

Model of Pro-People Foreign Policy as Indonesia's Response Toward Better Citizen Protection

Asep Setiawan, Endang Sulastri, Sumarno

Abstract

Indonesian administration under Joko Widodo introduces the pro-people foreign policy as a response to protect the migrant workers overseas. This study examines the concept of pro-people foreign policy orientation and how it is implemented. Taking the case of economic migrants in Malaysia, the study uses the qualitative method. The study shows that the current government applies principles of state existence to deal with the citizens overseas. Certain facilities for protection of migrant workers are set up, including digital platform and shelters. However, with a broad scale of problems, it is not easy for the government of Indonesia to address the issues of economic migrants overseas comprehensively. Based on the study, a preliminary model of foreign policy decision-making process is constructed in the formulation and implementation of pro-people foreign policy.

Keywords: foreign policy, Indonesia, Joko Widodo, pro-people, diplomacy, Malaysia

Introduction

Indonesia's administration under President Joko Widodo is committed to implement the principle of Trisakti (three principles). These principles are based on three pillars, namely Indonesia sovereign in its politics, independent in its economy, and distinct in its cultural character. These principles guide the overall policy government, including in for-



Asep Setiawan, Endang Sulastri, Sumarno. Model of Pro-People Foreign Policy as Indonesia's Response Toward Better Citizen Protection. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 12, no. 4: 450-472.

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eign policy. Head of Agency for Policy Research and Development, Darmansjah Djumala¹, explained that the pillar of political sovereignty is related to the independence from foreign intervention in formulating and implementing policies. Meanwhile, the pillar of economic self-reliance is the foundation for Jokowi's foreign policy that is oriented to the interests of people. In the field of culture, Jokowi prioritizes strategic cultural interests, namely the promotion of cultural values and the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

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As explained by Djumala¹, Jokowi's foreign policy to some extent is different, compared to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's². His comparisons are based on four indicators: operational, orientation, approach, and priority issues. In terms of orientation, Djumala¹ described that SBY prioritized internationalism. In addition, foreign policy of President Yudhoyono was moderate and more focused on addressing political and democratic issues.

In contrast, Jokowi put people interest as the main orientation. Djumala¹ further explained that Jokowi's policy prioritizes more on the issue of pro-people economy rather than political issues. Pro-people foreign policy is described by Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi during her speech in 2015. Retno described that Indonesia's foreign policy must be down-to-earth and must not keep distance from the people's interests. Therefore, the foreign ministry will implement pro-people diplomacy.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi (2014) and Hor³ stated that "in implementing our foreign policy, we will adopt firm and dignified diplomacy. Diplomacy must be able to solve differences and create opportunities to serve the interests of the Indonesian state and people." According to Retno for the period of government 2014-2019, Indonesia's diplomacy abroad conducted by the diplomats of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will relate to the interests of the people.

In other words, Joko Widodo wants his government's foreign policy to benefit the people and put forward in the field of diplomacy by paying attention to the needs of the people overseas. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno, stated that the implementation of Indonesian foreign policy should not be distant with the interests of the people. This is in accordance with the vision and mission that have been submitted by President Joko Widodo during political campaign.

A number of studies have been conducted to evaluate what Jokowi did in his foreign policy at least within the first year of his post. Aaron

L. Connelly⁴ and Mizirak and Altıntaş⁵, for instance, mentioned that Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi will focus on domestic issues. Foreign affairs will be delegated to the ministry for which it is assigned. The reason for this view is that Jokowi has no experiences in dealing with international affairs. Connelly's⁴ review in October 2014 did not show the people's policy of Jokowi's government in foreign affairs. But he gave the impression that his focus on domestic reform and the absence of overseas experience suggests that the president will lead in a less obvious position on a number of foreign issues, less leadership in foreign affairs, and perhaps a more nationalist reaction on international issues.

In another analysis, Sophie Qin⁶ explained that Jokowi's foreign policy will continue to lead to the preservation of Indonesian sovereignty and to intensify economic diplomacy. Qin⁶ said that the attitude into Jokowi is different from the attitude of the government of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono² who is active in international forum. However, Qin⁶ noted that Jokowi does prioritize on people orientation policies in his government. He did not mention about pro-people diplomacy run by Jokowi's government.

Other article, which directs touching study on pro-people diplomacy, was discussed by Muhammad Tri Andika⁷ and Ahmad and Mazlan⁸. His study concluded that pro-people diplomacy still provides an active space for International Indonesia's presence in Asia Africa's strategic partnership, Asia-Pacific cooperation, and the Organization for Islamic Cooperation. Indonesia's involvement demonstrates a commitment to addressing regional and global issues that, at the same time, focus on pro-people diplomacy and can improve domestic benefits. According to Andika⁷, this pro-people diplomacy includes protecting Indonesian citizens abroad. But in his article, there is no explanation on how led pro-people diplomacy be implemented.

A comprehensive study a year and a half Jokowi's government is put forward by Donald E. Weatherbee⁹ in his article: *Understanding Jokowi's Foreign Policy*. Weatherbee's⁹ study did not mention clearly on pro-people diplomacy concept and practices. His work emphasizes more on foreign policy aspects, such as global maritime axis, economic diplomacy, Indonesia's and ASEAN role under Jokowi, and how Indonesia faces South China Sea problem.

The puzzle of this study is the meaning of pro-people foreign policy in case of protecting the migrant workers in Malaysia. Based on that

study, a model is constructed in formulation and implementation of pro-people foreign policy.

Literature Review

To understand what foreign policy is in the context of pro-people foreign policy, it is important to know that foreign policy is called a continuation of domestic politics. If domestic politics is an action to realize the national interest of a country, then foreign policy is an effort to realize the national interest with different arena that is in foreign countries. To realize the welfare of the people, for example, not only done in the country but also obtained from the relationship with other nations. And those who work abroad, particularly migrant workers, should also expect protection from the government.

Thus, the focus of national interest is to realize the welfare of the people not only achieved by spurring development in the country but also by opening opportunities in the international world. Yani¹⁰ mentions that the implementation of foreign policy is strongly influenced by the national interest which became the priority of a government. Foreign policy then becomes a response and stimulus that links domestic interests with opportunities abroad. In the study of foreign policy, a number of experts focus on how the country responds to international developments as a continuation of changes in the country.

According to a model developed by Rosenau¹¹ and Lynn¹², foreign policy is the result of changes domestically (structural change) and changes of environment (external change). These two variables determine how foreign policy is implemented. Other variable that influences the style of foreign policy of a government is leadership. Rosenau¹¹ stated that there are four possibilities raised from adaptive model. Four patterns of adaptive foreign policy are preservative adaptation (responsive to both external and internal demands and changes), acquiescent adaptation (responsive to external demands and changes), intransigent adaptation (responsive to internal demands and changes), and promotive adaptation (unresponsive to both external and internal demands and changes).

Based on four possibilities of adaptive model is response toward demand and changes in domestic politics. A government makes changes in domestic politics because of election or changes in government due to reformation movement and domestic changes. Governments that make changes in the country because of elections or changes of

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government caused by reform or revolution or the subsequent change of government will emerge new demands. Foreign policy is also a set of guidelines for selecting actions directed outside the territory of a country.

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Holsti¹³ and Phyoe¹⁴ provide three criteria in classifying the objectives of a country's foreign policy: a. The values (values) that are the goals of the decision-makers. b. Duration required for achieving a pre-determined goal. In other words, there are short-term, medium-term, and long-term goals. c. The type of claim that a country submits to another country. Nevertheless, the objective of foreign policy remains the same with the domestic policy of national interest which is defined as an abstract concept which covers various categories from a sovereign state. This national interest is translated into a number of areas, such as politics, economics, security, and socio-cultural area.

Mangadar Situmorang¹⁵ considers that Jokowi's foreign policy will emphasize national interest in the country. According to him, Jokowi's policies are: a. Promoting national identity as an archipelagic country in the implementation of diplomacy and building international cooperation; b. Enhancing the global role through middle-power diplomacy that places Indonesia as a regional power and global power selectively by giving priority to issues directly related to the interests of the Indonesian nation and state; expanded Indonesia involvement in Asia Pacific region, and c. Formulating and implementing foreign policy involving the role, aspirations, and community involvement.

With the commitment to protect all citizens and maintain national security, it is also called the pro-people diplomacy. This means that there is a clear vision that the element of national interest in foreign policy will be based on the interest of the people, whether in the economic, political or security fields. It appears that the Foreign Ministry emphasized the interests of the people in the implementation of their foreign policy. Even then, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs proclaimed a pro-people diplomacy.

This study uses a qualitative approach because the implementation of foreign policy requires an in-depth study. According to John W. Creswell¹⁶, this approach is intended to explore and understand the meaning of individuals or groups as a social or human problem. In this approach, the research process involves the formulation of problems and procedures. Lexy J. Moleong¹⁷ mentions qualitative research as research that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experi-

enced by research subjects, such as behaviour, perception, motivation, action, etc. This research uses descriptive research method which is described as a depiction of the nature of a situation while running at the time of research conducted and check the causes of certain symptoms.

Data collection is conducted in several ways according to qualitative data collection techniques, such as in-depth interviews, documentation studies, and focus group discussion. The research was conducted mainly in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because it was directly related to the implementation of foreign policy. Interviews were also conducted with numbers of Indonesian workers, academicians, and officials in Malaysia.

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Discussion and Findings

Discussion on the model of pro-people foreign policy consists of three parts. Firstly, the concept of Indonesian foreign policy. Secondly, it will discuss about structural and organizational elements in the implementation of pro-people foreign policy. The third is implementation of pro-people diplomacy which is the embodiment of a people orientation of foreign policy.

Indonesia's foreign policy since its independence in 1945 based itself on the mandate in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. That mandate is part of the state's obligation to be implemented with its working apparatus, ministers, and ministries. The mandate reads "... protect the whole people of Indonesia and the entire homeland of Indonesia, and in order to advance general prosperity, to develop the nation's intellectual life, and to contribute to the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice ...".

In the era of President Soekarno, foreign policy focused more on maintaining independence while during President Soeharto's era, it focused on economic development by seeking partners abroad. Followed by the era of reformation where the system is more democratic, diplomacy is also widespread because of the demands from the people.

Pro-people diplomacy became part of the five-year programs of the Indonesian government in the era of President Joko Widodo which is a manifestation of the national interest's priority. The national interest prioritized by the central government affirms that the state is present in the midst of the people everywhere. It is this country's presence that makes foreign policy focus on the interests of the people to be the

main focus, not only in bilateral and multilateral diplomacy between countries. Typically, foreign policy is focused on government to government's meetings in diplomatic activities in the form of bilateral and multilateral conferences or negotiations.

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People, in these case citizens who are abroad, are not a priority in the negotiations because it concerns the interests of government directly, for example in the state border or business contract. Indonesia's Foreign Policy currently refers to the third National Middle-Term Development Plan 2015-2019 based on the Vision and Mission Program of President Jokowi and Vice President Jusuf Kalla. Vision Mission Development in 2015-2019 is the realization of Indonesia sovereign in its politics, independent in its economy, and distinct in its cultural character. Among the seven development missions is the realization of an active free foreign policy and strengthening of identity as a maritime country.

This is where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015) specifically plays a role in realizing the mission of development: a. Realizing national security capable of maintaining regional sovereignty, sustaining economic independence by securing maritime resources, and reflecting the personality of Indonesia as an archipelagic country. b. Creating an advanced, balanced, and democratic society based on the rule of law. c. Realizing free-active foreign policy and strengthening identity as a maritime country. d. Realizing the quality of human life of Indonesia is high, advanced, and prosperous. e. Realizing a competitive nation. f. Making Indonesia an independent, advanced, strong, and nation-based maritime state. g. Realizing a society of personality in culture.

The foreign policy also emphasizes the priority of what is mentioned in the first point: to bring the state back to protect the entire nation and to provide a sense of security to all citizens. In this context, the Foreign Ministry refers to the so-called state presenting in foreign policy. Among the priorities that Indonesian citizens can really feel are the government's involvements when the citizens are abroad or working overseas. A Focus Group Discussion explained the relationship between the ideal concepts based on the 1945 Constitution with the policy at the operational level.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015), Indonesian citizens abroad monitored are estimated at 2,862,495. Indonesian Citizens overseas work from housemaid, students to other professional fields. Nearly three million figures are referred to as official data. According to

unofficial data, the number of Indonesian citizens abroad could reach three times that which means nearly nine million people. To realize the pro-people diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lays out the other points of “service and protection of Indonesian Citizens and Badan Hukum Indonesia (Legal Indonesian Entities) and diasporas”. This element is one of eight strategic objectives set by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Here it appears that the policy has emerged so-called service for Indonesian citizens abroad.

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Learning from the handling of previous cases, as described in the Focus Group Discussion, Ministry of Foreign Affairs also set the paradigm in the arrangement of Indonesian citizen problems. New paradigm explains about the original reactive and responsive to the proactive. Based on the new paradigm, addressing the cases are not only to how big the case is handled but also the arrangement of supporting instrument from upstream. This means that when handling the case, the Foreign Affairs Ministry also contributes to the settlement of cases of sending Indonesian citizens abroad from within the country.

To achieve this policy, the foreign ministry sets organizational arrangements whereby the Indonesian Citizens Protection Agency and Indonesian Legal Entities are expanded and their budgets are enlarged. The Protection Agency which deals with Indonesian citizens and Indonesian Legal Entities is under the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular Affairs. To support this people-oriented foreign policy, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi emphasized the need for a state presence in the midst of its people. Foreign Minister Retno (2016) outlined 5 (five) major issues that must be considered by all elements in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs namely: a. Protection and Services with the obligation to provide protection to all citizens and Indonesian legal entities abroad that is fast, responsive, and prioritizes the quality of service to the public; b. Rapid and real-time response to world dynamics, alert, monitor conditions that may affect and convey appropriate policy recommendations; c. Intensify communication to the public and develop networking; d. Efficiency, use the budget wisely and focus on priority program implementation; and e. Increase merit system.

To support pro-people diplomacy, the structure is also strengthened as seen in the structure in the foreign ministry. In the ministry structure, issues related to the protection of people abroad are given a place under the Director General of Protocol and Consular Affairs. The people-oriented foreign policy emerges from the priorities of the

national interest proclaimed by the Jokowi administration. From the national interest expressed in the government program is then realized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in the form of organizational arrangements to accommodate the national priorities of government. Institutional arrangement is then followed by a budget that also accommodates the shift of interest from just a diplomacy that is elitist with attention to Indonesian citizens abroad, especially those who have problems.

Regarding the amount of budget indicating that the people-orientation in foreign policy in order to protect citizen overseas is evident from the example in budget 2017 around Rp 125 billion of budget of Directorate General of Protocol and Consular 2017 that almost half the budget of Rp 60 billion is for the protection and service of Indonesian Citizens and Indonesian Legal Entities abroad. The increased amount of this budget can be interpreted as a priority of the government to provide better protection of Indonesian citizens and Indonesian Legal Entity abroad as well as accountability of the people's diplomatic policy. The amount of this budget gives more meaning to the protection of Indonesian citizens' abroad relative accommodated to nearly three million citizens with most of their profession as workers. Not only the structure and budget, the program for the protection of Indonesian Citizens is also extended by introducing applications, monitoring sites, and even short messages (SMS) publications to introduce the location of Indonesian diplomatic representatives when members of any community, whether tourists or workers abroad, upon arrival in the destination country.

SMS messages from numbers belonging to members of the community who still use the Indonesian provider automatically turn on messages whose contents are regarding the location and address of the Indonesian representative office. Such a method is mentioned as a new step to provide information transparently to the public about the presence of the country in the destination location. Observation of this SMS functionality as shown in Singapore and Malaysia, newly arrived Indonesian citizen gets special message from Indonesian provider.

This SMS message is part of the Indonesian government's policy in providing information to Indonesian citizens abroad to record the address as a precaution if necessary. This preliminary information is expected by the government to provide awareness of the presence of

officials when required in emergency action. The information contained in this short message clearly explains the complete address of the nearest representative office where the residents are located.

The government's appearance digitally is represented from the internet sites and the information in it in a large number of representative offices ranging from Africa, Europe to America and Australia. With internet access that has been provided worldwide, the citizens who have been living abroad or newly arrived workers can take advantage of the site with a variety of information in it. In addition to this popular protection policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes centralized information related to issues and issues of overseas employment. The address of the site can be accessed at <http://perlindungan.kemlu.go.id/portal/home>.

In an interview with officials at the Directorate of Protection of Indonesian Citizens and Indonesian Legal Entities, it was revealed that the site was not only to inform the latest developments on a number of problems of Indonesian citizens abroad. Within this site, foreign citizens may also seek information related to Guidelines for Registration, Guidelines for Reporting, Guidelines for Conducting Case Complaints, Guidelines for Conducting Public Service Submissions, and Guidelines for Conducting Public Service Complaints. This kind of information is referred to as a pro-active action by the government to protect Indonesian citizens abroad.

However, not all citizens are able to utilize the site because of the ability of different individuals and the situation of working citizens. With the method of registering through the site for families and relatives who are troubled, communication can take place almost without pause. Those who live in Indonesia can monitor with the identity that has been sent as well as those who have problems can also find out the progress of the officers who helped. This registration system is one tool to take advantage of technological progress in the implementation of people's diplomacy, protecting citizens and Indonesian Legal Entity abroad.

According to Bunyan¹⁸, the implementation of pro-people diplomacy actually refers to the diplomatic function of representing (representing) protecting, negotiating, promoting, and reporting. Of these five functions closely related to the people is a function of protecting for citizens who are abroad or who will go abroad. The government currently places three priorities in its foreign policy of protecting Indonesian citizens, economic diplomacy, and diplomacy to defend Indonesian territory.

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Economic diplomacy is closely related to the promotion function of diplomacy while maintaining the territory closely related to the diplomacy of protecting also. Pro-people diplomacy, which is a manifestation of the implementation of people-oriented foreign policy, is done by the government with various programs.

Of these programs, the implementation that has been and is being carried out concerns several segments ranging from cases of Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI) in trouble to the repatriation of troubled Indonesian citizens abroad. This study identifies a number of cases that make the problems abroad a focus.

From the latest data released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2016), within a period of one year 2015- 2016 which is the second year of Jokowi, government recorded 15,756 cases of Indonesian citizens abroad. About 86 percent of that number is related to the problem of Indonesian Migrant Workers overseas. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that 55 percent of migrant workers' cases are related to domestic workers, such as domestic servant profession, driver, and gardener. From this case, it appears that what is handled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerns the profession that is classified as a blue collar or technical workers. This composition can explain some things about this Indonesian migrant case.

First, the case of Indonesian worker handled by the government at least within the period of one year 2015-2016 piles into professions that are categorized into non-skilled labour. Their position is usually vulnerable in the country where they work. In addition, the income is also not too large in the country but they have to work hard physically. Secondly, the high number of migrant workers shows their vulnerability in the middle of other professions protected by local law. Because of its vulnerable position, it will open up the possibility of violation of law from users of their expertise.

Thirdly, the problem of illegal migrant workers will also be high because access to entry into professions, such as domestic helpers or drivers, does not require a certificate of higher education. As a result, many illegal labour migrants are looking for luck and also encounter many problems. From a number of interviews on the problems of Indonesian labour migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Johor, Malaysia, it appears that there are issues of absence of a favourable position for migrant workers there. Some workers have not paid their salaries for years on the grounds that their employers say that these workers are not able to manage finances.

Sofia¹⁹, one of the Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia who was interviewed, said she had worked for three years and lived in Johor shelter for 6.5 months. The reason for living in the Consul General of the Republic of Indonesia in Johor is the issue of unpaid salaries for three years. Consulates had tried and get 8000 ringgits but still there are remaining which has not paid with amount of 17.000 ringgit. Similar is the case of Sriyani²⁰ who claimed to have 10 years working but living in the shelter Consulate General of Johor for 6.5 months. The same case concerns unpaid salaries and violence when working.

In realizing the protection of Indonesian Citizens abroad, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also conducted a repatriation program for residents whose residency permits are exhausted. The Foreign Ministry's note in 2016 states that the repatriation of Indonesian citizens who are out of visa and who have no documentation has been declared since December 17, 2014 by President Joko Widodo. This program is quite large because it will gradually repatriate about 1.8 million Indonesians who have permission to stay or do not have documents.

Every year, 50,000 people are deported mainly from Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, and the Middle East. The repatriation of nearly two million troubled Indonesian citizens has prompted the Foreign Ministry to establish what has been called the Task Force for the Acceleration of the Return of Indonesian Citizens in trouble since April 2016. This task force focuses on the repatriation of troubled Indonesian citizens from various locations called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Citizen Service. The presence of the state in the problem of Indonesian Citizens abroad is implemented in the form of handling related to Indonesian citizens who become victims of trafficking in persons or trafficking in person. In 2016, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted there were 208 cases that could be handled. However, as many as 66 other cases are still in the process of handling.

In handling the victims of human trafficking, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2016) noted that there are three modes of dispatch of Indonesian Citizens indicated by a criminal case. First, the citizen as a formal worker of a particular company but eventually became a housemaid. These workers are promised positions as cleaning service officers, sick nurses or baby sitters. But then they are treated as housemaids. The second model, sending Indonesian citizens to the destination country by the mechanism of what is called a visa calling to the destination country or umrah's visa and then at the end, they become maids. This

method is done in the Middle East region, especially Saudi Arabia. The third model is sending of Indonesian citizens between countries due to the termination on the sending of migrant workers especially to the Middle East.

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A moratorium on the sending of migrant workers has been applied but in the Middle East, there is a high demand for migrant workers. Then some Indonesians spend huge funds to go to the Middle East. They come to Saudi Arabia not directly but to Bahrain, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and Qatar first. This arises because the moratorium on labour migrants to the Middle East region is different. Indonesia imposed a moratorium on Kuwait in 2009, to Saudi Arabia in 2011, against the United Arab Emirates in 2013 while to Oman and Bahrain in 2015.

The problem of Indonesian citizens abroad is not only related to work but also faced with a dangerous position, such as hostage taking. Throughout the year 2016, there have been five incidents of hostage taking involving 25 people who work as ship crew in the Southern Philippines. Until October 2016, the Indonesian government has released 23 of the 25 hostages safely.

In addition to hostage-taking in the Philippines, the Indonesian government also freed the hostage crew aboard *Naham 3* by pirates in Somalia that took place since 2012. Three people were released on October 24, 2016. Hostage becomes a new challenge in the protection of the Indonesian government. The hostage case also shows the increasing complexity of citizen protection because of the various professions they live like crew members. The Foreign Ministry handles this case not alone because it also involves other ministries and also the police.

Hajj and Umrah visitors also become problems. In August 2016 there were arrests and bans of hundreds of Indonesians in the Philippines. A total of 177 Indonesian pilgrims were banned because they were found using a Filipino fake passport. They would depart from Ninoy Aquino International Airport to Madinah, Saudi Arabia. Indonesia contacted Philippine's government asking to release them. Returning citizens abroad made the Indonesian government alert despite the mistakes made by some people so that 177 people had Filipino posts when they were Indonesian citizens.

This problem is not completed because it turns out 106 of them who use a Philippine passport has escaped to Saudi Arabia to perform the pilgrimage. Again, the Indonesian government helps them

to be repatriated gradually which is part of the protection program. In another case also in Saudi Arabia, the Indonesian government faced the problem of the Crane accident at the Grand Mosque of Mecca on September 11, 2015. A total of 12 people died and 49 were wounded. The foreign ministry also then tried to accompany the victim of the accident. Saudi Arabia pledges individual compensation for the death toll of one million riyals and 500,000 riyal injuries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also handles other victims, which are the result of Mina Tragedy in October 2016 where members of Jemaah Haji Indonesia meningeal were as many as 120 people. They are the victims of 2,431 who died from jostling in Mina. Attention to the victim, especially in the identification of the victim and the return of the corpse, is seen. The attention of the Indonesian government to victims of acts of terrorism as well as those allegedly involved has not receded in recent years. Protection is committed against victims of terrorism and their families as well as how to deal with those involved in acts of terrorism, e.g. joining the Islamic State of Iraq Syria also called ISIS. Until September 2016 recorded at least 2012 citizens who were arrested by the Turkish government because of allegedly going across to Syria to join ISIS. The Indonesian government estimates that 483 Indonesians join ISIS.

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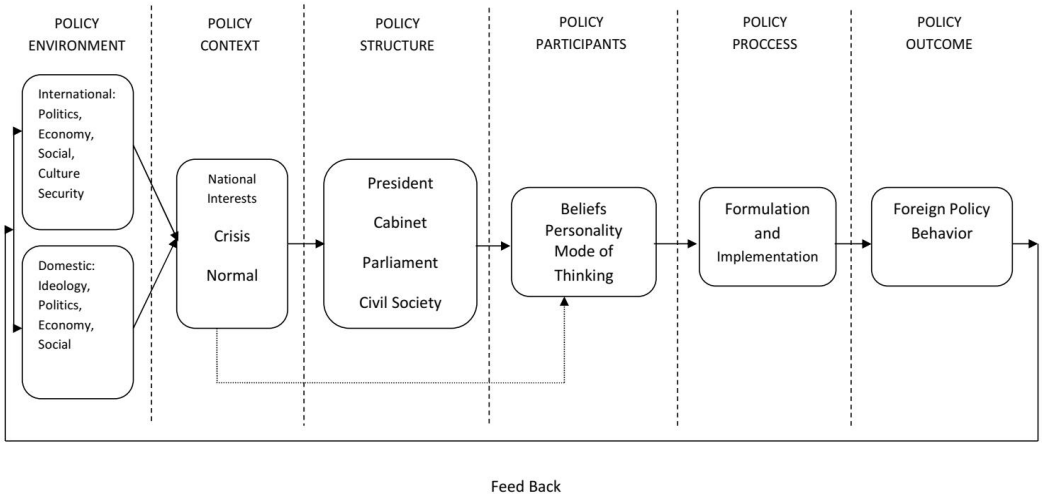
Exploring a model foreign policy

The model constructed for pro-people foreign policy is based on a conceptual framework by linking it through foreign policy in protecting Indonesian citizens in Malaysia. However, as explained later, this model also has an opportunity as a model in reviewing Indonesia's foreign policy in general. This model is based on concepts, such as the policy environment, policy context, policy structure, participant poly, policy process, and policy outcomes. Conceptual source of this modeling is from Jerel A. Rosati²¹ about the model of the relationship between decision-making elements in each stage. In addition, foreign policy sources were taken from the conceptual perspective by James N. Rosenau¹¹ and a model that mentions international and domestic factors are from Gustavsson (1999)²².

All of these concepts have their own processes which will be explained one by one by taking protection cases for migrant workers in Malaysia. The model below is a translation of pro-people foreign policy becomes a priority. There are two environmental factors that influence in policy to protect citizen overseas. International factors that influ-

ence the policy of protecting migrant workers in Malaysia are the existence of employment opportunities, especially for domestic workers or more popularly referred to as domestic workers or domestic helpers. This can be called an economic factor in which Indonesian citizens have the opportunity to work in Malaysia especially as domestic workers or workers in farms. With Malaysia's population of around 27 million, the need for workers with low labor skills is quite high.

FIGURE 1 MODEL PRO-PEOPLE FOREIGN POLICY



Source: Rosenau (1976), Rosati (1981), Gustavsson (1999), Researchers

The head of political affairs at the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Agung Sumirat (2018) said that Indonesia provides opportunities for the citizens as well as protection by providing various facilities that support their work both as domestic servants, factory workers, and workers in the farms. Included in this facility is how overseas employment opportunities are arranged in such a way as regulation since departure. In the concept created by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Indonesian Manpower Agency, the domestic process is the basis for the availability of jobs in Malaysia.

These economic factors overseas provide the possibility for Indonesian workers to take up employment, especially as domestic helpers. The high demand of household in Malaysia towards low labor skills has led the high demand of Indonesian citizens to work there. Millions

of Indonesians in Malaysia work but as foreigners have various provisions that cannot be violated.

Political factors in the international environment are the good relations between Indonesia and Malaysia which provide opportunities for workers to enter the work area in various regions in Malaysia from villages to cities. The existence of a political system in Malaysia that is democratic and open lead to the opportunity to be openness. Good relations between the two countries as fellow members of ASEAN also provide an atmosphere for the convenience of Indonesian citizens in working there.

Social factors in the international environment also exist in Malaysia because that country is culturally allied with Indonesia. There are similarities in language, basic food and also social and religion. The language of instruction for workers has no difficulty because of the same Malay language roots. Malaysians have no difficulty communicating with Indonesian citizens. Besides language similarity, there are social, cultural, and religious similarities that provide benefits for both parties.

Security and defense factors also arise because in Malaysia there is no threat of security to Indonesian workers. In general, Malaysian employers behave well despite a number of cases where there are incidents of torture but are generally friendly and friendly to Indonesian workers. In addition there is no threat of violence such as conflict, war and acts of terrorism that can threaten Indonesian workers.

Domestic factors that become an environment for foreign policymakers are political, economic, socio-cultural and media aspects. What is included in the environment from the aspect of domestic politics is a foreign policy that refers to government programs that have been the priority of President Joko Widodo's government since 2014. Political factors that emerged from this presidential election provide uniqueness and translation of constitutional messages to become external policy a country under the control of the president and his government.

The economic factor underlying of the pro-people policy is the policy to open up opportunities to work abroad because of the encouragement in terms of economic needs and economic opportunities from an open country such as Indonesia. There is no prohibition on the departure of migrant workers as long as they are in accordance with the applicable regulations.

In addition to political and economic factors, there are also socio-cultural factors in which Indonesian people have the ability to socially access employment abroad. In Indonesia, there are pockets of labor-sending areas to Malaysia as well as other countries, such as Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia.

The mass media factor is also one that influences the government's decision because it provides an overview of employment opportunities abroad. But the mass media also provides reports on how the protection of overseas workers is carried out by the government. The media also helps to report cases of violence that befell these workers while at the same time reporting on employers who they consider guilty. This openness of government policy provides confidence in working abroad.

In this pro-people foreign policy modeling, there are two background contexts, namely the crisis and the normal situation. The so-called routine situation is a policy that is prepared based on a plan that has been studied previously. Whereas the crisis is a foreign policy which is a response to the situation in the international and domestic sectors.

In populist-based foreign policy which is then translated into pro-people diplomacy, it can be said that the right context in this policy is routine, not a crisis. There is no reason to refer to the crisis in the handling of Indonesian migrant workers and Indonesian Legal Entities abroad, especially in Malaysia.

It is routine here because if referring to a foreign policy issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2014 there are a number of reasons for placing foreign policy priorities. As in the reference made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs policy in 2014, it appears that the formulation of the policy is rational and based on foreign policy proposed by the president.

What is meant by the policy structure is the political structure of the infrastructure and superstructure. What is meant by infrastructure is government institutions led by the president. Whereas the infrastructure includes the DPR and civil society, including mass media and community organizations.

This populist-based foreign policy model is based on policy-making institutions namely the presidential institution, government cabinet, DPR (parliament) and Civil Society wherein there are mass organizations, public figures and intellectuals, and the mass media.

In this model, the president, including the presidential institution, is the dominant institution in the making of foreign policy, especially related to the pro-people character. This is a promise from the president and vice president as conveyed in the vision and mission while campaigning. Therefore, the president as an executive leader has policies that are directed directly in accordance with his promises.

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The cabinet in the government also has an important role in translating what is called pro-people foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as previously stated, clearly states that the protection of Indonesian citizens and legal entities abroad is a priority in foreign policy.

The House of Representatives as a legislative body that oversees government policies is also not independent in guarding Indonesia's foreign policy. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi became a partner of the House of Representatives Commission I in explaining foreign policy taken by the government. In addition to overseeing government policies in the foreign sector, the DPR also has the duty to provide input to the ambassadors who will be assigned abroad.

Civil Society in the Indonesian era after 1998 political reform has become a decisive factor in Indonesia's domestic and foreign policy. One of the important elements of this Civil Society is the development of social institutions that pay attention to government policies including foreign policy. These social institutions criticize and provide input to government foreign policy through mass media or other media. Therefore, the mass media which is an element in Indonesian civil society also has a big role to play as a public mouthpiece while providing analysis and opinions related to foreign policy including the protection of Indonesian workers in Malaysia.

Policymakers both institutionally and personally have their own styles and beliefs. Likewise, in this context, residents, ministers, leaders, and members of the parliament, community leaders, NGOs, and even the media play a role in influencing the formulation and even implementation of pro-people foreign policy.

This aspect of belief is related to the confidence of policymakers at the structural level towards programs that are prioritized based on Indonesia's national interests, in this case, the protection of Indonesian citizens and legal entities and the diaspora. The government also stated that prioritizing the presence of the state in handling the problems of people at home and abroad. Belief is also influenced by the ideology of the nation, in this case, Pancasila. Belief in the protection of people

abroad including legal institutions arises from the belief that the state presents itself in dealing with its citizens. Included in this cluster is how is the belief that the Indonesian nation is able to take advantage of opportunities abroad even though in the present stage only sending low-skill workers.

Personality aspects of policymakers, especially in this case the president and the foreign minister also have an influence on how normal and crisis situations are interpreted. In the context of pro-people policies, it is reflected in the personality of President Jokowi who displays the popular side. Participants in the formation of this pro-people foreign policy model are also influenced by the mode of thinking. This aspect is related to ways of thinking in looking at issues that can be analytical, ideological or committed. Joko Widodo government is not only ideological in thinking but also in terms of pragmatism and analytics.

The process of foreign policymakers can be divided into two stages, namely formulation and implementation. In the formulation stage, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs translated what became the vision of Joko Widodo's government, including the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad which was later translated as people's diplomacy. The formulation model which then implements implementation starts from Indonesia's national interests translated by the Joko Widodo government. Then it is still in policy formulation, translated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in detail. This formulation is known as Pro-People's Diplomacy which shows that the Joko Widodo era government put pressure on the focus of the people's interests in their policies at home and abroad.

In the implementation phase, especially the foreign ministry with diplomats stationed in Malaysia including in Kuala Lumpur and Johor. From monitoring in the field it appears that when the foreign policy formulation has been determined as pro-people, the implementation includes the service and protection of Indonesian citizens and Indonesian Legal Entity and diaspora. Some policies in the protection of Indonesian labor migrants have been carried out as in the previous chapter, ranging from the paradigm of delivery to implementation in the field, both digital and representative placements such as in Johor and Kuala Lumpur.

Pro-people foreign policy model also records foreign policy periodically so that it is a behavior of Indonesia abroad and Malaysia in particular. Indonesia's foreign behavior is a series of daily, weekly and

monthly policy implementation into a pattern. The behavior that arises from the Indonesian government in protecting Indonesian citizens in Malaysia can be seen from the representative office that reflects the service to millions of Indonesian citizens, especially those working in Malaysia. During the visit to the field, it was apparent that Indonesia provided space for Indonesian citizens to obtain the necessary document and immigration services as well as the law.

Indonesia also maintains an umbrella diplomatic agreement with Malaysia to always provide protection to citizens who work in this neighboring country. With this agreement from Indonesia and Malaysia, Indonesia's behavior at the government level to Malaysia also pays attention to the interests of the destination country.

A foreign policy based on this model then becomes feedback for the domestic and international environment. In various cases of protection of Indonesian citizens in Malaysia, this became input for the policy of sending workers at the domestic level. At the domestic level, this is not only the domain of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but also other institutions, such as the Ministry of Manpower and BNP2TKI. The pro-people foreign policy then after being implemented and monitored, feedback will emerge as an evaluation so that it becomes input for the environment at home and abroad. This environment then gives input to the policy context which will then be implemented by the policy-making structure. This feedback function will continue as long as the policy is implemented for changes or improvements. This feedback function can be used in a broader policy framework than pro-people foreign policy.

Conclusion

Based on field data findings both from interviewing informants in Indonesia such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and interviews with Indonesian workers in Malaysia and study of documentation, the conclusions formulated as follows:

National interests in which the government takes the position of the state present in the midst of the people have encouraged the formulation and implementation of pro-people foreign policy. The concept of presenting the state in the protection of the people is manifested in the program at Foreign Ministry. The purpose of people's protection is in accordance with national ideals in maintaining the welfare of the people at home and abroad.

From the national priority, Ministry of Foreign Affairs compiled the program to become a strategic target, namely protecting Indonesian citizens and Indonesian Legal Entities. This strategic target is one of the goals of concern to the current Indonesian government. The placement of protection for Indonesian citizens as a strategic target makes direct attention from the Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi. In various statements regarding foreign policy, it was stated many times that pro-people diplomacy is a manifestation of the state's presence in the protection of citizens. The policy is then supported by an adequate structure under the Directorate General of Protection and Consular. In this directorate, what came to be called the Director of Protection, which later in the organizational structure received great attention with the mobilization of greater human resources. The high attention of the Indonesian government to the policy lead to higher allocated of the budget.

The benefits felt by this pro-people policy are evident from several notes and reports regarding the government's involvement in protecting Indonesian citizens in various regions including in Malaysia, with more than two million Indonesians working there. However, assistance to Indonesian citizens as a manifestation of the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad also needs to be increased because of more problems than the availability of services from the representative office. One of the proofs is the presence of safe houses or shelters in representative offices that solve the problems faced by Indonesian citizens.

A Model of Pro-People Foreign Policy is constructed based on the case study of protection of migrant worker in Malaysia. This model is based on the concepts, such as the policy environment, policy context, policy structure, participant poly, policy process, and policy outcomes. The model could be applied for general foreign policy because the factors might be similar. In addition to this model, there is an opportunity to develop new model both in its details and in the process. For example, how is foreign policy decision-making in dealing with a crisis. How structures and participants also act when normal and crisis. The existing modeling base can be a basis for studying Indonesian foreign policy in various condition

The model pro-people foreign policy is in the early stages of development, so it is likely to become a model for other analyses or to be improved in handling other cases, such as economic diplomacy or cultural diplomacy. This model provides a basic basis that can be used as a reference in the development of Indonesia's foreign policy model.

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