengers were allowed to enter the cockpit during the flight, make them know how the pilot works in the air. But after that, only the flight attendants are able to enter there and the passengers cannot, only before take-off or after landing. And than, the theory which I will used to analyzing this abstract was the theory of security and securitization as it still relevant with the international terrorism, in the meaning about the flight hijacking accident as it applied here. So I can conclude if the face of the world's international aviation also has changed after the 9/11 attack based there.

Keywords: World International Aviation, Flight, Terrorist, International Terrorism, Security.

5. Mae Luky Iriani (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Energy Transition Dilemma in EU Region in Achieving Net Zero Green Emission by 2050.

Abstract:

A region's ability to access a steady energy supply is instrumental for its economic growth. The incumbent extraction industries have significantly contributed to the global emissions with damaging consequences. In response to the increasing concerns toward environmental and social implications, through Paris Agreement, EU aims to decarbonize the economy by 2050 with net zero green emission roadmap that includes energy transition. However, energy itself is a complex consumption issue. The curtailment of the current supply without securing a reliable alternative sources of energy and by undermining potential geopolitical tensions over the years, the energy transition will most likely be hampered which can negatively impact Europe's economic performance.

This shift should be strategically facilitated by the governments involved to ensure inclusive economic growth in the region while maintaining an accessible and affordable clean energy. To apprehend these dynamics between the state and the market, this research explores Multi Level Perspective (MLP) approach on sociotechnical theory that involves three layers of Regime (well established institution, common practice), Niche (specific market) and Landscape (external macro factor), which may explain the state, transnational group and the society nexus. This research will examine if this MLP framework can be synthesized in liberal economy against the background of geopolitical tension and shifting global power that may affect the success of the energy transition in EU region and what dominant factor that could accelerate the transition that may also promote an economic growth. This research utilizes a qualitative method by literature review and case study. The purpose of this research may

The purpose of this research may provide a contribution for IPE students, and policy makers in the countries that would follow the steps for decarbonizing their economies.

Keywords: Energy Inclusivity, Energy Transition, European Union, Multi-Level Perspective Framework

6. Prof. Brendan Howe (Ehwa Womans University)
Non-Traditional Security Challenges to a Statecentric International Order: Responsible Governance in East Asia

Abstract:

East Asia has been dominated in theory and practice by state-centric policy considerations heavily influenced by the geopolitical contestation of great powers. This perspective is, however, threatened by the rise of non-traditional security (NTS) challenges, including COVID-19, climate change, and the humanitarian crisis of refugee and forced migration flows. All three are exacerbated by the pursuit of narrow self-interest (unilateralism) and an emphasis on state security among national policymakers. Yet these challenges can also represent avenues of opportunity for other actors such as middle powers and civil society organisations. The central research question addressed by this presentation, therefore, is what role can and should be played by newly empowered or recognized actors in addressing NTS challenges? The focus is on a responsibility to disrupt established governance practices with innovative approaches.

7. Novriest Umbu Walangara Nau (Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana)
ASEAN dan New Security Challenges: Sebuah Kajian mengenai Respon Institusional ASEAN terhadap Pandemi Covid 119.

Abstract:

The Covid-19 pandemic is a monumental event that confirms that security challenges in the global sphere have shifted, where non-traditional security is a central theme in the international community. Countries in the Southeast Asian region have also felt the massive impact on various sectors caused by this global pandemic outbreak which led those countries making various adjustments to survive the challenges. Similarly, in the regional scope, an institutional approach is carried out by ASEAN in order to maintain the stability of the region and its member states. ASEAN is known for its non-intervention principle that accommodates patterns of interaction between member states. Especially when the linkage of interests that occurs is in the political and security fields, it is very difficult for ASEAN to deal with the domestic problems of its member states. The presence of the Covid-19 pandemic, which requires multisectoral handling, makes ASEAN's policy direction interesting to study. This paper uses qualitative methods and the Human Security approach as a conceptual basis to explore the problems discussed. This paper will discuss ASEAN's institutional response in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic and observe whether member states have slightly dismissed the principle of non-intervention. This paper argues that the Covid-19 pandemic has reinforce a change in the course of security and therefore ASEAN and member states need to redefine the boundaries of interaction to be able to take effective policies. The final part of the paper focuses on examining the historical line of ASEAN as a regional institution in responding to non-traditional issues within the region.

Keywords: ASEAN, New Security Challenges, Covid-19

Panel 2: Great Power Politics

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time   : 16.30 – 19.00 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.01 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel06
Moderator : Idil Syawfi, M.Si.
Discussant : Prof. Jörn Dosch & Adrianus Harsawaskita, M.A.

Presenters:

1. Dwi Luthfan Prakoso (Paramadina University)
The Influence of Great Powers at the Horn of Africa During Russia – Ukraine War.

Abstract:

During Russia invasion against Ukraine, international community has 2 different point of views to see the war itself. One side sees it was the part of self-defending of Russia while others see it as invasion against Ukraine. One of the which has different views are Horn of Africa. Located at the strategic position which directed facing the Gulf of Aden, the region has its own complexity including how they perceive current global issue. Nevertheless, they have no single agreement as single community to give their responds Russia – Ukraine War. Their internal problem in the regions due to external factors become more prominent issues to be solved than see them as one single community.

The purpose of this research is to see the internal and external factors how countries at the Horn of Africa region perceived the issue of Russia – Ukraine War. It was proven how countries at the region had slightly different vote at UN Resolution Aggression against Ukraine. It founds that their internal problem, historical background, economic and political issues together with external factors especially role of great powers made them hard to have one single agreement specially to improve their welfare. Using Regional Security Complex Theory by Barry Buzan supported by Offensive Neorealism by John J. Mearsheimer it was found that external factors play significant role at the Horn of Africa.

Keywords: Horn of Africa, Great Powers, Regional Security Complex, Offensive Realism, Russia – Ukraine War.

2. Putu Agung Nara Indra Prima Satya, Dedi Yusuf (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Analysis on the Deadlock during the Kashmir Dispute Negotiations between India and Pakistan.

Abstract:

The dispute over the Kashmir region, which is fought by India and Pakistan, has been going on for more than 70 years. The conflict began in 1947 when India and Pakistan claimed the Kashmir region as their own territory on different reasons. To resolve the dispute over the Kashmir region, the two countries have carried out various kinds of negotiations. However, the negotiations that carried out by both countries frequently end in deadlocks. As a result, the conflict is still occurring until present day. Therefore, this paper will answer the research question "Why are India and Pakistan still willing to negotiate even though the negotiations often end in a deadlock?" The writer will answer it by using the concept of Negotiation in Conflict Resolution and "Ripeness" in Conflict by Ira William Zartman, and the concept of Deadlock in Negotiation Dynamics by Guy Oliver Faure.

This study also uses qualitative methods and data collection techniques using secondary data. Therefore, for the time being, this research concludes that the deadlock that occurred in the negotiations between India and Pakistan regarding the Kashmir dispute was caused by several factors, namely structural, process, behavior and strategies of each parties. In addition, the author also temporarily concludes that India and Pakistan still want to carry out negotiations related to the Kashmir dispute because throughout the conflict, both countries have felt the existence of Mutually Hurting Stalemate (MHS) and Way Out, which makes them want to negotiate. However, with the lack of Mutually Enticing Opportunities (MEO) provided by the two countries, negotiations between India and Pakistan often ended in deadlock.

Keywords: India, Pakistan, Kashmir, Deadlock, Negotiation

3. Reine Prihandoko (Laboratorium Indonesia 2045)
Indonesia's New Military Commands and Changing Security Complex in the Pacific.

Abstract:

In 2019, President Joko Widodo announced that the Indonesian National Army (TNI) had built four new military bases in Biak, Morotai, Merauke, and Saumlaki. These new military commands are part of efforts to create a more unified military culture, improve crisis preparedness, and increase deterrence. However, choosing eastern Indonesia as the location of military bases is considered a new thing, considering that TNI development has always been Java-centric. The current maritime environment since the end of the Indonesian-Dutch war over West Irian is also relatively stable. This article attempts to look at the dynamics in the region to find the reasons why TNI opted for new commands in eastern part of Indonesia. By analysing the regional security complex, this article argues that the great power politics have been intensified in the Pacific amid growing domestic economic interests in Maluku and Papua in recent years. Studies on great power rivalry also show that security arrangements in the region are largely influenced by possible power transitions when China is seen as a dissatisfied rising power. In addition, the economic interests and security concerns are evolving in Indonesia's Eastern Provinces. Hence, it is arguably that Indonesia built military commands to respond at the changing regional security architecture surrounding the Indonesia's archipelagic sea lane (ALKI) III where the new commands are located. All the more, the ALKI III is also under research in existing literature.

Keywords: Regional security complex, power transition, Indonesian armed forces, archipelagic sea lane

4. Adelbertus Irawan J. Hartono (Parahyangan Catholic University)
"China's Challenges to the United-States: Toward the Creation of a New Bipolar World?"

Abstract:

This paper focuses on the tensions between China and the United-States. These are the trade-war between China-United States, the tension between China-the United States in the South China Sea, and the stance of China regarding to the war between Russia-Ukraine (by which the United States plays a pivotal role). These tensions occurred mostly in the second and third decades of the 21th. century. As these are conflicts between Dominant-Power and Great-Power, the consequences will be significant, among others the formation of a new distribution of power in a global scale. This will inevitably affect all countries with different 'status' of power whether they are Great-Powers, Middle-Powers, or Small-Powers.

In coping with the issue, the writer will use the conception of Power-Transition, addressed by Organski (1968) and also later by Kugler and Tamen (2004). This is because the conception deals very much with how states can transform themselves in becoming a more significant power. Furthermore it explains how a global hierarchy is formed, and how it changes.

There are several findings in this work. For China, the trade war is on political-economy, the tension in South China Sea is on territorial, and the tension regarding to the Russia-Ukraine war is on the stance of China in the global issue. All nevertheless show that China has positioned itself as a confident challenger of the United-States in various global issues. This could lead to the formation of a new power distribution in a global level.

Keywords: Power-Transition, Great-Powers, Middle-Powers, Small-Powers, China, the United-States.

5. Robby Cahyadi (Resilience Development Initiative)
A gramscian perspective in great power rivalry; the implication of the war of position and the war of movement in Ukraine

Abstract:

This paper seeks to understand the current reality of Ukraine following intensifying rivalry between Russia and the West. Ukraine's current situation bears an uncanny resemblance toward WW2 style proxy wars such as the Vietnam and Korean wars. The West involvement in the conflict is an undisputed phenomenon with Russia claiming the war as a defensive reaction toward an impending Western Threat in the form of a Pro-West nazified Ukraine. This is a puzzling development for Russia- Ukraine relations, both countries have numerous ties spanning from culture, historical and political connection due to their shared Soviet heritage. A war with one another is undoubtedly a costly endeavor. Neo-Gramscian framework of cultural hegemony can help explain this puzzling development by using the concept of cultural hegemony and its mechanism, the war of position and the war of movement. The rivalry a Western based values and a Russian based values is singled out.

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine entered a state of great power rivalry in the form of a war of position where established values (Russian) came into conflict with the new values (Western) coming from the West following the Eastward expansion of NATO/EU. European values steadily gain grounds and ultimately culminate in a war of movement (Euromaidan) that depose the centrist Russian-leaning government led by Victor Yanukovich. Russia's defeat in both the war of position and the war of movement serves as a background that propels a military solution to Ukraine Western leaning foreign policy

Keywords: Russo-Ukranian War, Euromaidan, Neo-Gramscian, Great Power Rivalry and Cultural Hegemony

Panel 3: The Importance of Health Issues

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time	: 16.30 – 19.00 WIB/GMT+7
Room	: AG2.2A.03.02 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel03
Moderator	: Marshell Adi Putra, M.A.
Discussant	: Prof. Brendan Howe & Yulius Purwadi H., Ph.D.

Presenters:

1. Aswin Ariyanto Azis (Brawijaya University)
India's Foreign Aid Policy Shift During The COVID-19 Pandemic.

Abstract:

This article explores the foreign aid policy shift in India that was taken during the Covid-19 pandemic. The Indian government has introduced the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) amendment in 2020 with the intention to streamline foreign aid mechanisms and ensure greater transparency and commitment to the state's long legacy of refusal to aid principles. The article surveys that India has proven to be ineffective in implementing the new aid regulations as reflected by its delayed aid distribution system and the reality that it is even harder for Indian nonprofits to receive foreign aid. India's aid regime then has become the highlight of the international community, due to the millions of aids given to the state but India has faced the difficulty to distribute the aid received. The article suggests that India should prioritize the welfare of its people by using the most aid that is available as the practice itself is not detrimental to the state's political interests.

2. Palupi Anggraheni (Diponegoro University), Yuseptia Angretnowati (UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta), Grace Lumban Gaol (UPN "Veteran" Jawa Timur)
(De)-politization and The Role of Decision-Making Group in Indonesia Vaccine Diplomacy during Covid 19 Pandemic.

Abstract:

Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) has brought significant impact in political and government sector. As one of the densely populated areas in the world, with highest cases in South east Asia Indonesia's vaccine rate has been accelerated well. The Indonesian Government has been actively pursuing extensive diplomacy strategy to secure the supply of COVID-19 vaccines. According to Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affair, health diplomacy has been Indonesia priority agenda on foreign policy in 2021. Foreign policy in the midst of COVID-19 pandemic is regulated in non-routine platform and affected decision making process. This condition can be observed from diverse configuration of actor in decision making process, which being dominated by military background officer and business elite. In foreign politics analysis literature, this case can be approached by small group dynamics conceptual frameworks. This article is aimed to examine how strategic action from group decision maker through de-politization, and observe different interest among actor in vaccine diplomacy policy. In decision making process including foreign policy, government will tend to strengthen their legitimation at domestic level, by minimizing political aspect in COVID-19 response policy to avoid internal political turmoil. This research will use literature review and analyzing data from interview with stakeholders to examine decision-making process related to vaccine diplomacy. It can be concluded that the group decision making using de-politization strategy in vaccine diplomacy in order to avoid politic blaming for uncertainty result and minimizing the risk of unpopular public policy in time of crisis.

Keyword: decision making process, foreign policy, small group dynamics, vaccine diplomacy, de-politization

3. Bima Prawira Utama (Padjadjaran University)
COVID-19 and Xenophobia: The Use of #中国ウイルス Hashtag on Japanese Twitter.

Abstract:

Covid-19 is not only a breeding ground for a novel virus that caught by many people around the world, creating a global shift in various fields. Covid-19 is also a breeding ground for hatred against people of Chinese descent. First reported in Wuhan, China, Covid-19 becomes affiliated with Chinese descent regardless of their origin or where they live. They receive various hatred-based treatments in both real life and social media. Twitter today is one of the largest social media with 290 million users around the world. One of twitter's major feature is the Hashtag. When a phrase is used with hashtag, then you can search for such specific prhase around the twitter world. During the pandemic, one of the newly used hashtag is a Japanese phrase #中国ウイルス which means the Chinese virus. The hashtag is aimed to harass Chinese people on Japanese twitter space. This article is aimed to understand how the hashtag is used to harass the chinese descent on Japanese twitter space.

Using the theory of xenophobia, the phenomena can be analyzed as a part of a larger phenomena which is Japanese xenophobia against Chinese people. Using a mixed method with the help of data-processing software, NVIVO, this research will map the use of such hashtag throughout the metadata analysis of the hashtag itself.

Keywords: Covid-19, Xenophobia, Twitter, Japan, China

4. Abu Huraerah (Pasundan University), Rudi Martiawan (Pasundan University), Peter Voo (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)
Social Protection for the Poor People Through the National Health Insurance Program in Indonesia.

Abstract:

Health insurance is a form of social protection in improving the quality of health in Indonesia. The purpose of the study is to describe social protection for the poor people through the national health insurance program in Indonesia. The method used is qualitative, while the data collection techniques used are in-depth interview, observation and document study. Data analysis steps consist of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Poor people who receive the national health insurance program (beneficiaries) on the implementation of the national health insurance recognize and feel that the national health insurance program is beneficial. However, the quality of health services still does not meet their expectations, such as the length of treatment and there are differences in the service system between participants of the Health Social Security Administering Body and general patients. Patients of the Health Social Security Administering Body there are restrictions on the number of patients, while for general patients there are no restrictions on the number of outpatients in hospitals. Procedurally, there are still many poor people who have not been recorded, so they do not have access to health services. Socially, there is still a person bias, the poor do not get the right to health insurance, while the non-poor gets the right to health insurance. Politically, there is the provision of access for people who are close to the power elite at the grass root level to obtain health services. It is necessary to develop creative ideas and rapid actions to build a health service innovation system in hospitals and other health services. This should be done to improve the quality of health services.

Keyword: social protection, poor people, national health insurance program, health services

5. Muhammad Dedy Yanuar (UPN Veteran East Java), Palupi Anggraheni (University of Diponegoro)
National Health Resilience: Identifying Indonesian foreign policy agenda and regional cooperation through Health Diplomacy during COVID-19 pandemic

Abstract:

Since the early 2020, the outbreak of notorious Covid-19 has been spreading all over the world, including and not limited to Southeast Asian countries, especially Indonesia. However, when WHO has been inventing as well as massively producing vaccines a year later for the purpose of creating international immunity herd, the global panic situation of health crisis could eventually decrease steadily in a way, which also took place in Indonesia.

With the tagline 'Recovery Together, Recovery Stronger' in G20 Presidency Indonesia would like to emphasize that health sector is currently the main/ top priority above all within Indonesian foreign policy – meaning that health diplomacy has already been incorporated as one of crucial policy instruments of foreign affairs. This paper aims to unravel to what extent Indonesia's health diplomacy served as the critical determinant in grappling with the global pandemic. The research employed qualitative–explanatory methods to find out why and how health diplomacy is incorporated into Indonesian Foreign Policy. It utilized existing secondary data by employing document analysis and literature studies. The study found that through health diplomacy strategy Indonesia has been successfully improving national health resilience and expanding its position on global level. The research concluded that by focusing on health diplomacy Indonesia is not only capable of creating opportunities for international health cooperation and collaboration with other countries and other global institutions, but also being reliable where Indonesia as a sovereign state is all-time present to meet their people's basic needs and health security, particularly through providing equal access of vaccination for all Indonesian citizens.

Keyword: health diplomacy, foreign policy, regional cooperation

Panel 4: Networked Society & Technological Advancement

Friday, 12th of August 2022

Time   : 13.30 – 16.50 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.03 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel0202
Moderator   : Marshell Adi Putra, M.A.
Discussant : Prof. Sukawarsini Djelantik, Ph.D & Elisabeth A.S. Dewi, Ph.D

Presenters:

1. Deana Rahda Mahalsya (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Cyber Attack On Russia Before Invasion of Ukraine.

Abstract:

Cyber Attack carried out by Russia shortly before the invasion of Ukraine became a new serious problem detected by the United States of America and also the United Kingdom, the cyber attack incident has caused harm to the people of Ukraine with the power outage caused by cyber attack on the Ukrainian electrical system, the effect of cyber attack is also felt in central Europe with the impact of wind farms and also the existence of cyber attacks. interference with the internet system. The incident has become a form of terrorism as a new threat posed by Russia in the form of Cyber Attack by threatening directly to the general public with political purposes. This research will be carried out with literature research methods from various sources such as books, journals and articles. In conducting this research, the anlysis technique that will be used is qualitative, then the focus and conclusions in this study will be aimed at cyber attacks carried out by Russia is a form of terrorism carried out by state actors to the general public, with the political purpose of invading other countries, namely Ukraine.

Keywords: Cyber Attack, Terrorism, Invasion, Security, Transnational Crime

2. Albert Triwibowo (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Indonesia's Perspective on Digital Diplomacy.

Abstract:

Digitalisation is considered inevitable aspect in diplomatic practice as information and communication technology influence the conduct of diplomacy in quite a meaningful way. The speed and process of digitalisation in diplomatic conduct is something which never been imagined before, especially with the event of covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic, at the end, has become the main driving factor for Ministry of Foreign Affairs to start digitalisation. However, current studies about digital diplomacy discuss and focus mainly on the evolution and perspective of major and developed countries. What would be interesting to discuss further is, how small and middle power states understand the phenomenon of digital diplomacy? This paper tries to discuss the perspective of digital diplomacy from Indonesian point of view and argues that Indonesia's perspective on digital diplomacy is not entirely comprehensive. The partial understanding about digital diplomacy will at the end left the possibilities brought by digitalisation remain untapped. Besides, digitalisation is far from creating an equal playing field in the diplomatic practice. This paper is a qualitative study and supported with primary as well as secondary data.

3. Damar Putra Mahendra (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Exploring the Impacts of the Fourth Industrial Revolution on the Russo-Ukrainian War.

Abstract:

This research aims to explore the impacts of the Fourth Industrial Revolution on the Russia-Ukraine War. The conflict has seen the use of "disruptive technologies" that impacted the way the belligerent forces fought. It has also impacted the way other state and non-state actors became involved in the conflict. This research implements Klaus Schwab's Fourth Industrial Revolution concept, particularly on the nature of conflict concerning the revolution. Based on the concept, this research finds that the Fourth Industrial Revolution is present in the 2022 Russo-Ukrainian War through additive manufacturing, crowdfunding, cyber warfare, open-source intelligence, online recruitment of foreign fighters, and satellite internet. The presence of the aforementioned elements has impacted the war by internationalizing the Russia-Ukraine war, enabling military forces and non-state actors from both sides to capitalize on the advances of commercial technologies, enabling virtually every individual to participate in the war, ensuring the free flow of information amidst the war, and allowing international third parties to provide alternate reporting of the war other than those provided by belligerent sides. Actors involved in the war have reacted to the Fourth Industrial Revolution by implementing certain measures, including enhanced operational security, widening the role of additive manufacturing, preventing of smuggling of advanced technologies, strengthening cybersecurity measures, preventing the misuse of crowdfunding, prioritization of internet access in the conflict region, and restriction of individuals attempting to join the conflict.

Keywords: Disruptive technologies, Fourth Industrial Revolution, Russia, Ukraine, War
Topic: Networked Society & Technological Advancement

4. Ferdian Ahya Al Putra (ASEAN Studies Center, Gadjah Mada University), Septyanto Galan Prakoso (Sebelas Maret University), Nadia Dian Ardita (Sebelas Maret University)
A Literature Study on Network Society in Indonesia 2011–2021.

Abstract:

The transformation of information technology has changed the communication pattern in society. This phenomenon then formed network society which gives broad influence on various sectors, ranging from social, economic, political, and cultural. This study aims to identify the existence of network society in Indonesia from 2011 to 2021 from the perspective of the scholars through their publication by using literature study with data visualization. Data visualization will be presented using the Vos Viewer program to show the development of network society in Indonesia. Thus, this paper can be used to discover the trends within and connected to network society in Indonesia in a decade as well as provide checkpoint to similar form of research.

Keywords: network society, Indonesia, literature study.

5. Kishino Bawono, Marshell Adi Putra, Rizky Widian (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Video Games and Its Effects on Transnational Politics.

Abstract:

Video games has been a major popular culture of contemporary world and several research have been dedicated to examining video games and various facets of impacts towards the society. Several research has been dedicated to examining video games' impacts on the society. From its economic valuation, market share, total number of global outreaches, negative impacts on health such as violent behaviour, aggressiveness, and gender-based issues in video games such as female character portrayals and sexism within the games and the industry. Moreover, in our initial research, we had found that there is a gap within the academic body of the effects of video games, especially about the effects of video games towards transnational politics. Hence, in this research, the writers aim to examine to what extent video games affecting transnational politics. These effects of video games will be examined through the lens of Manuel Castells' Networked Society. Especially on how video games, as a new media is impacting the society, how virtual world affects the real world through its (gameplay) narrative and industries.

Keywords: video games, transnational politics, networked society, new media.

6. Pingkan Audrine (Center for Indonesian Policy Studies)
Multilateral Challenges on Data Governance & Cross-Border Data Flows.

Abstract:

Rapid development of internet penetration and digital technology adoption among countries have shaped global economy. With the internationalization of digital services and products, governments around the world responded with various policies on the way data is collected, processed, transferred, and stored within the scope of regional and international level. Free cross border data flows are therefore needed to help spur innovation and productivity. In contrast, as shown by some studies, brings negative effects on trade and GDP, while also preventing the innovation and development of digital economy products and services.

Data governance and cross-border data flows become inseparable with the international trade. Hence, international organization and multilateral forum such as the European Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Group of 20, and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation plays an important role in shaping the global governance within these areas.

This research analyzes the multilateral challenges on data governance and cross-border data flows by looking at the role and influence of international organization and multilateral forums. Literature reviews and interviews are being used for this research. The research finds that countries from developing economies not satisfied with the imbalance effect on value creation from the data collected under their jurisdiction. Therefore, these countries have tendency and shared interests to exert sovereignty over their data by having more restrictive international policies and focusing more on domestic ones. On the other sides, developed countries with data governance policy and regulation maturity are keen for driving an open global data governance and free flow of data.

Keywords : international organizations, multilateral, data governance, cross-border data flows.

Panel 5: Bring the State Back in: The Importance of Domestic Politics

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time   : 13.45-16.15 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.01 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel02
Moderator   : Albert Triwibowo, M.A.
Discussant : Dr. Adam Tyson & Yulia Indrawati Sari, Ph.D

Presenters:

1. Fauzia Gustarina Cempaka Timur (Indonesia Defense University), Rendy Wirawan (Mulawarman University)
Transnational Security Challenges in The Capital City of Nusantara: Sources and Consequences.

Abstract:

Every decision made in the context of domestic politics will have an impact on the state's policy and present its own set of challenges in the context of foreign policy. especially when the domestic policy decision involves the relocation of the State Capital. This is the situation that Indonesia is currently facing. The construction of the Capital City of Nusantara, which will be located in North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan, has the potential to have an impact on the source of threats as well as consequences for Indonesia's defense and security. Furthermore, the selection of areas that have significantly shifted geographically has logical consequences for mapping transnational security threats that did not previously become a concern for the state capital in its previous location. The paper argued that Indonesia's relocation of the national capital will have an impact on transnational security through a variety of threats, including those involving transnational crimes such as international terrorism, illegal narcotics trade, and human trafficking.

The living population's presence in the region will prove detrimental in terms of regional borders. The analysis in this article will also compare similar perspectives obtained from the phenomenon of state capital reallocation that has previously been managed to be carried out by other countries. This article will present a descriptive analysis of how domestic decisions such as relocating the national capital are closely related to aspects of human security that are a minor aspect of transnational security studies.

Keywords: Transnational Security, Capital City of Nusantara, Security, Human Security

2. Dian Hapsari, Teguh Winari (Jasa Tirta)
Networking and Technology Development in Contemporary Era.

Abstract:

Jasa Tirta I Public Corporation (PJT I) is a Corporate-Type River Basin Organization (RBO) established in 1990 as a State-Owned Enterprise (SOE). PJT I operate five strategic river basins in Indonesia as its working areas. There are Brantas, Bengawan Solo, Serayu Bogowonto, Jratun Seluna, and Toba Asahan River Basins. To manage the river basin, the company works with stakeholders and also international RBO in managing water resources. Networking become important to increase the company's position in a competitive era.

In the implementation of water resources management, PJT I have Command Center Flood Forecasting and Warning System as an integrated system to manage flood monitoring and manage hydrology data. The application development for information and communication technologies to improve water resources management for securing the stability, safety, efficiency of water uses, and controlling the destructive forces of water. PJT-1 uses ICTs to obtain real-time water resources-related data and information for proper decision-making within the working areas in five river basins. Software Aquarius, Time Series, and Web Portal are installed to support and manage company hydrology data.

Both cooperation and also technology development help to manage water resources and face challenges in the contemporary era. This research will also focus on the company's activity in domestic and international as RBO in Indonesia and find out the effectivitiveness of Technology and Information implementation for the Integrated Water Resources Management System (IWRM). Cooperation and technology hold important issues such as transfer of knowledge and also increasing company position as one of RBO in Indonesia.

Keywords: Water, RBO, Networking, Cooperation, Technology

3. Gita Paramita Djausal, Fitri Juliana Sanjaya, Dwi Wahyu Handayani, Anna Gustina Zainal (Lampung University)
Discourse Analysis: Cultural Identity Facing Local Politics.

Abstract:

Lampung's society notably Pepadun's clan has open structure, that allows non-Lampungnese to be part of the family through traditional custom. This process is able to be done by performing event with perwatin and announcing the title (juluk) given. This article will analyse on the discourses occurs on events of public figures. The data of Lampung's political positioning and the background of public figures are intended to be collected from literatures. The discourses of motives of the event would probably benefit each party. Importantly the cultural proximity could promote electability of a person as the future leader. Furthermore, we consider that the cultural identity as additional features on electability of local politics should be highlighted with the local condition of the society.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, cultural identity, local politics, public figure, electability

4. Jessica Samudra (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Indonesia – China Cooperation in Managing Terrorism Case in Indonesia.

Abstract:

One of the crimes of international terrorism that has occurred is that in 2016, 13 people were arrested on the island of Java by the National Counterterrorism Agency, these people were suspected of being sympathizers of the ISIS group. During the arrest, an Uighur Muslim was found in a suicide vest. Uighur Muslims themselves are residents who come from China, and occupy the Xinjiang region. Indonesia's efforts to eradicate acts of terrorism above by using international cooperation, one of which is international cooperation in the form of bilateral cooperation in 2009 with China. Those caught in the above cases were repatriated to China or extradited, even though the Chinese government had requested that their citizens be repatriated. The convicted terrorism case remains imprisoned in Indonesia, because Indonesia and China do not have an extradition treaty.

Keywords : Security, Uighur Muslims, International Terrorism, Cooperation

5. Angaindrankumar Gnanasagaran (Asia-Europe Institute, University Malaya)
Rethinking Power in International Relations(IR): Lessons from Javanese Textual History.

Abstract:

The concept of power has been long been hailed as a centerpiece of mainstream International Relations (IR). However, its contemporary utility is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, the concept is dominated by a western-centric orthodoxy which traces its roots to American and European history and philosophy. Secondly, its analytical focus if often state-centric, relegating of the import of individuals such as influential global leaders and strongmen to a secondary role. This results in a narrow understanding of the power, fraught with false universalisms and limits in its explanatory capacity. This paper posits one way of remedying this – by employing a cross-disciplinary approach, reliant on local histories from parts of the world that have been neglected by IR's historical framing.

Specifically, it posits the use of textual sources from Java which stand to offer unique contributions to the concept thanks to a longstanding tradition of localising external influences. The paper examines two historical texts as case studies, the Desawarnana and the Pararaton for its potential utility in uncovering concepts related to power, considering the urgent challenges faced by humanity such as global pandemics, territorial conflict, and great power rivalry. Based on these concepts, the paper then introduces a prescriptive framework for the ethical use of power, in line with the Hindu–Buddhist understanding of dharma. In doing so, this research responds to growing calls for a "world historical framing" of IR and IR theory which seeks to redress inherent parochialism of the discipline, shifting it towards a more pluralistic direction.

Keywords: power, International Relations, Java, historical texts, Global IR

Panel 7: Democracy, Justice, and Human Rights in IR

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time : 13.45–16.15 WIB/GMT+7
Room : AG2.2A.03.01 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel03
Moderator : Mireille Marcia, M.Litt.
Discussant : Prof. Christoph Schuck & Dr. Aknolt Kristian Pakpahan

Presenters:

1. Meilinda Sari Yayusman (National Research and Innovation Agency)
The European Union as a Normative Actor: Assessing EU Human Rights Promotion in West Papua, Indonesia.

Abstract:

This article aims to examine the extent to which the European Union (EU) has utilized its normative role as a normative actor in promoting human rights in West Papua, Indonesia. The EU is perceived as a normative actor and, to a great extent, a normative power in the world. As a normative actor, the EU commits to the five 'core' of norms, namely the centrality of peace, the idea of liberty, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Respecting human rights becomes one of EU's priorities, especially in external relations. Utilizing its normative 'actorness', the EU undertakes certain actions to promote human rights in West Papua, which considerably remains one of the most striking issues in the world. I primarily address prominent human rights situation in West Papua to give limitation regarding human rights issue discussed. The analysis on EU's normative role is represented by the roles of the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European External Action Services. The study of Normative Power Europe, including the concept of norm diffusion, and EU human rights policy is used to evaluate the EU's normative role through its attempts in promoting human rights in West Papua. Here, the EU, through its bodies, diffuses the norms to West Papua, Indonesia, through four recognized methods: procedural, overt, transference, and informational diffusion.

Keywords: European Union, Indonesia, Human Rights Policy, Normative Power Europe, West Papua

2. Dyn Anugerah & Nabilah Mardiyah (Parahyangan Catholic University)

The Polemic of Repatriation of Indonesian Stateless Persons Ex-ISIS by the Indonesian Government.

Abstract:

Citizenship status is one of the crucial elements and it is a right that must be owned by every citizen from the moment they are born and an obligation that must be protected by the government. Although citizenship status is important, in fact there are still many Indonesian citizens who do not have citizenship or are even willing to give up their Indonesian citizenship status so that some of them become stateless. The number of Indonesian citizens who join ISIS is due to the influence given by ISIS members who have returned to Indonesia and asked to the Indonesian people to join ISIS. This research aims to provide answers and explanations of the assumptions given by researchers and previous research on the Indonesian government's decision, which they insisted not to repatriate ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens who have now become stateless persons, and answer the question why on the other hand there are several groups who want the Indonesian government to still repatriate the former ISIS citizen. This research method and approach uses a qualitative type with a case study research type. The results of this study indicate that the Government of Indonesia wants to create state security from humanitarian threats according to the Copenhagen School by carrying out problematic ways of injuring the citizenship aspect. However, on the other hand, the Government of Indonesia's steps were opposed by the National Human Rights Commission and ICJR because the policy did not have a clear law and violated the law and human rights.

Keywords: Citizenship Status, Statelessness, ISIS, Government of Indonesia

3. Muhaimin Zulhair Achsin (Brawijaya University)

The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations on Realizing the Right of Education for Child Refugees/Asylum Seekers in Indonesia.

Abstract:

In Indonesia, there are approximately 13,100 refugees registered with the UNHCR Indonesia. There are 27% or approximately 3500 of the total registered refugees are children. Of the number of refugee children, there are 98 children who come alone or separated from their families. Although the Indonesian government has not ratified the 1951 convention and its 1967 protocol regarding refugees, the Indonesian government has ratified the international convention on the Rights of the Child (The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child, 1989) which was stated in Presidential Decree 36 of 1990. It is also stated in the Child Protection Law, Law 23/2002 in conjunction with UU PA 35/2014. To make it happen, the government cannot work alone because of limitations in various ways. Non-governmental organizations also take part in realizing the right to education for child asylum seekers/refugees in Indonesia. Therefore, this paper will describe the efforts of non-governmental organizations in realizing the educational rights of asylum seekers/refugee children in Indonesia. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach as well as both primary and secondary data.

Keywords: asylum seekers, child refugees, Indonesia, right to education

4. Muhamad Nadzri Mohamed Noor (Pusat Kajian Sejarah, Sains Politik dan Hal Ehwal Antar Bangsa), Taufik (Pasundan University)
A New Style of Authoritarianism in Indonesia: The Construction of a Post-Suharto Elite.

Abstract:

Background and Purpose: Suharto's New Order rule has ended with various political and economic dynamics and a vision of progressive development every five years. Suharto's New Order government became authoritarian for the sake of stability built in all regions in Indonesia, utilizing various power networks such as the military, businessmen, and oligarchs, and using Golkar as a political 'boat' in every election. After the fall of Suharto, the remnants of elements of power and the oligarchs still existed in the reform era until the current Jokowi administration.

Methodology: The data was obtained through literature study, literature review, and in-depth interviews with a qualitative approach. The number of respondents who were met were four respondents. In addition, the views of scholars who are referred to are also to strengthen the arguments of the ideas that are designed and compiled. In analyzing, this article emphasizes inductive patterns or patterns of relationships between theoretical, conceptual, and empirical relationships.

Findings: This article identifies how the transformation of the political and business elites or the classical oligarchy that once lived forever in the New Order era adjusted the situation and conditions of the political regime. In addition, this paper also shows that there is a phase of elite adjustment that impacts the emergence of a new style of authoritarianism in Indonesia.

Contributions: This article is to see how the elites adjusted themselves after the Reformasi in Indonesia with various political maneuvers, either involving themselves in the government or becoming trend setters outside the government until the Jokowi administration era.

5. Miftachul Choir (Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University)
Neoliberal Governmentality and the Depoliticization of Anti-Corruption Movement in Indonesia.

Abstract:

Since the political reformation in 1998, international donors such as World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development, and the Australian Aid have channeled funds toward the proliferation of professional civil society organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia. As a result, CSOs have contributed to the policy-making, raising democratic values and citizens' rights to the Indonesian public and holding capacity building for fellow CSOs. Despite their contribution, scholars have argued that CSOs were merely a social movement, rather than a political movement. Contrary to the works of CSOs in the New Order era that pushed for political reformation. Drawing from the core framing tasks perspective, this research will see how the CSOs framed the political-corruption problem in Indonesia and see how did the international donors influence the CSOs' framing of the problem.

This research found the neoliberal rationalities brought by the international donors through the vertical accountability mechanism caused the CSOs to frame political corruption as a good governance problem which resulted in CSOs tending to become a service providers for the government, promoting rational consensus rather than challenging the discourse and become an entrepreneurial actor for funding. To complete the task, this research will sample the two anti-corruption CSOs, Transparency International Indonesia (TII) and Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), and investigate how they diagnose, prognosis, and encourage public participation as well as analyze the discourse contained in their program proposal and annual report.

Panel 8a: Gender in IR

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time   : 13.45–16.15 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.03 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel04
Moderator : Kishino Bawono, MSc.
Discussant : Indraswari, Ph.D

Presenters :
1. Elizabeth Dewi, A.A.S Dyah Ayunda Nadia Agastya (Parahyangan Catholic University)
What Can The World Learn From Sumba? The Narrative Of Food Security Among Weaver Women.

Abstract
The instability of staple food prices during the COVID-19 pandemic has brought the importance of discussing food security in the world, including Indonesia. The social restrictions during the pandemic have disrupted the domestic food availability. The number of layoffs that result in rising unemployment exacerbated the people's purchasing power and food consumption patterns. The Food Estate Program launched by the Ministry of Agriculture has not overcome this problem. The government needs to evaluate the sustainability aspects, such as equitable distribution, the need for diversification of food crops, and empowering women and vulnerable groups. Therefore, food insecurity does not merely relate to economic issues but also to gender inequality and environmental relations. As in this case with the weaver women on Sumba Island, who are famous for their woven products creations. Sumba culture makes women the main actors in the weaving process, maintaining the harmonization of human relations with nature. In addition, this woven product also has an economic value which is a source of income to survive amid the pandemic. This study intends to discuss weaver women's struggles in maintaining food and environmental security, both in the public and domestic spheres, during the COVID-19 pandemic. In analyzing the narrative of weaver women who adapt through their symbolic feminine activities, this study uses the ecofeminism perspective with qualitative methods based on justice and gender equality. This study emphasizes that women's efforts in maintaining food and environmental security should be more appreciated and involved in inclusive government programs.

Keywords: food security, weaver women, ecofeminism, the COVID-19 pandemic.

2. Yuce Sariningsih (Pasundan University), Wanda Kiyah George Albert (Universiti Malaysia Sabah), Ine Mariane (Pasundan University)
Business Creativity of Women as Government Beneficiaries During the Global Pandemic.

Abstract
Poverty that occurs in a country needs to be seen as a problem that very serious and Ministry of Social Welfare create a Family Welfare Program (*Program Keluarga Harapan*) to help the needy to fulfil daily need, health and education by giving money through conditional cash transfer (CCT). The beneficiaries should have a creativity to develop their small business, so that their lives do not continue to depend on PKH assistance. The aim and purpose of research is to describe business creativity of beneficiaries family during the global pandemic. The method used a qualitative

approach by interview some informants. Research showed that the beneficiaries has an initiative to build a small business supported by social entrepreneurship program through business coaching and assistance in form business production equipment, for example vertical sealer. However, the beneficiaries faced a great difficulties to build resilience in emerging economies during covid pandemic. Therefore, social enterprises face many of the same challenges as traditional small businesses managed by beneficiaries in emerging economies. Readily available small business finance is a requisite of resilient economies. Innovative and scalable financing vehicles are originating from locally-based capital providers across emerging market. In this context, opening new pathways for small business finance of beneficiaries requires a smart mix of international and local institutional capital.

Keywords: Creativity, Family Welfare Program, Poverty Small Business.

3. Fitriani Bintang Timur (CSIS Indonesia)
Women, Peace and Cyber(in)security.

Abstract
With the increase use of the cyberspace, there is also an escalation of cyber threats, cyber harms and cyber-enabled crimes. Little awareness has been given that such threats, harms and crimes have gendered effects. Thus far, the identification and analysis of and solution processes around these threats often lack a gender sensitive approach and the knowledge on the gendered dimensions of cyberspace and how digital policies and cybersecurity frameworks impact women, girls and people with diverse sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) remain limited. This paper argues the importance of expanding the knowledge on the gendered implications of cyber threats, cyber harms and cyber-enabled crime is necessary to account for, and respond to the diverse and complex online threats that women and SOGIESC face. This writing incorporates the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) approach to cybersecurity, by examining how improvement can be done within the four pillars of WPS, namely (1) participation, (2) prevention, (3) protection, and (4) relief and recovery. This writing will focus on the specific area of Southeast Asia where there is a higher parity of women being hired in tech companies, yet women, especially women politicians and activists, are also the target of cyber threats, cyber harms and cyber-enabled crimes. The research method used in this paper combines literature reviews and in-person workshop of Southeast Asia civil society organisations on WPS and cybersecurity organised by UN Women in June 2022.

Keywords: Women, Peace and Security; cybersecurity; Southeast Asia

4. Irza Khurun'in, Olivia Syahmel, Yusuf Effendi (University of Brawijaya) - **The Politics of Woman Killing: Intimate Femicide in Heterosexual Partners in Indonesia.**

Abstract
Femicide generally is understood as the gendered killing of women, or men kill women because they are women. Despite decades of struggle to combat violence against women, femicide remains a crucial issue in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the relationship between deep-rooted patriarchy and femicide has been virtually ignored in the literature on both patriarchy and femicide. Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to concentrate on the relationship between patriarchy and femicide in Indonesian. This paper analysed recent femicide cases in heterosexual partners in Indonesia urban area; Jakarta, Tangerang, and Bekasi. Those cases are femicide against dr. Letty (case in Jakarta), Thayyibah (case in Tangerang), and Leli Lismawati (case in Bekasi). Deep-rooted patriarchy has very serious and even life-threatening consequences for women. This research uses a qualitative descriptive method and

radical feminist perspective to analyse the relation between patriarchy and femicide. By analysing the case study, the hegemonic masculinity engenders five derivative factors, those are relation gap between husband and wife in household relationships, man egoism, misinterpretation of religious propositions, gender bias of mass media, and state masculinities. Deep-rooted patriarchy drives into the hegemonic masculinity. This is the way how the politics of "woman making" can lead to the politics of "woman killing".

Key Words: Femicide, Indonesia, Patriarchy, Hegemonic Masculinity, Radical Feminism

5. Henny Rosalinda (University of Portsmouth)
The Health Impact of Covid-19 on the International Female Migrant Workers and their Left-behind Family in Indonesia.
Abstract

The objective of this study is to examine the health impact of covid-19 on the Indonesian female migrant and the left-behind family and to propose policy recommendations.

The research used a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative data was collected through a household survey of 605 households and an online survey of 1832 Indonesian female migrants working overseas. It mainly focuses on the Middle East, East Asia, and Southeast Asia regions. Simultaneously, the qualitative data was gained through in-depth interviews with 31 international female migrants and 30 left-behind families. The field site was primarily done in Malang Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia.

The results show the covid-19 symptoms, test, treatment or medication, and isolation of Indonesian female migrant workers are correlated with the region, age group, duration of stay, type of work, and visa status. In terms of providing health care and treatment, East Asia is considered to provide the most advanced performance than other regions. Mental health issues are a concern for both migrant workers and their left-behind families. The family, unlike their female migrant family member, is left without possession of health insurance. Migrant families are often considered a fortunate community group from receiving the remittances sent by their migrant family. This generalization jeopardized their rights to health assistance. This study concludes that policies are needed for female migrant workers and their left-behind families considering their specific needs in the context of health.

Keywords: health impact, covid-19, female migrant, left-behind family

Panel 8b: Gender in IR (2)

Thursday, 11ᵗʰ of August 2022

Time : 16.30–19.00 WIB/GMT+7
Room : AG2.2A.03.03 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel04
Moderator : Ign. L. Adhi Bhaskara, MPACS
Discussant : Dr. Antje Missbach

Presenters :

1. Umi Retnaningsih (University of Riau)
Gender study: ideal and trends in the USA and Indonesia.

Abstract
Gender issue is interesting, worldwide, and controversial, especially in patriarchal society like Indonesia. Many people think that gender is radical feminism that could challenge men superiority. This research will explore the ideal and trends of gender study in the USA where gender diversity is more tolerable and Indonesia that is stress on heterosexual relationship for women empowering and mainstreaming. Experiences teaching a subject of Gender in International Relations, studying Social Studies and Global Education's doctoral program at the Ohio State University, and observing facebook communications will be sources to describe opinions and comments on the differences of the gender issues. Research reveals the ideal gender study in the USA is rigorous. It covers all of the gender issue for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) and provide their rights for expressing their identity in survey, teaching learning, insurance, and even marriage. While Indonesia only acknowledges male and female, no other gender option is available for state ID (KTP), student ID, and national data. Same sex dating, being gay, lesbian, or transgender is a deviance and could be condemned by the society.

Key word: gender study, gender issue, trends, LGBT, heterosexual

2. Wendy Andhika Prajuli (Humboldt University of Berlin)
Ambassadorial Appointment in Indonesia, 2015–2021: A Gender Analysis.

Abstract
This article examined the pattern of ambassadorial appointments in Indonesia using gender lens, especially in the period of Joko Widodo's presidency from 2015 to 2021. It compared the number of appointed ambassadors based on their gender. It also compared the gender of the ambassadors with the condition of the countries where they were sent. The focus was given to three variables, namely the power of, the peacefulness of, and the gender equality of the countries.

To see the power of the countries, it used the power index that was released by *Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania*. While, the global peace index published by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) was used to measure the level of the countries' peacefulness. Finally, World Economic Forum's global gender gap index was used to see the gender equality in each country.

This article found that the pattern of ambassadorial appointments in Indonesia was in line with the pattern of ambassadorial appointments at the global level. Gender bias still dominates the global pattern of ambassadorial appointment.

3. Petsy Jessy Ismoyo (Satya Wacana Christian University), Nurfadillah (UIN Alauddin University) **Nearly-Extinct Bissu Community: Navigating Queer between Human Rights, Gendered State, and Moral Panic in Indonesia.**

Abstract

This study discusses how the contestation of the narrative of human rights, the gendered state, and the anti-LGBT moral panic in Indonesia has impacted the role(s) and position(s) of the bissu, whose community is currently on the verge of extinction. It uses a qualitative method with a descriptive analysis approach. Two researchers used data collection methods and data analysis through library research, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. The provisional finding in this study shows that heteronormativity is 'forced' by the state through policies that then place the queer group as a 'national threat' - which concerns how bissu is deemed 'not sacred' due to their gender identity. In addition, the rise of fundamentalist Islamic groups and the anti-LGBT movement in South Sulawesi has diminished the bissu community's space. Hence, they have to stand on two legs by limiting their 'identity' from the *waria* group to survive. As a matter of fact, the desacralization of bissu endures and possibly leads to their replacement in society.

KEYWORDS: Bissu, human rights, gendered state, moral panic.

4. Amalia Nur Andini (Brawijaya University)
Fighting for Women's Rights in a Time of Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities of Feminist Activism in Indonesia during COVID-19.

Abstract

While the covid-19 pandemic affects every aspect of human life, its impacts are not neutral but rather gendered. Studies have shown that the global health crisis affects women and marginal groups more severely than it does men. Yet, despite the rich scholarships on gendered impacts of covid-19, how feminist activism works during the crisis is still underexplored. This paper aims to shed light on strategies employed by feminist activists in Indonesia to navigate challenges brought upon by the restriction of movement and technological advancement during the pandemic years. Using literature study and interviews, it also investigates how with such limitations, activists manage to find opportunities to continue campaigning and fighting for women's rights. This paper especially focuses on the issues of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and the Sexual Crimes and Violence Bill (UU TPKS) because both have dominated feminist discourse in Indonesia for the past years. Studying how feminist activists in Indonesia navigate the challenging time offers a valuable case study for digital social movement and organizing in a time of crisis.

5. Yulia Indrawati Sari (Parahyangan Catholic University), Aprilia Ambarwati (AKATIGA Foundation), Elisabeth A.S. Dewi (Parahyangan Catholic University)

Women and Food (In)Security: The (In)Visible Women Farmers in Indonesia

Abstract

Many development organizations have emphasized a strong correlation between food security and gender, indicating the importance role of women in providing people's access to food. According to the 2018 Indonesian Agriculture Intercensal Survey (Sutas), women farmers make up on average 8 million (24 percent) of total 25.4 million agricultural farmers. Based on AKATIGA-HIVOS "Let's Be Young Farmer" project and AKATIGA studies on youth and rural agriculture between 2017-2020, this presentation/article explores the role and condition of women farmers in rural villages in Indonesia. The study suggests that women are involved in almost all stages of agriculture, both during the production and post-production processes. Women also undertake a wide range of activities that conserve natural resources such as soil, water, and forest. However, unlike their vital role in agriculture and natural resources management, they lack recognition and face significant obstacles in accessing resources. The study identifies three important issues of women farmers. *First*, women have limited access to own and control land due to the inheritance system and the strong role of men in making decision on land ownership. *Second*, agricultural technology is biased toward men farmers. Women's opportunities to access technology related education and trainings are still restricted. *Three*, the strong perception that agriculture is often identical with men which is deep rooted in the masculinity of agriculture perception held by public and policy makers in general. Various agricultural programs and government assistance/support are largely targeted at men's groups and put women second. This study calls for better measures and movements to make women farmers' visible and to close gender gap in agriculture.

Panel 9: Peace & Conflict Issues in Papua

Friday, 12th of August 2022

Time   : 13.30 – 16.50
Room   : AG2.2A.03.02 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel0302
Moderator   : Vrameswari Omega Wati, M.Si. (Han)
Discussant   : Yulia Indrawati Sari, Ph.D & Adrianus Harsawaskita, M.A.

Presenters :

1. Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto (National Research and Innovation Agency)

Participation, Dependence, and Social Interaction in Community Driven Developmnet Program in Papua.

Abstract

The practice of community-driven development in Papuan countryside has opened people's knowledge of development and participation in the process of planning and implementing activities. However, financial assistance, infrastructure development and socio-economic empowerment are constrained by internal and external issues. On the internal side, the program development has not been able to activate the

community participation of all groups in the program and encourage the integrated socio-economic activities. One of the reasons is the activity program is still centralized in the infrastructure sector, then information is kept in the village elite circle group and mostly project orientation. On the external side, the program is caritative and does not increase the market or local people's economic production, instead makes dependence on assistance given. As a result, rural development in Papua causes negative sentiments in the community, i.e., between the original groups and migrants and between elite groups and the lower society, stimulating internal conflict in the community and with the state.

Keyword: Community Development, Participation, Dependence, Interrelations.

2. I Ngurah Suryawan (University of Papua)
Names without Graves, Graves without Name: Sites of Violence and Memoria Passionis in West Papua.
Abstract
The title of the article is adapted from the report on the tragedy Biak Berdarah (Bloody Biak) on July 6, 1998 which occurred in Biak Regency, Papua Province. At first, it was the raising of the Morning Star flag at the air tower of the Port of Biak City, Papua Province. The Morning Star flag is a symbol of the independence of the Papuan nation which is prohibited by the Indonesian government. This article explores how the Papuan people understand and interpreting the series of state violence they have experienced. How sites of violence give meaning to the collective memory of the Papuan people. Sites of violence that are scattered throughout the Land of Papua are signs of violence that is manifested in the history of the interaction between the Papuan people and the State. How do the Papuan people judge the monument as a site of violence that is not recognized by the State? How do the Papuan people bring the site of violence to life as a symbol of their resistance to the State? This article is aware of the importance of recognizing the need to catch up and suffering which has always been called the collective of the Papuan people with *memoria passionis*, a term coined by Johann Baptist Metz (1980). This article by using the arguments of Andreas Huyssen (1993; 2016) as a basis for looking at monuments and heritage can mean to remind us, but a monument can also trick the blood of victims of violence with aesthetics, with splendor, which finally satisfies us until we can't ask questions again, until we forget what really lies beneath the monument's foundation. This article develops arguments about the relationship between political heritage, political memory, and sites of violence with cases that occurred in Papua.

Keyword: sites of violence, memoria passionis, political heritage, political memory, collective memory

3. I Nyoman Sudira (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Balancing National and Human Security Approach in Papua.
Abstract
Protracted conflict has caused the Current condition in Papua turn into New Wars, which has new characteristics security threat: Internal conflicts on identities, (race, ethnicity, religion, cultures, and state's control), involving paramilitary orgs, thugs, etc. where there are no available international regulations to deal with it. Consequently, Present security condition in Papua shows: The Presence of non-

military security threats such as: poverty, natural disasters, pandemic diseases (HIV/AIDS, Covid-19) and gross human rights violations. From the perspective of security studies, conventional concept of "national security" operate by the government and already dominating approaches on Papuan security since the integration of Papua into the Unity of Indonesian State, can no longer protect human being (the Papuan) from the atrocities of new conflicts such as: environmental degradation, pandemic diseases, and human rights violations.

The plausible solution for new security threats in Papua may no longer traditional, which are focus only on territorial, military (weapons/war) but it demands non-military response like dialog, cooperation, negotiation, and agreement on local norms and values. Comprehensively, new security threats in Papua can no longer be solved by action of a single actor (nation-states), it needs a collaborative action, namely a "cooperative security" and balancing the focus of security approaches not only focus on national security but give serious attention on Human Security arrangement: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security.

4. Cahyo Pamungkas (National Research and Innovation Agency)
Development and Peacebuilding: Study Case of the development of basic education in Papua Land.

Abstract

This article aims to describe the development of basic and secondary education conditions in Papua and West Papua Provinces in the last five years. Some dimensions that will be narrated include the policies of the provincial governments regarding basic education, especially in budget allocations and special regional regulations. In addition, it also explains the results of progress in education, namely the number of students who have graduated from primary and secondary education, the enrollment rate for years of schooling, the dropout rate, and the boarding school system. This paper also is going to illustrate the response of civil society to the access of indigenous Papuans to basic education services, and what obstacles are experienced by these indigenous peoples in gaining access to basic education. Although the education infrastructure has been built by the Government, the shortage of educators is still a challenge going forward. Also, there is still a gap between modern education and traditional education which is increasingly being abandoned. Our argument is that adat education, a type of contextual education, is an alternative in developing educational policies in Papua other than boarding schools. The current development in education are failure to promote the social situation supporting the peacebuilding in Papua land.

Keywords: *basic and middle education, indigenous people, cultural education, peacebuilding*.

5. Gufron Mabruri (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Civilian Control and Military Operation Other Than War (MOOTW) in Papua

Abstract

Security policy and the involvement of the military's role in Papua is widely questioned: paradigm, militaristic approach, its impact on violence and human rights violations. In the era of authoritarian regime–Orde Baru, Papua has been ever under the Military Operation Area (Daerah Operasi Militer/DOM) until 1998. The involvement

of military role in Papua is still significant until now: expanded of military organizations, military infrastructures, deployment of non-organic troops. This research will deal with question: After the process of democratization has been applied following the ruin of Orde Baru in 1998, the question is how is recent of military involvement in Papua?

Keyword: Papua, Human rights violation, military involvement, military role

Panel 11: "Special Issues: ASEAN-ROK Relationships" delivered by Councils of ASEAN Professors in Korea (CAPK) supported by ASEAN-Korea Center (AKC).

Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time	: 13.45-16.15 WIB/GMT+7
Room	: AG2.2A.03.05 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel07
Moderator	: Jessica Martha, M.I.Pol.
Discussant	: Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, PhD & Adhi Priamarizki, PhD

Presenters :

1. Khin Theingi Aung (Pusan National University)
Analysis of the Effect of Education on Economic Growth South Korea and ASEAN countries (1990-2019).

Abstract
The purpose of this research is to compare how education impacts economic growth in South Korea and ASEAN countries: Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Cambodia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Vietnam from 1990 to 2019. Data was collected from the World Bank and United Nations Development Programme and analyzed by using Ordinary Least Squares(OLS) techniques for the time series and panel data for South Korea and ASEAN countries. The result of this paper is that education index have a positive effect on economic growth in ASEAN countries but negative effect in South Korea.

Keywords: South Korea, ASEAN countries, Human capital, economic growth, OLS technique

2. Nur Atiqah Raduan (Seoul National University)
Phenomenological Experiences of Academic Acculturation of Bruneian Students in South Korea.

Abstract
The understanding of academic acculturation of Southeast Asian students in Korean Universities, on one hand, is critical to shape better policies for attracting talented Southeast Asian workforce into Korea. While on the other hand, contributes to the understanding of the development of Korean students' intercultural competencies.

This study seeks to examine the phenomenological lived experiences in the academic journey of 6 Bruneians who have graduated or studied in Korea for more than 3 years. Findings show that despite the positive outlook on their whole learning experiences, several challenges that pertains to inclusivity, intercultural relationship and academic expectations still remain. Self-regulatory practices and learning are a a critical coping mechanism to academic acculturative stress for these students. Finally, the in-depth interview indicates students' adaptation to the Korean "P*alli-Palli* (acting quickly)" culture and non-adaptation to the *"Hwaesik* (dining out) first intimate later" culture. Implications can be drawn especially in terms of improving the ASEAN-Korea people-to-people exchanges.

3. Massuline Antonio Ligaya (Hanseo University)
Examining National Character and Development in Selected Southeast Asian Countries and South Korea.
Abstract

This essay investigated the relationship between the development of a nation and the characteristics of its people. In this investigation, the construct used to embody the characteristics of the people living in a particular country is national character and the development of a nation is viewed here using the socio-economic and political lenses. The countries chosen upon which this investigation was anchored were South Korea and three Southeast Asian (SEA) nations, namely, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam.

In examining the national character of the aforementioned countries, Hofstede's measures of cultural values (Hofstede's 6-D model) were used. In measuring the development level these countries have reached, their scores and corresponding ranks in the Human Development Index (HDI) were compared. The descriptive-comparative structure was used in the discussion.

The investigation sought answers to the following questions: 1) How may the national character of the selected SEA countries and South Korea be described in terms of Hofstede's measures of cultural values?; 2)What is the current status of development in these countries as indicated in their latest HDI rank?; 3) What inferences could be made as to how national development in these countries is associated with their national character as described using Hofstede's measures of cultural values?; and 4) What can SEA countries learn from South Korean models in terms of national character and socio-economic and political development?

Hofstede's 6-D model show that the South Koreans are the least hierarchical, most collectivist, the most feminine, the most uncomfortable with uncertainty, the most long-termed oriented, and the most restrained among the group of people whose national culture and human development were analyzed. The Malaysians are the most hierarchical and indulgent while the Filipinos are the most individualistic. Only the Philippines has a masculine society, and its citizens are the most short-term oriented. Of the three Southeast Asian nations, Vietnam is the most long-term oriented.

The cultural dimensions that are considered significantly correlated with wealth are power distance, individualism-collectivism, and long-term orientation. The less hierarchical, more collectivist, and more long-term oriented a country is, the wealthier and developed it could become. The South Koreans are the least hierarchical, the most collectivistic, and the most long-termed oriented. Of the four countries chosen for this analysis, South Korea is ranked the highest in the Human

Development Index. Among the three Southeast Asian countries, Malaysia has the best score in the Human Development Index.

This investigation concluded that the development of a nation could be affected by the characteristics of its people. The South Koreans have certain characteristics, as shown in their scores in Hofstede's 6-D model, that helped them consistently ranked high in the Human Development Index. People in Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and other Southeast Asian nations may perhaps consider embracing, not only the music, movies, TV dramas, food, and fashion of the South Koreans but also their cultural and behavioral orientations that are considered positive and applicable to them. In particular, the leaders of the said countries should consider looking at South Korean models when formulating their policies in the fields of education, research and development but at the same time also study how they could avoid the social problems besetting South Korea.

Keywords: National Character, National Development, Culture, Hofstede's Cultural Dimension Theory, Human Development Index

4. Nur Aisyah Kotarumalos (Asia Center, Seoul National University)
ASEAN Labor Mobility in South Korea
  Abstract
  Since the beginning of Association of Southeast Asian Nations +3 initiative, the regional cooperation between ASEAN and Korea relationship has become closer than before. One of the significant interactions between these regions is the cross-border movement. This paper discusses the Southeast Asian labor mobility in South Korea and argues that such mobility has not been fully incorporated within the ASEAN-Korea cooperation. It examines existing migration flow from Southeast Asia to South Korea and reviews its characters and structure of movement and migration development policies of host country. The paper calls for a more progressive of ASEAN-Korea cooperation to facilitate cross-border movement of people.

5. Ratih Indraswari (Ewha Women University)
ROK Foreign Policy towards ASEAN Across Presidencies.
  Abstract
  As the only regionalism in East Asia, ASEAN has been viewed as the primary regional block. It has been sought after by countries as a venue for multilateral engagements. However only recently, under Moon Jae-In's presidency, ROK officially introduced New Southern Policy (NSP) as an ASEAN-specific policy of engagement. Relationships between ASEAN and ROK date back to when ROK sought the status of Dialogue Partner which was granted in 1989. Since then Seoul has shown its active participation in major ASEAN-led dialogue platforms such as the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) 1999, ARF 1994, East Asia Summit (EAS) 2005, ASEAN Defence Minister's Meeting- Plus (ADMM-Plus) 2010 (ASEAN Secretariat 2017a). Yet it took almost 20 years before an ASEAN focus policy is adopted by a South Korean president. What causes this prolonged ambivalence? To answer the question this paper look at the foreign policy development of the ROK across the presidency. It argues that foreign policy is determined by domestic and external pressures. Therefore, the paper divides its analysis based on each presidency prior to the Moon Jae-in regime. This paper goes further by highlighting external and domestic constraints that shape the foreign policy choice of each presidency. However, this paper put emphasizes more on the external constraint that emanates from major power rivalry in Northeast Asia and ROK-US alliances. While domestic constraints limited its focus on individual and party

values as well as the demand of the public. The combination of these two levels of pressure influence how the ROK see its engagement with ASEAN.

Keywords : ASEAN, ROK, Foreign Policy, Major Power Rivalry

Panel 12: Risks and Challenges of Asylum Seekers & Refugees in Indonesia: Resisting Marginalization, Navigating Emotions and Hoping for a Better Future.

Friday, 12th of August 2022

Time   : 13.30 – 16.50 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.01 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel01
Moderator   : Mireille Marcia, M. (Litt).
Discussant   : Sylvia Yazid, PhD

Presenters:

1. Salut Muhidin (Macquarie University)
A Decade of Global Movement of Indonesian Diaspora: Challenges and Opportunities in Connecting the Dots.
Abstract
This year (2022) is a decade of Indonesian Diaspora movement globally since its first declaration in Los Angeles in July 2012. The main objective is to connect and bring together Indonesian diaspora in order to build a new emerging power for a better Indonesia. Since its early year, many ideas and lessons have been learned and exchanged among diaspora that have been carried forward into actions. Nevertheless, there is still little documentation about the journeys of this movement. This paper attempts to contribute to fill in this gap by analysing opportunities and challenges faced by Indonesian diaspora community in the last decade. The paper will also explore the potential impacts of Indonesian diaspora could play in Indonesian development in the near future.

2. Antje Missbach (Bielefeld University)
Juvenile refugees and their intimate relationships with 'aunties' in Indonesia.
Abstract
Over the last two decades, Indonesia has become a transit country for refugees. Although their numerical presence vis-à-vis the total population in Indonesia is small, their presence attracts the attention of media, particularly pertaining to what is deemed as 'moral transgressions'. Refugees are not legally allowed to work in Indonesia and many run out of money due to their protracted stays. While some take up work in the informal service sector, others – young or underage male refugees who are unmarried – forge intimate relationships with older Indonesian men and women. These relationships are often perceived through a binary where the refugees

are labelled as either moral transgressors or victims. The local media demonizes refugees as 'gigolos' and authorities arrest them for their involvement in sex work while little attention is directed at the pimp or network of procurers. While sensationalising the 'lonely *tante-tante*' (aunties), who purchased the services, 'immoral' refugees, despite some being underage, have been threatened with deportation. International organizations charged with the care of refugees and researchers tend to frame juvenile refugees either as 'victimised refugee children' or 'criminalised refugee children' and advocate for more protection which often translates to "isolation" or reduced freedom of movement.

On the ground, however, these intimate encounters are often much more complex than a mere exchange of money and intimacy, and better understood through the lens of 'intimate labor' (Boris & Parreñas 2010). Many young, single male refugees take advantage of the sexual freedom they have away from their traditional family network and their foreign ('Eurasian') appearance to forge extended sexual and romantic relationships with Indonesian men and women not only to alleviate their economic precariousness but also to seek a better lifestyle and overcome the loneliness, boredom, and hopelessness that characterize their state of limbo. This paper will explore the way such intimate labor may appear to invert the gender and socioeconomic patterns of relationships, while at the same time reinforce gender relations. Next to ethnographic observations, our paper also examines the trial and public reactions of a case of 10 young refugees who were arrested for their alleged involvement in sex work to contextualize these relationships within the ongoing 'moral panic' in Indonesia regarding intimate relationships between refugees and Indonesians.

3. Realisa Massardi (Gadjah Mada University)
Independent Refugee Youth in Waiting: Social Navigations while in Transit in Indonesia.
   Abstract

   My presentation will be based on my dissertation. It will highlight the multilayered social navigations performed by independent refugee youth as they maneuver uncertainties while waiting in transit in Indonesia. The diversity and complexity of young people's social navigations are reflected in their daily movements as they navigate four main arenas: refugee status determination and humanitarian assistance; livelihood and economic opportunities; social networks; and global youth culture. Social navigation serves as a useful concept, because it helps us to analyze the constant changes in young people's agency, as well as to investigate the interface – which is always in flux – between individual agency and multi-layered social environments (Vigh 2006, 16). Terms such as "strategies and tactics" and "maneuvers" are also employed, although I challenge de Certeau's division which locates "strategies" as being performed by "powerful" actors and "tactics" as being performed by the "powerless". My findings support the argument that the youth are capable of performing various forms of creativity and often developing strategies that would invite the system and the powerful actors to respond. To advance the academic debate on the agency-vulnerability spectrum of many forms of social navigations, I will discuss a particular aspect of the youth's social navigations, namely the "production of vulnerability". Accentuating vulnerability and performing "victimcy" are often misinterpreted as acts of becoming submissive and giving up one's power to control the situation. I argue that by engaging in the "production of vulnerability", the young refugees demonstrate their fluency regarding the international refugee regime and social situation in the "transitory" settings.

4. Atin Prabandari (The University of Queensland)
Emotions and the Everyday Practices of Protection for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Indonesia.

Abstract

This study aims to comprehend how protection for refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia are provided through everyday practices of local actors. While most scholars and practitioners emphasize legal, macro and institutionalist approaches when conceptualizing protection, this view does not have the capacity to capture the complex realities on the ground of how protection is provided, by whom and why. This study intends to take a different route in understanding the concept and practice of protection through the lens of the micro and the everyday. It does so by examining (1) the role of nonstate, non-traditional and 'non-system' actors as everyday providers or protection and (2) the role of emotions in shaping their motivation and sense of moral obligation to assist refugees. Studying practices and emotions is a complex endeavor that it requires an assemblage of tools. As such, this study will utilize a combination of multi-sited fieldwork techniques, narrative and discourse analysis. By doing so, this study contributes to an alternative understanding of how informal local protection practices are provided in non- Western contexts and in non-signatory states of 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol. It opens new moral and political possibilities for humanitarian action by making visible the agency of 'non-system' actors and the roles emotions play in the shaping local protection practices.

5. Mahardhika Sjamsoe'oed Sadjad (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
"See, this one. She's dating refugees": Borderscapes in rumours of relationships between Refugee Men and Indonesian Women.

Abstract

My paper explores the role that rumours on relationships between Indonesian women and refugee men play in upholding and reaffirming the demarcations between Indonesian host societies and refugee 'others'. Rather than dismissing rumours as idle talk, my paper is interested in rumours as a way people make sense of and give meaning to a phenomenon and its ability to affect relations between peoples. I argue that rumours pertaining relationships between Indonesian women and refugee men play a role in upholding and reaffirming a demarcation between Indonesian host societies and refugee 'Others'. Based on a multi–sited study on refugee reception in Indonesia, this paper will unpack these rumours, exploring how they are discussed and what they 'do' in the assemblage of refugee reception in Indonesia. As these rumours were mostly told to me through the gaze of Indonesian men, I highlight how Indonesian women's bodies are positioned within these rumours as an embodiment of spaces in which othering and belonging is challenged and negotiated. In doing so, I use the concept of *borderscapes* to explore the reproduction and negotiation of border processes and imagination in everyday sites, which in this case are camouflaged in the language and practices surrounding rumours on relationships between Indonesian women and refugee men. I will argue that in the context of refugee reception in Indonesia, the problematising of relationships functions to control refugees' behaviour and to maintain their 'transit' status in the country, and thus perpetuate their outsider status despite their increasingly prolonged stay and relations with members of host societies in Indonesia.

PANEL 13 : UK Indo-Pacific 'Tilt' and Indonesia: The Climate Agenda

The Third Biennial International Conference on International Relations
Parahyangan Catholic University, Indonesia
11-12 August 2022

Panel Topic
In 2021 the UK government announced a strategic 'tilt' towards Southeast Asia in the report *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*. The broad emphasis is the pursuit of a rules-based order, in what seems like a thinly veiled challenge to the rise of China. One explicit aim in the Integrated Review is to tackle climate change and biodiversity loss. This follows decades of multi-stakeholder engagement between the UK and Indonesia around issues of climate finance and forest governance. The partnerships emerging from this framework focus on tackling illegal logging, illegal deforestation and weak governance by introducing supply chain transparency standards, sustainable sourcing requirements, and routine audits of factories and forests. Subsidiary work packages target further engagement with indigenous people and local communities to strengthen "guardianship" of forest lands, to foster "community-led approach" to natural resource management, to catalyse cleaner production and green spatial planning through investment, and to empower women to take on a bigger role in rural supply chains. This panel examines a number of these issues in the context of the UK tilt to Indonesia.

Chair: Adam Tyson
Thursday, 11th of August 2022

Time   : 16.45-19.00
Room   : AG2.2A.03.05 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel05
Moderator : Anggia Valerisha, M.Si
Discussant : Dr. I Nyoman Sudira & Dr. Aknolt Kristian Pakpahan

PART 1: GLOBAL

Paper 1. Digital transformation and supply chain transparency in the flex crop sector
Gemma Bridge, independent researcher, glbridge1@hotmail.co.uk
Rory Padfield, University of Leeds, r.w.padfield@leeds.ac.uk

Flex crops are commodities such as oil palm, soya, sugar cane and corn with multiple and interchangeable uses. Common examples include food products, animal feed, fuel and industrial material that allow producers and investors to allocate products to markets with the highest demand. The significance of flex crops is expected to rise since they are a core

component of many foods, placing further demands on the land in Southeast Asia, and other regions in the Global South. Ensuring that flex crops are produced sustainably is an issue of growing concern for many stakeholder groups. In recent years, firms across a broad range of industries and commodities associated with the growing of flex crops have invested in geospatial visualisation tools to achieve greater levels of supply chain transparency. This presentation summarises the key findings from a two-year project by researchers at University of Leeds investigating how and why companies utilise these tools, who benefits, and to what degree they support broader sustainability efforts. We critically analyse such tools used within the palm oil supply chain and explore their potential to enhance traceability and transparency. We conclude with some recommendations on how such tools may contribute more meaningfully towards sustainability and transparency practices.

Paper 2: Global food production in the Anthropocene
Markus Fraundorfer, University of Leeds, m.fraundorfer@leeds.ac.uk

This talk briefly presents the dominant dynamics of global agricultural production and their role in driving environmental degradation across the globe. The talk provides a brief historical overview of the development of the global food system since the nineteenth century and explains how global food production, as well as principal cooperation mechanisms in the global food system, have become a major factor in exacerbating the global climate crisis. At the end, the talk also discusses how global food production processes can be made more sustainable.

PART 2: NATIONAL

Paper 3: Palm oil diplomacy: assessing domestic support for Indonesia's response to the EU RED II
Poppy Winanti, Gadjah Mada University, poppysw@ugm.ac.id

The EU's policy to reduce the use of harmful biofuels affects palm oil exports from Indonesia. Emphasising environmental concerns, especially that palm oil cultivation results in deforestation, the EU adopted the Renewable Energy Directive II (RED II), which determined that palm oil-based biodiesel should be phased out. The Indonesian government's response to RED II is to construct a counter-narrative and adopt "palm oil diplomacy" as its key strategy. The primary goal is to shift the narrative away from allegations that link the production of the world's most widely used vegetable oil to massive deforestation and to frame it as a way to achieve SDGs. The Indonesian government is voicing strong opposition through a diplomatic campaign known as "palm oil diplomacy" via multilateral and bilateral channels. This paper assesses the Indonesian government's response to the EU's RED policy and to what extent it has secured domestic support. In doing so, this paper utilises big data analytics to understand the pros and cons in online and social media regarding "palm oil diplomacy". In addition, this paper also maps out domestic actors' responses and the arguments, especially from academics, policymakers, industries, and CSOs, by examining academic publications on related topics. The preliminary findings show that the responses are mixed sentiments, positive and negative, both for the narratives and the strategies.

Paper 4: From Paris to Jakarta: Indonesia's response to climate change adaptation governance
Stanislaus Risadi Apresian, University of Leeds, ptsra@leeds.ac.uk

The 2015 Paris Agreement encourages states to set their pledges on climate adaptation actions through NDCs. There is a positive shift in state preferences from not recognising climate change adaptation as a primary concern to considering it as one of their priorities. Indonesia also shifts its preferences by actively participating in international climate change adaptation negotiations. President Joko Widodo mentioned climate change adaptation commitments in his speech during the opening ceremony of COP 26 in Glasgow to establish 20,000 climate village programs by 2024 and to assist Pacific Island countries. The Indonesian Government incorporates climate adaptation into its national climate policy through the National Action Plan on Climate Change Adaptation published by the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), and the Climate Change Adaptation NDC Roadmap published by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. This paper focuses on why Indonesia ratified the Paris Agreement and how this influences climate change adaptation policies in Indonesia at the national and sub-national levels. The vertical governance of climate change adaptation becomes the centre of discussion in this paper. This paper brings multilevel governance theory to analyse power relations between the UNFCCC and the Indonesia government, and to investigate how the UNFCCC influences climate change adaptation policies in Indonesia at the national and sub-national levels.

PART 3: LOCAL

Paper 5: From London to Jakarta to Riau: local responses to climate interventions
Adam Tyson, University of Leeds, a.d.tyson@leeds.ac.uk

This talk focuses on the compatibilities and contradictions that arise when global efforts to tackle climate change and biodiversity loss touch down in local settings. After decades of multi-stakeholder engagement between the UK and Indonesia around issues of climate finance and forest governance, it is helpful to take stock of achievements and unforeseen consequences on the ground in Riau province. Examples of policy goals and interventions include tackling illegal logging, illegal deforestation and weak governance, introducing supply chain transparency standards, sustainable sourcing requirements, and routine audits of factories and forests, positive engagement with indigenous people and local communities to strengthen "guardianship" of forest lands, fostering "community-led approaches" to natural resource management, catalysing cleaner production and green spatial planning through investment, and empowering women to take on bigger roles in rural supply chains.

Paper 6: Managing community engagement and forestry projects in rural Riau
Widya Astuti, Yayasan Hutan Riau, widyaastuti@hutanriau.org

Yayasan Hutanriau (YHR) is a Riau based organization that dedicates their effort and resources to improving villages and forest communities, addressing deforestation and forest

fires through the provision of viable economic opportunities and livelihoods to change people's behaviours towards and perceptions of forests. Our recent work in Singingi, from 2016 to 2021, managed to convert more than 260 households in 7 villages from illegal loggers to sustainable non-timber forest products harvesters. The main objective of YHR is to optimize community livelihoods, which is a manoeuvre against deforestation and climate change. This manoeuvre contributes to sustainable development and socio-economic equity in natural resource governance. YHR projects focus on improving community livelihood systems and achieving better forest governance and management at the provincial, forest management unit (KPH) and site levels. Initial research is our first step to start a project in one work area. Last year, in collaboration with the University of Leeds, YHR conducted a photovoice project as a research method to document the livelihoods of people in a remote village. The photovoice methods use participatory research to encourage participants to represent and voice their own experiences through photos and narratives. The participants are the villagers themselves. In the process, the participants were very enthusiastic about being able to describe their lives in the village, but in the process they were also constrained by articulating their views in writing. The project ended beautifully, as they managed to display vivid pictures and writing showing how they live and how embrace mitigation and adaptation efforts in response to climate change.

Panel 10: Undergraduate Students Panel

Friday, 12th of August 2022

Time   : 13.30 – 16.50 WIB/GMT+7
Room   : AG2.2A.03.04 / https://bit.ly/zoompanel0502
Moderator   : Putu Agung Nara Indra, M.Sc.
Discussant   : Adelbertus Irawan J.H, Ph.D, & Dr. Pius Sugeng Prasetyo

Presenters:

1. Atsal Amar Bani Rachmad, Mivaldo Razaq Wardana Saleh (Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur University), Palupi Anggraheni (Diponegoro University)
Cryptocurrency Trends and Challenges Beyond EU Economic Sanction to Russia's Foreign Policy in 2022.

   Abstract
   Cryptocurrency's growth continued during the COVID-19 pandemic. The decentralized character of cryptocurrencies creates opportunity in the finance industry since it is not affected by inflation and economic turmoil. Meanwhile, the Russian government received economic sanctions from the European Union (EU) prior to its current invasive policy in Ukraine. In response to this action, Russia's head of energy committee, Pavel Zavalny said that Russia will examine several strategies to diversify its payment currencies alongside bitcoin and other currencies such as the lira and yuan. This decision is quite challenging, despite its popularity, cryptocurrency is not laid on the fundamental sector, thus all of the decisions will be heavily influenced by users' speculation. While economic sanction is often positioned as foreign policy in projecting powers between states or international organizations, how state behavior in order to respond to its sanction will increase political discourse in the international relations arena. This paper aimed to observe how far cryptocurrency affects Russia's

foreign policy after the EU's economic sanctions. Foreign policy in the context of energy security and economic sanction as well as the development of cryptocurrency in international business is used in this article to analyze Russian foreign policy decisions in the cryptocurrency sector. Based on the research it can be concluded that Russia's policy of using cryptocurrencies is one of Russia's strategies in response to the EU's economic sanctions.

Keywords: Cryptocurrencies, Economic Sanction, Russia's Foreign Policy, Global Economy

2. Putra Pertama, Muhamad Adib, Ismiyatun (Wahid Hasyim University)
Reinventing The Role Of Developing Countries In Domestic Policy In Responding Globalization

Abstract

The current of Neoliberalism bringing effect to globalization posses challenges to developing countries in positioning their role regarding domestic economic policies. Externally, challenges emerge in the form of disinvestment and free trade. Meanwhile, internally, the states face structural poverty issues and interest conflicts between parties and groups, becoming causes of the weakening of the state's position, and potentially leading the country to plunge into market fail. These challenges have an impact on populist policies being difficult to be undertaken. In overcoming this issue, some East Asia countries (Japan, China and South Korea) use two policy patterns, namely the lead market and follow market, while India in South Asia uses the lead market pattern but in a different way. This article explores the implementation of developmental state theory with an emphasis on increasing the role of the state in domestic policy in order to face the currents of globalization. Some founded policies are the formation of specific zones, cataloging, and division among domestic and global economic actors.

Keywords : Neoliberalism, Developing Countries, Domestic Economic Policy, Globalization

3. Ahmad Sabirin, Hally Hasbially (Trisakti University)
Bali Package as The Future of The World Trade Organization (WTO): Based on Food Security Stockholding, Developing Countries, and Least Developed Countries in World

Abstract

The fundamental principle for the formation of the WTO is to strive for the deterioration of regional boundaries, as well as to provide guarantees regarding the Most-Favored-Nation Principle, namely by requiring the government to treat all countries, foreign companies, investments equally in the eyes of the law, and the importance of non-discrimination treatment among all countries. all WTO members. In addition, as a form of commitment regarding transparency of all activities carried out by member countries. Based on the existing problems, two formulations were drawn, namely: want to know the agreements in the 'Bali Package' and the impact of the 'Bali Package' on the Flexibility of Public Stockholding Food Security, developing countries and Least Developed Countries (LDCs).This type of research is a combined type of juridical-normative research and library research, namely legal research conducted by using library materials or secondary data as basic materials, by conducting searches on various regulations that apply to the WTO. The Bali Package contains 10 documents covering a common understanding on trade

facilities, agriculture, and various development issues. The previous conference held in Doha aimed to create a single rule for 167 WTO member countries in various fields, such as lowering import taxes, reducing distorting agricultural subsidies. trade, and create customs standards. Countries that are ready to export will be helped and feel better trade facilities through Duty Free Quota Free (DTQF) on the Bali Package. DTQF given to LDC's is an effort to take sides and concern for economic improvement for LDC's, but with strict rules so as not to injure the national interests of the DTQF giving country and the DTQF recipient country. The achievement of the Bali Package in the IX WTO Ministerial Conference (KTM) in Bali gave birth to the following points which the author believes can be a solution and the future of the WTO as a forum for world trade policies, including: 1) The achievement of an interim policy on the implementation of de minimis for developing countries by 15 % for 4 years to achieve food security; 2) Provision of DFQF for undeveloped countries, thereby opening up opportunities for undeveloped countries for market access; The existence of a mechanism and strengthening of the provision of Tarrif Rate Quota (TRW) in the agricultural sector creates food security through the progress of the agricultural sector which is negotiable in international trade; The principle of non-discrimination in the field of international trade can be further enforced by making developing country policies and LDC's can supervise and review WTO policies.

Keywords: *Bali Package, Public Stockholding Food Security, Developing Countries, Least Developed Countries*

4. Anastasya Jesslyn Hartono Salim, Jonathan Kay Christian, Keisya Diva Kurniawan (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Erosion of Democracy: Rethinking the Existence of Oligarchy in the Deteriorating Realization of Democracy in Colombia. (BCIS First Winner)

Abstract

Today, the democratization process is often hampered not by the struggle for power, but by the existence of 'invisible hands' (organizations, elites, and certain groups) that penetrate the government structure, and disrupt the circulation of democratization of a country. This case occurs in the Colombian government, in which there are specific patterns of non-state social order—companies, political elites, mafias, and so on—that influence the government structure of a country, and exercise power plays behind the official government. In the upcoming 2022 elections, there are several candidates who put forward their vision and mission to bring good change to the people of Colombia, one of which is against a corrupt government. However, there is an issue that affects the lives of the people and government of Colombia, namely the existence of mafia elites who infiltrate various aspects of society, including Colombian law and the government itself. The research method used is descriptive qualitative based on data collection through books, journals, articles, and other reliable sources. This paper aims to explain how the presence of the mafia elite in Colombia affects the state of democracy and the life of civil society by using Robert Michels' theory of Iron Law of Oligarchy. The result of the study shows that the drug cartels use their power to make decisions unilaterally by taking actions that ignore the official government and the voices of civil society, the domination of the elite and criminals by conducting violence and repression for their own interests, as well as the apathy of the Colombian people towards the existing government system can be seen from their indifference to the leader who was elected during the election.

Keywords: democracy, elite, oligarchy, iron law of oligarchy, mafia, Colombia

5. Alyaa Hasna Syifa, Aulia Nur Aini, Jessica Nathania (Diponegoro University)
The Golden Opportunity of Human Rights Fulfillment through Democracy: Comparative Analysis of Government Regimes in the Philippines. (BCIS Second Winner)

Abstract
Compliance and implementation of a country's human rights is influenced by various factors, both material and non-material, one of which is democracy. This is based on the fact that democracy is a means to accommodate the aspirations of the people of a country. Not only that, democracy also upholds individual freedom. This paper argues that democracy is an important factor in the fulfillment, protection, and implementation of human rights in a country. Through a literature study, a comparative analysis will be conducted on the two regimes in the Philippines, namely Ferdinand Marcos and his predecessor, Corazon Aquino. The discussion of this paper will begin with the presentation of general views on democracy. Then it is followed by a detailed description of the government of President Ferdinand Marcos and President Corazon Aquino which will be the main focus of the comparative study of this paper. The role of the transnational advocacy network (TAN) as a non-state actor in the sustainability of human rights through democracy in the Philippines will also be explained. The discussion will be closed with a justification analysis on President Corazon Aquino's administration, which shows that a democratic government guarantees the fulfillment of human rights in the Philippines, accompanied by solutions that can be taken to ensure the fulfillment of human rights in the era of Ferdinand Marcos Jr.'s administration. The results of the analysis of this paper conclude that the fulfillment of human rights in a country, including the Philippines, is highly dependent on the democratic system as evidenced by the birth of several Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN) that fight for human rights in the country.

Keywords: Human rights, Democracy, Philippines, transnational advocacy network (TAN), Regime

6. Hammam Agiko Althaf, Maulana Yusuf Hasan (Parahyangan Catholic University)
Democracy and Tribal Politics: A Case Study of Somalia. (BCIS Third Winner)

Abstract
This academic writing aims to investigate how tribal politics affected the failure to establish democracy in Somalia for decades. This goal stems from the fact that during the 1960s, Somalia was regarded as the most democratic country in the African Continent. However, civil wars that erupted in the 1990s have changed the social structure in the country until the present time. Authors found that tribal politics that are deeply rooted in the community affect the utilization of democracy in Somalia. This situation resulted in a dysfunctional democracy, based on the notion that democracy should be inclusive and tribal politics is an exclusive system. The first objective of this academic writing is to determine the roots and history of tribal politics and democracy in Somalia from its pre-independence era. The result of the analysis will be able to identify what caused the division in the first place, and how to counter the effect it has in domestic politics. Second objective is to formulate lists of factors that could cement a more legitimate government in Somalia. This can be done by reviewing past actions that have been conducted by the international community to help establish democracy. The Authors will analyze what works and what factors exacerbated the effort to establish democracy. Fair general election, legitimate security forces and cooperation between tribal leaders are the key factors to acquiring a working democratic political system in Somalia. People in post-conflict states assess a government legitimacy by their overall economic and political

performance. Therefore, any sign of incompetence will incite further mass riot all over the country. This academic writing will use qualitative methods and secondary data such as academic books and journals which can explain the history of democracy and tribal politics in Somalia.

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