

PEOPLE-ORIENTED INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN SUPPORT OF PROTECTING CITIZEN

Asep Setiawan & Endang Sulastrri

University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Indonesia

asep.setiawan@umj.ac.id; endangsulastrri_es@yahoo.com

Abstract

Indonesia's foreign policy based on national interest is confirmed in the opening of 1945 Constitution. In Joko Widodo's government focus on protection of citizen becomes priority. In addition the government also focuses on maintaining Indonesia's sovereignty and intensifying economic diplomacy. The Foreign Ministry translates of what concept of people-oriented foreign policy becomes pro people diplomacy and down to earth diplomacy. What is the meaning of this concept and what are implications of the policy are investigated in this research. In order to understand the policy this research looks at some cases of migrant worker particularly in Malaysia. The research uses qualitative approach with descriptive analytic in nature. Data collections for the research are interview, observation, documentation studies and focus group discussion. Source of data was collected from Indonesian Foreign Policy Ministry, Indonesia's diplomatic office in Kuala Lumpur and Johor, Malaysia. Data analysis for the research is also used qualitative approach. Research found that Foreign Ministry set up strategy to achieve people oriented foreign policy focus with concept of people's diplomacy. Protection citizen set in priority with enlargement of organization and fund increased. It shows there is sense of urgency in application to protect Indonesia's overseas particularly migrant worker. Benefit of the policy can be found from many cases in Kuala Lumpur and Johor where diplomats in charge of helping the worker actively find solution. However due the giant scale of the cases protecting people policy is not easy task for the government.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Indonesia, Oriented People, Pro People, Diplomacy, Migrant Worker, Malaysia, Johor.

INTRODUCTION

In formulating its foreign policy, the government of President Joko Widodo adheres to the principle of Trisakti. This principle has 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 foreign policy.

Head of Agency for Policy Research and Development Darmansjah Djumala explained that the pillar of political sovereignty relates to the independence of foreign intervention in formulating and implementing policies. The pillar of economic self-reliance is the foundation for Jokowi's foreign policy that is oriented to the interests of society. 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.¹

Darmansjah Djumala made comparisons between Jokowi's foreign policy and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) practices. Comparison is based on four indicators, namely operational, orientation, approach and priority issues. In terms of orientation, SBY prioritizes internationalism. SBY's foreign policy is moderate and more focused on addressing political and democratic issues. Meanwhile, Jokowi made the public interest as the main orientation. Djumala added, Jokowi policy more prioritize the issue of populist economy than political issues.²

¹ Membaca Orientasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Jokowi, <http://www.balairungpress.com/2015/04/membaca-orientasi-kebijakan-luar-negeri-jokowi/> diakses 12 Mei 2016 pukul 1200.

² Ibid.

Pro people of Jokowi's policy are then translated by Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi as explained at 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.³ In addition, "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," she noted.⁴ Foreign Minister Retno said that 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.⁵

In other words, Jokowi wants his government's foreign policy to benefit the people, who are the foundation, and put forward the work of diplomacy by paying attention to the needs of the people. Even some time after the inauguration, The Minister of Foreign Affairs said 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 has been submitted by President Jokowi.⁶

A number of studies have been conducted to evaluate what Jokowi does in his foreign policy at least within the first year of his post. Aaron L. Connelly mentioned that Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi will focus on domestic issues.⁷ Foreign affairs will be delegated to the ministry for which it is assigned. The reason is because Jokowi is not experienced in international affairs. Connelly's review submitted in October 2014 does not show the face of Jokowi's government in foreign affairs. But he gave the impression that his focus is 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.⁸

In another analysis appearing late December 2015, Sophie Qin explained that Jokowi's foreign policy of the government will continue to lead to the preservation of Indonesian sovereignty and to intensify economic diplomacy.⁹ Qin said that the attitude of Jokowi is different from the attitude of the government of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who is active in international forums. However, Qin notes that Jokowi does prioritize people orientation policies in his government. Here alluded to the contrasting role of Indonesia but there is no discussion of pro-people diplomacy run by Jokowi's government.

The article which directly touches on a study on pro-people diplomacy was discussed by Muhammad Tri Andika.¹⁰ His study concluded that pro-people diplomacy still provides an active space for Indonesia's presence in Asia Africa's strategic partnership, Asia-Pacific cooperation and the Organization for Islamic Cooperation. This Indonesian involvement demonstrates a commitment to addressing regional and global issues that at the same time focus on pro-people diplomacy can improve domestic benefits. According to Andika, this pro-people's diplomacy includes protecting Indonesian citizens abroad. But there is no explanation of how the practice of so-called pro-people diplomacy is.

A comprehensive study a year and a half after Jokowi assumed the presidency by Donald E. Weatherbee in his article on Understanding Jokowi's Foreign Policy.¹¹ The Weatherbee study did not touch on the so-called pro-people diplomacy policy. His work emphasizes more on foreign policy

³ Kemlu RI. 2015. *Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kemlu RI.

⁴ <http://www.apecdoc.org/site/indonesia/2014/11/03/indonesias-foreign-diplomacy-must-be-pro-people-fm/> and read also Menlu Sampaikan Tiga Prioritas Politik Luar Negeri.

<http://www.antarasumbar.com/berita/130625/menlu-sampaikan-tiga-prioritas-politik-luar-negeri.html>.

⁵ <http://www.apecdoc.org/site/indonesia/2014/11/03/indonesias-foreign-diplomacy-must-be-pro-people-fm/> and read also Menlu Sampaikan Tiga Prioritas Politik Luar Negeri.

<http://www.antarasumbar.com/berita/130625/menlu-sampaikan-tiga-prioritas-politik-luar-negeri.html>.

⁶ Menlu Baru RI Terapkan Diplomasi Pro-Rakyat.

<http://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20141029153858-127-8734/menlu-baru-ri-terapkan-diplomasi-pro-rakyat/>

⁷ Aaron L. Connelly. 2014. *Indonesian foreign policy under President Jokowi*. The Lowy Institute for International Policy. Hal 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* Hal. 15.

⁹ A Retreat From Multilateralism: Foreign Policy Restructuring Under Jokowi. <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/a-retreat-from-multilateralism-foreign-policy-restructuring-under-jokowi/>. Diakses Mei 2016.

¹⁰ Muhammad Tri Andika. 2016. "An Analysis of Indonesia Foreign Policy Under Jokowi's Pro-People Diplomacy". Dalam *Indonesian Perspective*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Juli-Desember 2016): 1-13.

¹¹ Donald E. Weatherbee. 2016. *Understanding Jokowi's Foreign Policy*. Singapore: ISEAS.

aspects such as global maritime axis, economic diplomacy and also how Indonesia and ASEAN role under Jokowi and how Indonesia faces South China Sea problem.

This study uses a qualitative approach because the implementation of foreign policy requires in-depth study. According to Creswell this approach is for exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups as a social or human problem.¹² In this approach the research process involves the formulation of problems and procedures. Moleong mentions qualitative research as research that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, etc. This research uses descriptive research method which is described as depiction of the nature of a situation while running at the time of research conducted and check the causes of certain symptoms.¹³

Data collection will be conducted in several ways according to qualitative data collection techniques such as in-depth interviews, documentation studies and focus group discussions. 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 a number of Indonesian Workers in Malaysia. The analysis of the research is qualitative in the nature.

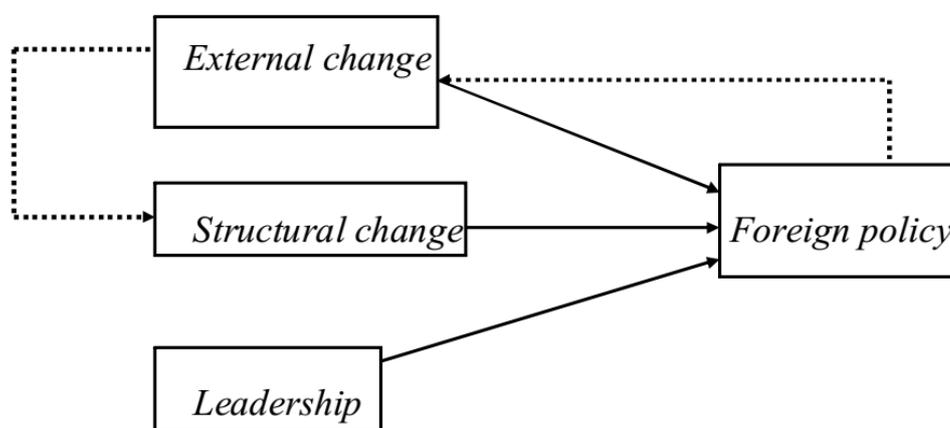
Literature Review

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 working abroad, particularly migrant worker, should also expected protection.

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 opens opportunities in the international world. Therefore, 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.¹⁴ How the foreign policy undergoes a transformation over time is illustrated in the following model:

Figure 1 Model of Adaptive



Source: Perwita and Yanyan (2017)

¹² John W. Creswell. 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage. Hal.4.

¹³ Consuelo G. Sevilla etc. 1993. *Pengantar Metode Penelitian*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia. Hal. 71

¹⁴ Yanyan Mochamad Yani. Perspektif-Perspektif Politik Luar Negeri: Teori dan Praksis. Dalam <http://pustaka.unpad.ac.id/archives/50063#>. Diakses Januari 2017.

According to model from Rosenau, foreign policy is result of changes domestically (structural change) and changes of environment (external change). These two variables determine how foreign policy implemented. Other variable that influence of style of foreign policy a government is leadership.

Rosenau states that there are four possibilities raised from adaptive model. Four of pattern 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)*, *promotive adaptation (unresponsive to both external and internal demands and changes)*.¹⁵

Based on four possibilities of adaptive model is response toward demand and changes in domestic politics. A government to do 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 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. K.J. Holsti provides three criteria for classifying the objectives of a country's foreign policy, ie:¹⁶

- a. The values (values) that are the goals of the decision makers.
- b. Duration required achieving a predetermined 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 / wishes from a sovereign state. This national interest is translated into a number of areas such as politics, economics, security and socio-culture.

Mangadar Situmorang considers that Jokowi's foreign policy will emphasize national interest in the country. It was seen Situmorang in the perspective put forward Jokowi's policy¹⁷:

1. Promoting identity as an archipelagic country in the implementation of diplomacy and building international cooperation;
2. 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, and.
3. Formulating and implementing foreign policy involving the role, aspirations and community involvement.

With the commitment to protect the citizens wherever they are and maintain the security, it is also called that 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 the so-called pro-people diplomacy.¹⁸

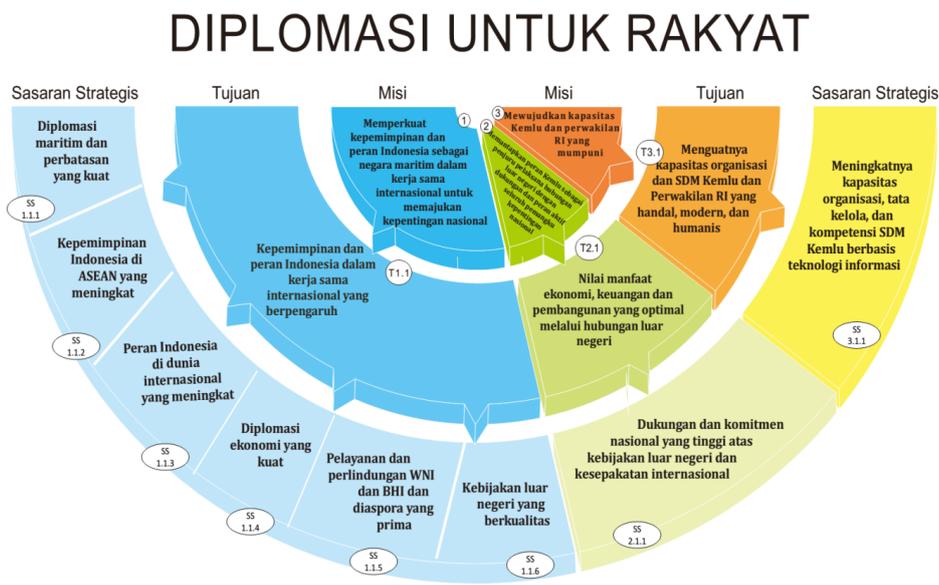
¹⁵ James N. Rosenau. 1981. *The Study of Political Adaptation: Essays on the Analysis of World Politics*. New York, Nichols Publishing, hal. 59.

¹⁶ Holsti, K.J., 1983. *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. London: Prentice Hall.

¹⁷ Mangadar Situmorang. 2015. "Orientasi Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Indonesia Dibawah Pemerintahan Jokowi-JK". Dalam *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*. Vol 11, No 1.

¹⁸ Kementerian Luar Negeri RI. 2014. *Rencana Strategis 2015-2019*. Jakarta: Kemlu RI. Hal. 26

Figure 2 Pro-People Diplomacy Framework



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014)

From the figure it is clear that the orientation of the people of foreign policy then implemented through the people's diplomacy. Here it appears that the people-oriented model is not only formulated conceptually but also later described in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy.

Indonesia Pro People Foreign Policy

Discussion about the model of populist foreign policy will be described in three elements namely first, the conceptual of Indonesian-based foreign policy. Secondly, it will discuss about structural and organizational elements in the implementation of people-oriented 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 tool, ministers and ministries. The mandate reads "... the Indonesian state government that protects the whole Indonesian nation and the entire Indonesian blood sphere and to promote the common prosperity, educate the life of the nation, and participate in the implementation of a world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice.

In the era of President Soekarno foreign policy focused more on maintaining independence while during President Soeharto 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 of the sovereign holders of the people themselves.

Pro-people diplomacy which became part of the five-year program 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. 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.

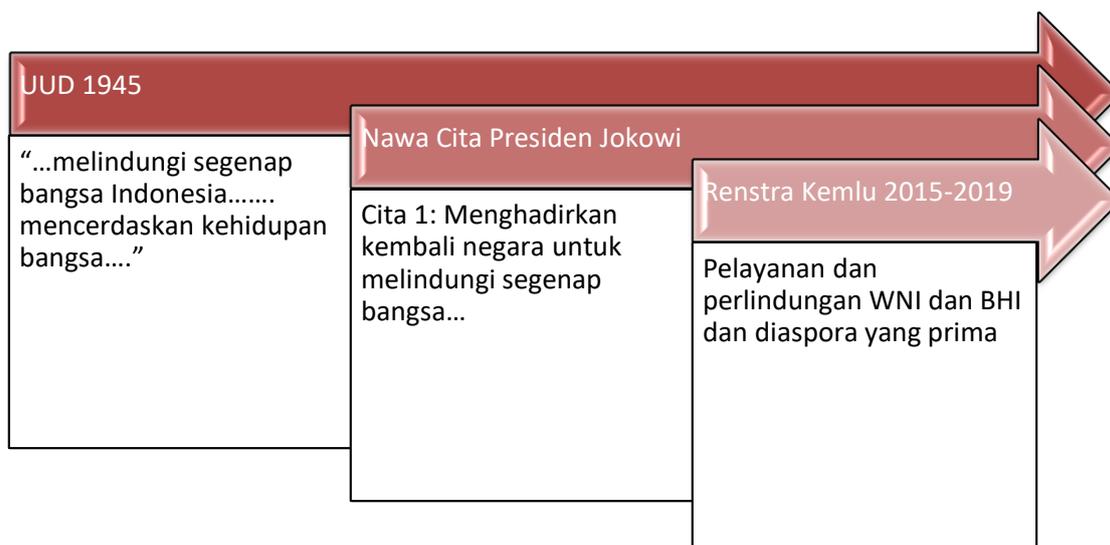
Indonesia's Foreign Policy currently refers to the third National Middle-term Development Plan 2015-2019 based on the Vision and Mission Program of President Jokowi and Vice President Jusuf

Kalla. Vision Mission Development in 2015-2019 is the realization 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 strengthen identity as a maritime country. This is where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs specifically plays a role in realizing the mission of development (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2015):

1. 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.
2. Creating an advanced, balanced, and democratic society based on the rule of law.
3. Realizing free-active foreign policy and strengthening identity as a maritime country.
4. Realizing the quality of human life of Indonesia is high, advanced, and prosperous.
5. Realizing a competitive nation.
6. Making Indonesia an independent, advanced, strong, and nation-based maritime state.
7. 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. In focus Group Discussion explained how the relationship between the ideal concepts based on the 1945 Constitution with the policy at the operational level.

Figure 3 Concepts of Protecting Indonesian Citizen



Policy Support Structure

Indonesian citizens abroad monitored are estimated at 2,862,495 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2016). 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, which is a real program of people-oriented foreign policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lays out the other points of "service and protection of Indonesian Citizens and Badan Hukum Indonesia (Legal Indonesian Entity) and excellent 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.

Learning from the handling of previous cases, as described in the Focus Group Discussion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also set the paradigm in the arrangement of WNI problems. New paradigm explains about the original reactive and responsive to the pro active step as shown in the following figure.



Based on the figure, handling 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 organizes organizational arrangements whereby the Indonesian Citizens Protection Agency and Indonesian Legal Entity (BHI) are expanded and their budgets enlarged. Structurally, the WNI and BHI Protection Agency is under the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular Affairs. To support this foreign-oriented foreign policy, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi emphasized the need for a state presence in the midst of its people. Foreign Minister Retno (Kemenlu: 2016) outlined 5 (five) major issues that must be considered by all elements in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Republic of Indonesia, namely:

1. Protection and Services with the obligation to provide protection to all citizens and BHI abroad that is fast, responsive, and prioritizes the quality of service to the public;
2. Rapid and real time response to world dynamics, alert, monitor conditions that may affect and convey appropriate policy recommendations;
3. Intensify communication to the public and develop networking;
4. Efficiency, use the budget wisely and focus on priority program implementation; and
5. Increase merit system.

With the existence of the national interest based on the interests in contact with the people, the structure is also strengthened as seen in the structuring of 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 organizational structure of the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular Affairs consists of:

- a. Secretariat of the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular Affairs;
- b. Directorate of Protocol;
- c. Directorate of Consular Affairs;
- d. Directorate of Diplomatic Facilities; and
- e. Directorate of Indonesian Citizens Protection and Indonesian Legal Entity.

Under the Directorate of Indonesian Citizens Protection and Indonesian Legal Entity technically the task is (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2017)

- a. The preparation of the formulation of citizen protection policy in Indonesia of Indonesian

law and jurisdictions abroad including the provision of legal aid, the provision of humanitarian and social assistance, the provision of repatriation facilitation, consular supervision, public awareness campaigns, harmonization of policies and the development of bilateral, regional, regulatory, and multilateral;

- b. The implementation of policies in the field of protection of Indonesian citizens and Indonesian legal entities abroad including the provision of legal assistance, the provision of humanitarian and social assistance, the provision of repatriation facilitation, consular supervision, public awareness campaigns, the harmonization of policies and regulations, and the development of bilateral, regional, and multilateral;
- c. Preparing the drafting of norms, standards, procedures and criteria in the field of protection of Indonesian citizens and Indonesian legal entities abroad including the provision of repatriation humanitarian assistance, and law, social giving, supervision of consular grants, facilitation of public awareness campaigns, harmonization of policies and regulations, and development of bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation;
- d. The preparation of technical guidance and supervision in the field of protection of Indonesian citizens and Indonesian legal entities abroad including provision of legal assistance, the provision of humanitarian and social assistance, the provision of repatriation facilitation, consular supervision, public awareness campaigns, the harmonization of policies and regulations, and the development of work bilaterally, regionally and multilaterally;
- e. Preparation of reporting activities in the field of monitoring, protection of the evaluation of citizens and the state of Indonesia and Indonesian legal entities abroad including the provision of legal assistance, the provision of humanitarian and social assistance, the provision of repatriation facilitation, consular supervision, public awareness campaigns, harmonization of policies and regulations, and work development bilaterally, regionally and multilaterally; and
- f. The implementation of the administration of the Directorate.

With this broad assignment, the Directorate of Indonesian Citizens Protection and Indonesian Legal Entity consist of:

- a. Sub-Directorate of Region I;
- b. Sub-Directorate of Region II;
- c. Sub-Directorate of Region III;
- d. Sub-Directorate of Region IV;
- e. Sub-Directorate of Institutional and Diplomacy of Protection;
- f. Sub Division of Administration; and
- g. Functional Position Group.

With the existence of such organizations, it shows that the handling of problems related to Indonesian citizens abroad is done specifically and with considerable resources including the bureaucratic machinery that runs it. As described in the policy mentioned by Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi, the protection of the community becomes important because from the beginning the government emphasized the so-called state presence in the problems faced by the citizens.

The people-oriented foreign policy emerges from the priorities of the national interest proclaimed by the Jokowi-JK government. 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 accommodate 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 popular orientation in foreign policy in order to protect the public in the world is evident from the example in budget 2017 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2017)

Figure 5 Budget of the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular Affairs

No.	Kegiatan	Pagu Anggaran (Rp)
1	Pelayanan Fasilitas Diplomatik	3.000.000.000,-
2	Pelayanan Kekonsuleran	14.746.241.000,-
3	Peningkatan Perlindungan dan Pelayanan WNI/BHI di Luar Negeri	60.163.850.000,-
4	Pelayanan Keprotokolan	3.697.000.000,-
5	Dukungan manajemen dan dukungan teknis lainnya Direktorat Jenderal Protokol dan Konsuler.	43.502.960.000,-
Pagu Anggaran Direktorat Jenderal Protokol dan Konsuler 2017		125.110.051.000,-

It can be seen from 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 Entity abroad. The magnitude 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 SMS publications to introduce the location of Indonesian 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.

In direct observation of this SMS functionality as shown in Singapore and Malaysia, newly arrived Indonesian citizen get special message from Indonesian provider. This SMS message is part of the Indonesian government's step 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 presence digitally is represented from the internet site 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 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>.

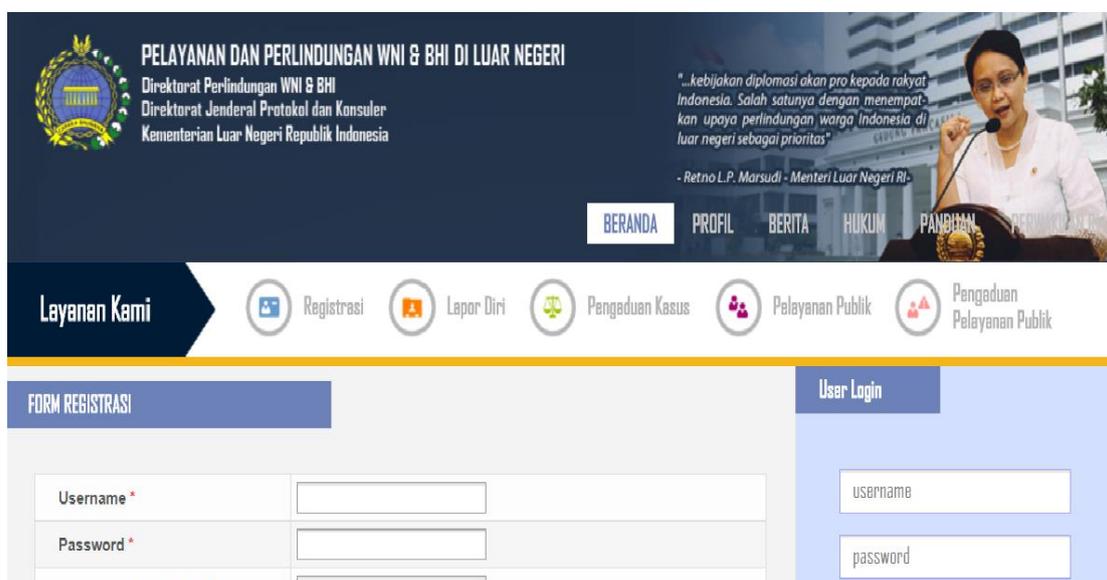
Figure 4 The Website of Indonesian Citizen Protection



In an interview with officials at the Directorate of Protection of Indonesian Citizens and Indonesian Legal Entity 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.

One of the new features in the page or internet page is the registration feature for families or relatives who want to monitor cases directly involving their relatives abroad. On the Service page there are registrations, self reporting and case complaints that can be list directly by the citizen so that it can be a quick tool for the case can be handled directly.

Figure 5 Family Registration of Indonesian Citizen



With the method of registering through the site for families and relatives who are troubled then 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.

Implementation of Pro-People Diplomacy

The implementation of pro-people diplomacy actually refers to the diplomatic function of representing (representing) protecting, negotiating, promoting and reporting. (Bunyan, 2017). Of these five functions are 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.

Economic diplomacy is closely related to the promotion function of diplomacy. While maintaining the territory closely related to the diplomacy of protecting also. Diplomasi people 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 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2016)

Case of Indonesian Workers

From the latest data released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, within a period of one year between 2015-2016 which is the second year of Jokowi-JK 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 Workers) abroad. 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 TKI case.

First, the case of TKI handled by the government at least within the period of one year 2015-2016 piles into professions that are categorized into non-skilled labor. 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 labor migrants are looking for luck and also encounter many problems.

From a number of interviews on the problems of Indonesian labor migrants in Malaysia it appears that the issues of absence of a favorable 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.

Sofia, one of the Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia, 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 ringgit but still there are remaining which has not paid 17.000 ringgit. Similarly, the case of Sriyani who claimed to have 10 years working and living in the shelter Consulate General Johor for 6.5 months. The same case concerns unpaid salaries and violence when working.¹⁹

¹⁹ Interview with migrant worker in Johor, Malaysia.

Repatriation

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.

Human Trafficking Cases

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 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 sitter. 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 visit visa calling to the destination country or umroh visa then diujungna become maids. This method is done with the purpose to the Middle East region especially Saudi Arabia.

The third model is the delivery of Indonesian citizens between countries due to the termination or moratorium on the sending of migrant workers especially to the Middle East. If in Indonesia a moratorium on the sending of migrant workers 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. These residents come not directly to Saudi Arabia but to Bahrain, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Qatar first. This arises because the moratorium on labor 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.

Hostage Crises

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 can also free the hostage crew aboard Naham 3 by pirates in Somalia that took place since 2012. Three people could be 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

Hajj and umrah also from the Indonesian government because it turns out various problems arise from this activity. 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 will depart from Ninoy Aquino International Airport to Madinah, Saudi Arabia.

Indonesia then contacted to the Philippines to release them. Returning attention to citizens abroad made the Indonesian government alert despite the mistakes made by a number of 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 WNI 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 meningal 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.

Terrorism

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 eg 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.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of field data from both informant interviews in Indonesia such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and interviews of Indonesian workers in Malaysia and documentation studies, the first phase of the study concluded:

The national interest which the government takes on the position of the state present in the people has encouraged the formulation and implementation of a people-oriented foreign policy. The concept of presenting the state in the protection of the people is manifested in the program at the government ministry of Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla. The purpose of protection of the people is in accordance with the national ideals in maintaining the welfare of the people inside and outside the country.

From the national priorities then the Ministry of Foreign Affairs set the program into a strategic target that is to protect Indonesian citizens and legal entities. This strategic objective is one of the targets of the Jokowi-JK government's attention. The placement of Indonesian Citizen Protection as a strategic target made direct attention from Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi. In various statements on foreign policy it is mentioned repeatedly that pro-people diplomacy is a manifestation of the state's presence in the protection of citizens

The program is then supported by an adequate structure under the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular Affairs. Within this directorate then came the so-called Director of Protection which then organizational structure received great attention with the mobilization of greater human resources.

Because of the concern of the Indonesian government, this people-based foreign policy then allocates a larger budget than before. The amount of this budget is desired because the program of protection of citizens is a government priority.

The perceived benefits of this populist orientation are evident from some notes and reports of government involvement in protecting Indonesian citizens in various areas including in Malaysia which amounts to two million Indonesians working there. However, assistance to Indonesian citizens as a manifestation of protection of Indonesian citizens abroad also need to be increased because of more problems from the availability of services from representative offices. One of the proofs is the

presence of safe house shelters or shelters in representative offices that solve the problems faced by Indonesian citizens.

The great challenge for the implementation of this people-based foreign policy is on the one hand the need to strengthen human resources in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the other hand the need for awareness of citizens that illegal acts abroad such as expired or illegal visas will face legal consequences where the state does not fully guarantee free from lawsuits. Another challenge is also some of the victims of violence and terrorism that necessitate a thorough diplomacy for world peace.

REFERENCES

- Creswell, John W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Connelly, Aaron L. (2014). *Indonesian Foreign Policy under President Jokowi*. The Lowy Institute for International Policy
- Djumala, Darmansyah. (2014). *Membumikan Politik Luar Negeri*. Diakses dari http://perpustakaan.bappenas.go.id/lontar/file?file=digital/132343-%5B_Konten_%5D-Membumikan-Kps0001.pdf.
- Holsti, K.J. (1983). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Kementerian Luar Negeri RI. (2014). *Rencana Strategis 2015-2019*. Jakarta: Kemlu RI
- Moleong, Lexy J. (2014). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Rosenau, James N. (1981). *The Study of Political Adaptation: Essays on the Analysis of World Politics*. New York: Nichols Publishing.
- Sevilla, Consuelo G. etc. (1993). *Pengantar Metode Penelitian*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia
- Situmorang, Mangadar. (2015). "Orientasi Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Dibawah Pemerintahan Jokowi-JK". Dalam Jurnal Hubungan Internasional. Vol 11, No 1. Susanto, Bambang. *Politik Luar Negeri Bagi Kepentingan Rakyat*. Diakses dari <http://hi.umy.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Presentasi-Membumikan-PLN-Bagi-Kepentingan-Rakyat.ppt>.
- Visi Misi Jokowi JK. (2014). Jakarta: Komisi Pemilihan Umum.
- Yani, Yanyan Mochamad. *Perspektif-Perspektif Politik Luar Negeri: Teori dan Praksis*. Dalam <http://pustaka.unpad.ac.id/archives/50063#>. Diakses Januari 2017.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Asep Setiawan: is a lecturer of Political Science Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University Muhammadiyah Jakarta. Asep completed his study of International Relations at Padjadjaran University, Bandung. Master's degree is obtained from the Postgraduate School of International Studies, University of Birmingham, England.

Endang Sulastrri: holds a PhD in Political Science from The Gadjah Mada University in 2017. Master degree was obtained from University of Indonesia. While undergraduate level degree was received from The University of Gadjah Mada. Endang is the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Science, University Muhammadiyah Jakarta.