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Arif Darmawan, Reza Desfarika Putri

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The United States Motivation in Having Cyber Security Cooperation with China

Preface

In this first semester of 2021, we proudly present the second edition of the second volume of Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs (JISEA). This journal is more focusing on energy issues within the lenses of International Relations Perspectives, from theoretical aspects to empirical studies with the validation of current emerging phenomena. JISEA was envisioned and founded to accommodate the growing discussions of energy issues in the context of social studies, especially International Relations as energy had become a vital commodity that affects the states' policymaking and implementation. JISEA aims to represent the result of thinking of the International Relations Scholars community, therefore it can span the gap between academic and policy approaches. JISEA is committed to a broad range of intellectual perspectives. Articles promote new analytical approaches, iconoclastic interpretations, and previously overlooked perspectives. Its pages encourage novel contributions and outlooks, not particular methodologies, or policy goals.

This volume consists of 6 articles which discuss about energy issues and the current situation in dealing with global pandemics.

We would like to express our gratitude to all the authors for their contributions to this journal. We also thank all scholars who were kind to provide valuable information and opinion on the review process. All the articles have been sorted through editorial staff who worked hard for JISEA's first edition of the second volume. We are hoping that the collections of articles will be a valuable insight for all of the readers. We will continuously invite all prospective authors to publish their papers on the upcoming issues.

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China's Implementation of Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia: A Review of Constructivist Perspectives

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Abstract

Bilateral relations between China and Indonesia have increased in recent years. Indonesia considers as a strategic partner of China in Southeast Asia. The application of Panda Diplomacy is proof that China considers Indonesia as a friendly country that has a significant meaning. Through the application of Panda Diplomacy, China strives to show a face that is friendly and does not pose a threat to other countries. In this article, we will discuss how the implementation of Panda Diplomacy by China in strengthening bilateral relations between China and Indonesia which will analyse through a constructivist perspective. This perspective views that the performance of Panda Diplomacy is a diplomacy tool and a symbol of friendship to shape a better Chinese image and identity. Here Constructivists see that Panda Diplomacy is a form of symbolic interaction. In carrying out panda diplomacy, indeed, China Government has thought of any strategies that can help in smoothing their national interests. So, Constructivists see this as an ideational focus on intersubjective beliefs as ideas, conceptions, and assumptions. However, there are other interests that China wants to achieve through a close relationship with Indonesia

Key Words: Soft Power, Panda Diplomacy, Constructivism, Bilateral Relations

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INTRODUCTION

China is one of the countries using soft power in diplomacy, one of which is by carrying out Panda Diplomacy. As the home country for pandas, China takes Panda Diplomacy to countries that consider being strategic partners. Panda is used as a diplomacy tool by China because panda is attached to Chinese culture. The Chinese believe that the panda is an animal with a symbol of friendship and peace, so the country that chosen to carry out the Panda Diplomacy is considered a friend of China. Lending panda carries out this diplomacy to bread (breeding loan), and the recipient country must pay a rental fee of the US \$1 million or Rp. 13 Billion in one year (Muzakki, 2017). The two countries will make a cooperation agreement with the agreed time frame. This Agreement will run when China and the recipient country feel this transaction will give a positive impact on panda conservation. China itself has international rules regarding panda that must be followed by receiving countries in the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) (Furthermore is called CITES) (CITES, 1996).

Panda is used as a diplomatic asset because China uses it as political symbolism. The criteria in Panda Diplomacy is not only regarding the recipient country being a country that has a good financial situation for the zoo, but also considerations in the political field. This new form of diplomacy also illustrates that China has found an international partner willing to pay and finance one of the leading diplomacies. This is done by taking advantage of the global appeal of its national treasure that is a panda. China does not need to do anything more except animal-friendly, and a national partner who will provide that infrastructure for China's diplomatic tools (Hartig, 2013, p. 67).

Panda diplomacy was increasingly and carried out by China when under President Xi Jinping, almost every year Xi Jinping sent pandas to various countries. Xi Jinping also believes that through this diplomacy, China can achieve its right image in international society, and it can promote a culture to promote national interests. Panda's Diplomacy also motivated by the earthquake that occurred in Sichuan 2008, which resulted in a drastic reduction in the panda population, which was 60 left. Since that, China has stated that Panda Diplomacy is only for breeding and biological research, Canada became the first country chosen by Xi Jinping and continued to Austria. In 2014 was continued in two countries, namely Belgia and Malaysia (Islami, 2015). Delivery of pandas continues, South Korea became the country chose in 2016, and 2017 3 countries received pandas, namely Netherlands, Germany, and the last one until now, namely Indonesia (Setyani, 2017).

Indonesia is the 16th country to receive Panda Diplomacy. Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia started in 2010, but China only offered Panda Diplomacy when the two countries were celebrating the 60th “Year of China-Indonesia Friendship”. President made a direct offer of China Hu Jintao to President of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Furthermore, Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia implemented in 2017 under the leadership of Joko Widodo. The arrival of pandas to Indonesia shows the efforts of the government of China to strengthen relations between the two countries. The implementation of Panda Diplomacy is following China's Foreign Policy and Economic Policy which want the ancient silk route to revive through the land silk route and the sea silk route. The One Belt One Road (OBOR) policy also makes China believe in Indonesia as a strategic place and plays a role in the maritime silk route connecting east and west (Berty, 2017).

Through Panda Diplomacy, China not only conveyed the meaning of the panda according to Chinese culture, but the panda has become an iconic animal of China Culture and as a symbol of friendship and peace. Hartig (2013: 57) states that Animal symbolism can also indicate the expression of the national character of a country, so the panda as a unique and attractive animal has given symbolism which makes it a natural representation and a neat depiction of a nationality and state identity. Panda has also seen as a symbol of cooperation that expresses goodwill, and through Panda Diplomacy, the recipient country must take care of pandas for a long time and at the same time demonstrate a commitment to relations with China. Following the Guanxi concept, gifts given by other countries have an essential role in determining relations between nations (Buckingham, David, & Jepson, 2013, p. 265).

The soft power approach through Panda Diplomacy is also part of China's strategy to approach countries in the Southeast Asian region, especially Indonesia, which is in the Malacca Strait area. China does face what is known as the Malacca Strait Dilemma or Malacca Dilemma related to China's geopolitical interests in the region. The Strait of Malacca indeed has a strategic value for China because this country is the largest user state with 80% of its oil imports passing through this region, which is driven by the rapid industrialization process in China that requires an extensive supply of petroleum (Rahmadani, S. Kusmanto, H. & Warjio, 2019). On the one hand, the Chinese government wants to reduce dependence on oil imports through the Strait of Malacca, because it is prone to sabotage, robbery, and intervention by large countries that influence the region, such as the United States and India which may have proxies in countries adjacent to the Strait of Malacca. For China, the security of the Malacca Strait is fundamental with efforts to import petroleum from the Middle East. On the other hand, China's dependence on this region is very high related to China's petroleum energy needs. Various strategies have been

implemented by China, such as the Belt & Road Initiative, the String of Pearls, and efforts to build the Kra Canal in Thailand, including the soft power approach, one of which has implemented through Panda Diplomacy, towards countries in the Malacca Strait region, in particular. is Indonesia.

This paper will analyze how the implementation of Panda Diplomacy by China in bilateral relations with Indonesia from 2017 to 2019 using a constructivist perspective.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Constructivism is a perspective that changes the approach in international relations. If liberals and realists who see material and agent-centric matters in international relations and the state are given interests or do not have inherent interests, Constructivism sees that the state is not a shared interest because there are norms within the state, which makes the form inseparable from the social structure (Rachmawati, 2018, p. 28). In Constructivism, Wendt said that the reality of international politics is the result of the social construct of the social system, and ideas and symbolic interactions are the way the state relates to one another. When carrying out international relations, countries not only cooperate but also try to change their self-conception towards development. The attempt by China to create an identity is to increase its status in the international hierarchy. The symbolic formation of actions and actors can change a policy, and this depends on how important the actor is considered in culture and also allows political actors to manipulate the cultural details needed in political identification (Guzzini & Leander, 2006, p. 50).

According to Hadiwinata (2017), Constructivism has two main ideas in international relations: first, material strength is not a structure that unites humankind but is determined by shared ideas. Second, shared ideas ascertain the identity and interests of actors rather than natural factors. Actors will act to do something not based on their motives but, actions have shaped by interactions between individuals in their surrounding environment such as social, political, economic, cultural and other structures. This illustrates that the social world is not a given, the laws of the social world cannot be determined from scientific research and explained through scientific theory because the social world is intersubjective (Hermawan, 2017, pp. 20-21).

Nye (2008) explains that the power of a country is determined by the ideas presented. Material capability is indeed necessary, but this material will be more useful when the state can form an interaction pattern that looks at the situation.

Strength, according to constructivism, is the ability of actors to interpret intersubjective that will shape the structure of international relations and actor identity. Simply put, power is an effort to produce meaning to reality. Constructivists also see that the interest is not a finished product but must go through the stage of interpretation in interactions. So that national interest is the product of a theoretical view of the international context (Rosyidin, 2015, pp. 23-24). Constructivism sees that the interactions carried out by actors produce various dimensions that are construction such as discourse, opinion, identity, values, norms, culture and others. Dynamic ideas will determine how actors perceive themselves and their environment. Andrew Bradley Phillips said: “..., *constructivists’ focus on the role played by ideational factors...*” in international relations actors will determine their identity, interests and take action (Hermawan, 2017, p. 21).

The State, like humans, is an actor in international relations which has attributes in it such as rationality, identity, interests and beliefs, as well as the State. This attribute will affect how the actor acts. Wendt (1992) emphasizes that “*Actors use ideas to construct relationships and material reality. So ideas precede negotiations and interpret history to make relationships either conflictual or cooperative*”. The State will take policies by weighing excellent or flawed (the logic of appropriateness) rather than profit or loss (the sense of consequences), this shows that the State is not an actor who is concerned with personal interests (self-help), the State will respect existing norms and regulations so that by other countries. This shows that the international community recognizes national interests. Constructivists see that state loss is a loss of trust caused by previous inappropriate actions (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 27).

The concept of identity can identify from 2 ideas. First, identity in the 'social' category, this identity will be formed in society when there is interaction with other parties (significant other) and causes a social construct process. So it takes intersubjectivity to give the meaning of "who am I/you", and this identity can quickly change depending on the definition in the process of actor interaction. For example, identity as a democratic country, human rights defender and others. Second, "personal" identity, which is an identity that already exists within the actor and does not require other actors in the formation of that identity. This identity is recognized by the actor himself (self-awareness), and the actor sees himself as a unique person because there are differences with other actors. Examples are ethnic, cultural, religious and other identities (Rosyid in, 2015, pp. 46-47).

In international relations, Wendt (1999) categorizes four kinds of identity. First, personal identity (corporate identity), which is an attribute of the state that makes a country different from other countries, and the state has an individual identity

that other countries do not have. Second, type identity, which is an identity that classifies a country into specific categories; this depends on the inherent characteristics of the country. Third, role identity, which is an identity that sees the state's position in international relations and concerning the state's responsibilities when faced with specific situations. This identity requires an intersubjective to know the place of the actor. Fourth, collective identity, namely identity formed when actors have the same interests, so that these actors will take action together. In constructivists, identity is an attribute attached to the actor that will determine the actor's movements. Identity is also fundamental in the meaning of actors in their environment. The actor's awareness and understanding of himself provide a sense in acting (Rosyidin, 2015, pp. 50-57).

National identity becomes a link between citizens, both individuals and fellow citizens. When the identity of a country has been built and becomes a general identification, it will influence individual behaviour and form a national society to maintain national identity. The dynamics of national identity also depend on the national public, and as a public group that can influence the general public, they will try to protect and enhance national identity. Three aspects can affect the dynamics of national identity, first, namely external forces such as the image of the international environment that can mobilize the dynamics of national identity. Second, internal forces such as the government of a country that has the authority to build an image to mobilize the dynamics of national identity. Third, namely, factors beyond government control. This identity can influence government foreign policy (Bloom, 1990, pp. 79-80).

The identity of actors, which is the result of the social construct of norms and creates the interests of actors, shows that norms can shape identity so that parts will be in line with standards as well as state policies. This makes constructivists more lenient towards national interests because they believe that if identity changes, everything will also change, both in the parts of the state and changes in the normative structure (Rachmawati, 2018, pp. 28-29).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

China's Implementation of Panda Diplomacy

History of Panda Diplomacy Implementation

China uses symbolic power through animals to build strength, image, and identity, and several animals have been chosen as symbols to aim at the world. China chose this animal because it has a background related to aspects of China's history and culture. In the past, ethnic Chinese has known as ethnic dragon descendants. The

dragon is used as a symbol because based on culture, the dragon is a symbol of good luck and a symbol of longevity. This belief in this symbol can be found in traditional Chinese architecture where people make dragon carvings on the window frames of houses. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the Chinese Communist Party, the country formed a new animal symbol that considers to have historical relevance and a character of Chinese culture at home and internationally, the animal is the panda. Panda is also used as a symbol to show the gentleness of today's China, compared to the ancient 'red dragon' sign, which shows China as an aggressive country (Zeng, 2017).

China has a rich culture and history as well as a variety of unique symbols, what people think of when they hear the word 'China' is the great wall of China, the red and yellow colours, the dragon, and the cute black and white animal, the panda. This indicates that symbolic power influences the perception of the wider community. Panda was chosen as a tool of China's diplomacy because pandas are animals that are attached to the culture and are a national treasure for China (Chinasage, 2019). In the news, it said that the China people believe that the panda is a symbol of peace, friendship, and good fortune, this has also reflected in the black and white colours which are also a natural form of yin and yang mythology. This black and white colour depicts the calm nature of the panda in creating peace and harmony in life. The visual of a panda express tenderness, affection, and will not bring sadness. The Chinese state gives a symbol to the panda so that the panda becomes an icon to remember China (Muzakki, 2017).

The aim of diplomacy is actually to improve the reputation and position of a country, and this goal can be achieved through several means or forms of diplomacy, one of which is through animal diplomacy. Panda has used as a diplomatic tool to strengthen China's soft power and show that China is a strategic partner in establishing cooperative relations, both in the social, economic, animal conservation, and environmental fields to meet natural resources. This diplomacy has indeed carried out with a bilateral cooperation pattern which refers to political and cultural relations involving two countries (Djelantik, 2008, p. 85).

A journal article written by Hartig said that pandas also have good visuals. The visual identity of animals is essential in determining the success of diplomacy because it can change the minds and hearts of others. The more attractive the animals eat, the more successful the diplomacy with animals is. Konrad Lorenz also said that visual identity could be described through a child's schema, where the characteristic features of young children evoke feelings of care and protection; this is due to instinct. According to Lorenz, animals such as dogs, cats, and pandas have baby-like traits that make them cute in the perception of others. Also characterized

by a high and prominent forehead, a head with a brain as large as the face, slanted eyes, round cheeks, and short limbs are stimuli that cause a feeling of tenderness. These traits make the giant panda a suitable mammal for animal diplomacy. Lorenz features in the panda, plus a round face and black eyes that give him a "cuddly" appearance and show that the panda is like a child which evokes overall empathy for cuddling and protection. This heart's sense is the subconscious' result mind through the visual of the panda, with the panda can attract and attract the attention of the audience effectively, given the charm and charisma of pandas is so deep, regardless of where the panda comes. Panda diplomacy can be said to be successful because it has met the requirements; namely, there is a visual identity of animals and their natural distribution. This will increase China's publicity on the broader community (Hartig, 2013, pp. 54-55).

Panda diplomacy has carried out since ancient times, namely during the Tang Dynasty in 624-705 BC. Empress Wu Zetian sent a pair of pandas and seventy panda skins to Japan as a form of state gift. Panda's diplomacy at that time was still in the form of state gifts given to other countries who had visited. This diplomacy shows that panda is a valuable animal since a thousand years ago (Hartig, 2013, p. 60). During the Tang dynasty, relations between China and Japan developed rapidly, because China was in its heyday. China could gather experts and hundreds of thousands of soldiers to fight the nomadic forces that controlled deep Asia and the silk route, and this made its territory so vast that China's political hegemony was influential in neighbouring countries such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. As well as Chinese culture at that time continued to develop and become a mature culture, this period also produced many famous historical poets, painters, and literature. The Tang dynasty also fostered artistic innovation in printing or wood carving. Besides that, the closeness of China and Japan was also because Wu Zetian, the woman who first led China, had a desire to spread Buddhism as China's ideology at that time. Therefore, it caused many scholars and priests from Japan to come to China to study (ShinonSam, 2018).

For the Panda Diplomacy of the modern era, the first stage, which was started in the 1950s, carrying out the Panda Diplomacy was Mao Zedong's strategy. The 1950s was a year of ideological warfare between America and the Soviet Union, and Mao saw an opportunity to introduce China to these conditions. By opening itself up to these two powers, China hopes that America and the Soviet Union will see that another force can balance the two. However, when under Mao's leadership, China only sent pandas to the Soviet Union in 1957, this was done because Mao only wanted to have cooperative relations with friendly countries that had the same ideology (Hartig, 2013, p. 60).

In 1979 Deng Xiaoping overthrew Mao Zedong's military rule with his neocapitalist powers. Since then, the orientation has changed; the Chinese communist party has conducted trade neo-liberalization through investment from transnational companies, carrying out global financial activities (Qomara, 2015, p. 32). Unlike before, Deng Xiaoping's leadership was more open in that Deng sought to reform China's economy to make China a country that was open both politically and economically. His open-door policy resulted in environmental diplomacy. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping signed an agreement with the World Wildlife Fund, which aimed to establish a conservation centre or protection for pandas (Shouqiut & Voigts, 1993, p. 24). WWF is an organization that focuses on the protection of six main areas, namely forest, sea, freshwater, wildlife, food, and climate. Initially, WWF's function was only to save but change to solve the problems that threaten the six fields, due to the increasing number of factors that harm these six areas. In 1961 he panda was also used as an international logo at WWF because the black and white colour of the panda has its charm and is cute (WWF, 2019).

China only sent pandas to America in 1972 when Deng Xiaoping was leading China, who made the *Open Door* Policy. The panda shipment has made because President Nixon paid a visit to Beijing, and to return the favour China sent pandas. Nixon also replaced the panda shipment with an American musk cow, and this exchange symbolizes the strength of the bonds between nations. At that time, also pandas were made a gift by China to countries visiting China. Panda's diplomacy has proven to be able to thaw the relationship between the two, which had previously frozen their relationship (Islami, 2015).

Deliveries of pandas are becoming attractive to other countries and have led them to want to ship pandas from China. China certainly cannot fulfil the wishes of other countries, because the panda population is decreasing due to a large number of poaching of pandas. In this second phase, which began in the 1980s, China began to realize the scarcity of pandas and tightened its shipping. This scarcity made China change the Panda Diplomacy system by renting out. This panda rental is Deng Xiaoping's attempt to protect the panda population as a characteristic of China. Panda is leased for a while to the recipient country, only for about 100 to 200 days. Panda was made into exhibitions and travelled the city, this led to much criticism from animal activists and caused the system to experience a complete halt (Hartig, 2013, pp. 60-61). Deng Xiaoping also made pandas as the country's ambassador, so it is now known as Panda Diplomacy. Changes in Panda Diplomacy practice also follow changes in the time and political situation of China when establishing bilateral cooperative relations with other countries. This panda borrowing also means that China gives trust (*guanxi*) and loyalty to forge bilateral cooperation that

exchanges national treasures to create a close relationship (Buckinghamn, David, & Jepson, 2013, p. 263).

In the next stage, China was more selective in choosing recipient countries, and China used this Panda Diplomacy to build trust and establish international trade relations. China started to tighten the Panda Diplomacy system both in terms of terms and rental fees. China realizes that the panda as a national treasure is a precious animal and has business value. Therefore, there was a change in the system where Panda Diplomacy had not given to other countries as a pure intention but turned into a 'panda rental' program, and of course, there were business interests and other interests (Buckinghamn, David, & Jepson, 2013, p. 266; Hartig, 2013, p. 58). As Henry Nicholls, author of "The Way Of The Panda" said, the benefits of the Panda Diplomacy system are enormous in financial terms. When there is a discussion about China's panda loans to other countries, it means that there are also other business agreements (Scotman, 2011).

China not only uses pandas as commercial transactions but also shows a form of disapproval of bilateral relations. China once threatened to take the pandas in America, and their relationship would be damaged if Obama had a meeting with the Dalai Lama. China also said that the panda shipments only made to zoos that had met the essential technical capacity and resources. There are cases where China postponed sending pandas to Europe due to the financial crisis that hit Europe, and new pandas had sent when the G20 Summit was able to resolve these problems (Zeng, 2017).

Countries that receive a shipment of pandas have deemed to have made a panda loan for a minimum period of 10 years and must pay the US \$ 1 million in rent per year to pay to the Chinese Wildlife Conservation Association. Even when these pandas succeeded in inbreeding, the panda cubs that were born belonged to China, all pandas outside the country belonged to China (Islami, 2015). However, when contracted pandas die from human error, the recipient country eats a \$ 500,000 fine. Also, receiving countries must comply with the rules in the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), which are international rules that have a positive impact on panda conservation and this agreement explains that China and the receiving country will only export pandas when this transaction has carried out. Yields positive protection for pandas.

China has high hopes for the recipient country that the zoo must get pandas to breed. For pandas' survival, China also sees that the destination countries for shipping must meet standards so that pandas can be cared for properly. Panda is the most expensive animal in terms of care, a panda can spend hundreds of dollars in a year which is five times that of an elephant, so the recipient country chosen by China

must match the criteria. This is done because China, through Panda Diplomacy, tries to build and improve its image and relations with other countries that can supply China's needs, both natural resources and technology. The earthquake that occurred in Sichuan in 2008 which resulted in a decreased panda population and damaged facilities were the reason that rental fees could use to improve panda conservation facilities and conduct research on pandas (BBC, 2019).

The Implementation of Panda Diplomacy in Xi Jinping's Period

In 2013 Xi Jinping became president of China, after Xi Jinping's inauguration said the importance of cultural exchange to create a harmonious world. On another occasion, Xi Jinping also said that he would try to achieve the big dream of the Chinese nation, namely the Chinese dream. In the economic field, Xi Jinping will focus on sustainable development and scientific development that pays attention to resources and the environment. In political developments, Xi upheld the socialists by saying that all power belongs to the people. As for ecological development, Xi focuses on conserving resources and protecting the environment (Xinhua, 2012).

At the beginning of his leadership, Xi introduced the concept he created, namely the Community of Common Destiny (CCD). CCD has meaning where there is a group of individuals or nations who are interconnected and bound to each other because the same fate and also have interests in it. Xi explained that when giving a speech at the 70th UN General Assembly, CCD has five perspectives, namely political partnerships, economic development, security, cultural and environmental exchanges. Xi also said that they should build partnerships with other countries that they treat equally. China emphasizes the importance of creating security, mutual justice, promoting the innovative and open development, and enhancing civilizational exchanges, and building ecosystems that care for nature. Diplomats and leaders in China perceive this concept as an expression of interest and fate between China and other countries so that they must overcome together to face challenges in a partnership that they can develop together (Zhang, 2018, pp. 196-198).

Furthermore, according to Zhang, CCD also aims to convey that China wants to maintain the status quo of the international order and has no other intention. As a country that has experienced an increase in economic development and made China an influential nation, Cian emphasized that when there are new powers present in the international order, they must threat the same as other developed countries. China wants to increase its strength and role in global affairs, and China wants to bring about peaceful change and maintain the status quo.

This is what makes Xi Jinping bring China to a country that promotes soft diplomacy. According to him, through international communication, China can strengthen soft diplomacy and can build a good image to the international community by showing China's ability in creativity and credibility. Panda's diplomacy has expected to change people's perceptions of China for the better. The Oxford study says that Panda Diplomacy carried out by China is a construction effort and is included in the Guanxi concept, namely trust in strengthening trade relations characterized by trust, loyalty, and longevity (Muzakki, 2017).

Panda diplomacy in the Xi Jinping era was increasingly carry out on the background of the big earthquake in Sichuan in 2008. Eighty-eight per cent of the panda population in China is in Sichuan, and the rest are in the surrounding area. So an earthquake measuring 7.8 on the Richter scale devastated Sichuan and resulted in a decline in the panda population and caused the habitat of wild pandas to be destroyed by 67 per cent. The destruction of this habitat only leaves a panda population of 60 pandas still alive. Thus, to protect the panda habitat that has declined drastically, China has again changed its Panda Diplomacy policy. Where, the Panda Diplomacy goal is to breed and find new habitats for the remaining pandas (Riffi, 2017).

Although the objectives of this diplomacy had changed, the Panda Diplomacy system was still the same, namely the structure of leases, fines, and periods. Many questions arise about the Panda Diplomacy that countries want, why zoos around the world are competing for a pair of pandas, and potential recipient countries have been negotiating for years to get a couple of pandas. Besides, the consequences of receiving countries are also hazardous, where the income generated by the zoo is not proportional to the expenditure. According to Nicholls, the value contained in the panda is not just identity but symbolic importance invested in the panda animal. This panda animal also opens a new understanding of panda conservation in China and globally (Hartig, 2013, p. 63).

Xi Jinping's Panda Diplomacy Policy received support from the China community, and this can be seen from the CGTN news which discussed the pros and cons of Panda Diplomacy. The two sources in the report said that pandas are attractive animals, can be good friends and are unique, and are native to China. Through Panda Diplomacy, which means helping to conserve pandas in a sophisticated way, allowing many people in the world to be able to see this extraordinary animal. But this is also a challenge for China, where China must conserve pandas in its own country but also encourage other countries to take part in the conservation of pandas. This system is not the best, but it has succeeded in increasing the panda population, and this tradition must maintain. Panda's diplomacy is also useful in

raising human awareness of protecting pandas, because the China government, the scientific research sector, and China society also pay great attention to pandas. However, the welfare of the pandas on the long journey to other countries has neglected, and it fears that it will cause difficulties and stress for the pandas. The rent is limited because the money has invested in protecting the pandas as a whole. The ideal model, according to them, is when other countries sponsor the conservation of pandas in their natural habitat (CGTN, 2017).

Implementation of Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia and Implications of Bilateral Cooperation of Both Countries

Panda diplomacy in Indonesia was initiated in 2010 when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became president of Indonesia, namely on the 60th day of the celebration of "Friendship of Indonesia and China" (Berty, 2017). take by China to carry out Panda Diplomacy and make Indonesia a comprehensive strategic partner, because Indonesia is an influential country in ASEAN and through Indonesia, China can expand its national interests in ASEAN. This is following the constructivist view, where the State like humans is an actor in international relations which has attributes in it such as rationality, identity, interests, and beliefs, as well as the State. This attribute will affect how the actor acts. Wendt emphasized that "Actors use ideas to construct relationships and material reality. So ideas precede negotiations and interpret history to make relationships either conflictual or cooperative". The State will take policies by weighing excellent or bad (the logic of appropriateness) rather than profit or loss (the sense of consequences), this shows that the State is not an actor who is concerned with personal interests (self-help) (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 27)

On September 28, 2017, Panda diplomacy was just implemented in Indonesia, marked by the sending of pandas named Cai Tao and Hu Chun to Jakarta and being received directly by President Joko Widodo, where this indicates good relations and cooperation between China and Indonesia (Berty, 2017). Before that, Indonesia and China had conducted a Memorandum of Understanding on Panda Diplomacy on August 1, 2016, and signed by Tachrir Fathoni as a representative of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia, and Chen Fengxue who represented the state forestry agency of the People's Republic of China. In the MoU, China and Indonesia acknowledge that the cooperation carried out by both is friendly and strengthens collaboration and exchanges in the field of wildlife conservation, especially endangered species between the two countries. As well as acknowledging that the panda conservation cooperation initiated by the China Wildlife Conservation Association and the Indonesian safari park is a partner that promotes friendly relations between Indonesia and China (Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, 2016). The regulations contained in the MoU must obey for the smooth running of cooperation projects between countries. Constructivists also see that the state will respect existing norms and rules so that they are considered reasonable and can be trusted by other countries. This shows that the international community recognizes national interests. Constructivists see that state loss is a loss of trust caused by previous inappropriate actions (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 27).

Following the implementation of Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia, China Prime Minister Liu Yandong and several other ministers visited Indonesia in November to attend Indonesian and Chinese cultural arts performances. The performances held in Jakarta have the aim of introducing arts to one another and showing the local wisdom of each country. The two parties then agreed on a plan to establish a bilateral dialogue mechanism between community relations at the coordinating ministerial level (Okezone, 2017). In the same year, Indonesia also hosted the 3rd High-Level Meeting in the field of relations between the Indonesian and Chinese people, Liu Yandong said that this was an excellent step to encourage joint development that began in 2015. The mechanism was already in place, and now cooperation was increasingly expanding on a large scale as well, community participation is also active, this mechanism is a forum for increasing collaboration, increasing the level and influence of community exchanges by laying a more robust social basis for the strategic partnership of China and Indonesia (China Embassy, 2017).

The relationship between the people is getting closer has been proven by cultural activities; China is working with Jakarta to organize an exhibition of archives of social relations between Sino-Indonesians in Beijing. In the same year, the 2017 Chinese and Indonesian cultural festival activities had also held in various cities in Indonesia, such as Malang and Jakarta. In September 2018, the Peking opera Binta Chu Lanlan collaborated with an Indonesian company to create a cultural event to support the BRI Belt and Road Initiative. Furthermore, to keep the exchange of cultural information to develop, several institutions built. As Bali became the city chosen as the first cultural exchange centre forum under BRI, it had formed between the Chinese consulates, namely Peking University and Udayana University. Furthermore, 36 art teachers from various provinces in Indonesia were invited by China in early April 2019. These guests attended education and cultural communication training in which there were lessons about Chinese culture, including opera, traditional music, and calligraphy at the China Conservatory of Music (CCOM) in Beijing. The activities that have carried out symbolize that the foothold of Chinese culture is developing in Indonesia (Rakhmat, 2019).

Also, since Jokowi's Panda Diplomacy was more open with China, President Joko Widodo signed presidential regulation No. 20 of 2018 on the use of labour. Indonesia also ratified the agreement with the China government regarding cultural cooperation (Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Cultural Cooperation) which is stated in presidential regulation No. 57 of 2018. It has written that Indonesia and China want to strengthen, improve, and develop intergovernmental relations in the more strategic cultural field and the need for cooperation in the cultural field. Given that Indonesia previously signed a cooperation agreement in the cultural sector with China in 2001. For this cultural cooperation to carry out, it is necessary to endorse (BPK, 2018).

November 2019 Indonesia hosted the 12th Asia-China People to People Friendship Organization (CACPPFO) Conference for the second time. According to the Chairperson of the Indonesia-China Economic, Social and Cultural Cooperation (LIC), Indonesia is the host of CACPPFO for the second time, where 2008 is the first year. LIC is the agency responsible for organizing CACPPFO because LIC is an institution founded in 1992 as a symbol of the thawing of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and China. This congress aims to create attitudes, activities, and programs to promote social ties in 10 ASEAN countries with China (Setnasasean, 2019).

The conference was held in Bandung and attended by 11 countries, namely China, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Myanmar, and Vietnam. It had produced five agreements aimed at strengthening economic, socio-cultural cooperation between China and ASEAN. First, CACPPFO agreed to run an exchange program for experts and scholarship recipients in the fields of agriculture, culinary, literature, design, environmental protection, energy, and digital. Second, Student exchanges are carried out through short-term homestay projects, aiming to increase knowledge of cultural values from both parties and train young generations and leaders to understand and respect each culture. Third, The 'Belt and Road Initiative' & Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025 (MPAC) program will be supported by the leaders of ASEAN countries, and this is following the statement of the 22nd China-ASEAN Leaders Summit in Bangkok. Fourth, CACPPFO supports the exchange and cooperation of local governments between countries through sister cities and sister provinces. Fifth, The latest results state that China-ASEAN will eradicate and prevent hoax news on social media and mass media because hoax news has a bad impact on every country. The essence of this conference is that China and ASEAN countries will maintain peace, security, and stability in ASEAN and China (Ika, 2019).

Before this agreement made, Indonesia and China had agreed, Jusuf Kalla's visit to meet Xi Jinping in April 2019 resulted in a commitment to cooperation in the fields of trade, investment, and education. The Belt Road Initiative (BRI) project made by China has several principles, one of which is that China must make partnerships and unite the development of each country by paying attention to the environment because this project will produce new progress and tangible results. Jusuf Kalla said that Indonesia would help China in the BRI project and was ready to become a partner. Besides, Xi also sees Indonesia as a country that has an essential position in the maritime silk route development plan, so seeing the deficit in Indonesia Xi promised JK to import more Indonesian products such as CPO and also increase the scholarship quota for Indonesian students who want to study. In China (Asmara, 2019).

Indonesia's support and cooperation between the two are further explained in the MoU "Joint Promotion Cooperation within the framework of the Vision of the World Maritime Axis and the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative" signed in 2018 in Beijing. In this MoU, Indonesia and China are referred to as parties that jointly strengthen comprehensive strategic partnerships and deepen bilateral cooperation. The purpose of the collaboration is to achieve mutually beneficial mutual sustainable development goals, as well as to enhance political, socio-cultural relations, security cooperation, and community exchanges and both must promote regional ties. Indonesia and China are cooperating in the field of infrastructure connectivity exchange, expanding two-way investment and trade, encouraging each financial institution to provide cost and service support for production, investment, and trade cooperation, improving relations between people through the education sector, culture, health, tourism, and public welfare to strengthen public opinion in supporting bilateral cooperation and always discuss regularly regarding development strategies, planning, and policies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018).

In realizing community exchange cooperation in the field of education, Xi Jinping made a policy by increasing the scholarship quota for Indonesian students in China. China issued a total of 197 full scholarships for Indonesia both undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, and this is very different from 2015, where China only provided a scholarship quota of 15. So that in 2018 according to Chinese government data it shows that Indonesian students in China are around 14,000, according to the Chinese Service Center for Scholarly Exchange (CSCSE) of Indonesian students in China has increased by 10% annually since 2010. Meanwhile, the number of China students in Indonesia in 2018 was 720 students. Although the anti-China sentiment is still felt in Indonesia, China is very open, and warmly welcomes Indonesian students (Muhaimin, 2018).

The increase in China scholarships in Indonesia also occurred in 2019, as many as 820 Indonesian citizens received scholarships from the Chinese government, 380 were undergraduate to doctoral students, 440 students in vocational institutions, and 1,100 Indonesian citizens received short course programs. According to Atdikbud, this addition made the number of Indonesian students in China increase to 15,780. Seeing this, the Indonesian government gave feedback to China, namely adding Indonesian Language Study Programs at 19 universities and opening Indonesian research centres (IRC) in 15 universities in China (Wardani, 2020). Students both in China and in Indonesia have a vital role to play in disseminating the culture of their respective countries. Samuel Huntington said that urban intellectuals were an essential part of pushing for political change or reform. As a group of people who occupy school to a college education has gone through the process of socialization, where they have different backgrounds and carry out daily campus activities, from these activities and interactions that will result in cultural exchanges.

According to the China Ambassador at that time, the comprehensive strategic partnership cooperation between China and Indonesia continued to increase, as indicated by the existence of practical collaboration and many exchanges in various fields that were getting deeper. So that increased political trust, mutual respect, understanding, and support from both parties will produce a significant contribution to regional peace, prosperity, stability, and growth (Yuliangningsih, 2019). The implementation of Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia also strongly supports China's interests in the Malacca Strait. Through its closeness to Indonesia, China will undoubtedly be able to solve the Malacca Dilemma problem a little, because as a coastal state in the Malacca Straits, of course, Indonesia's existence is a strategic partner for China. This closeness will reduce China's concern about the problems that occur with the effort to import petroleum through the Malacca Strait.

Implementation of Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia: A Constructivist Perspective Review

Constructivists emphasize that social reality is the result of construction, relationships carried out by humans and international relations are the result of thoughts and ideas and not from the strength or material conditions they have (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013, p. 370). Alexander Wendt proves this through arguments made to show that society and politics have built from social conditions in anarchy. This argument has based on two principles of constructivism inspired by interpretive sociology, namely symbolic interactionism. First, individuals act because there is meaning that other objects or actors have for them. Second, the definition contained in these objects and actors will continue to develop in social

interactions (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 14). Herbert Blummer (1900-1987) who is a figure in the theory of symbolic interaction explained that there is a third assumption of this theory, namely that the meaning will also change when it goes through the interpretation process (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 18). Symbolic interactions are formed from each individual who has their respective roles in making relationships, and these interactions result in reactions to one another and an understanding of the behaviour of others. This learning process leads to identities' formation, and each identity refers to the role of oneself and the functions of others. The repeated interactions make the identity created will become an appreciation and belief (Wendt, 1999, p. 342).

China carries out this symbolic interaction through Panda Diplomacy, and Panda is not just a symbol used to build an excellent Chinese perspective and identity in the world. Panda can be seen from many aspects as a source of Chinese soft power, where Panda has a role to improve China's image and views of other countries. The relationship between pandas and China is inseparable, to maintain this relationship, China will give Chinese names to pandas, and China also has an influence on the receiving countries in terms of establishing zoos. This will affect the perspective of visitors, where when they see pandas they will associate pandas with China, in contrast to other animals that come from other specific countries (Hartig, 2013, p. 69).

In promoting cooperative relations with other countries, China uses a symbol that represents its national interests. Chinese traditional culture used to use the dragon as a symbol of the country to show China as a country that is rising and has extraordinary enthusiasm. Western countries see the rise of China as a threat that strikes for them according to the dragon symbol used by China. This happens because of different conceptions of meaning, Professor Guan Shijie at the Peking University School of Journalism and Communication stated that the word "loong" actually means a long animal symbolizing China's success. But to the west, the word means a fire beast with a long neck that emits fire with every breath and wings which means aggression. Wu Youfu, chairman of the Shanghai International Studies board, also added that a dragon is a form of solidarity, courage, and enthusiasm for Chinese people. But still, there is distrust from western countries. Besides, many claims that the dragon is not suitable to be a symbol of China because the dragon is not a real animal in this world and the dragon is a traditional symbol of Chinese culture which is still closely related to the imperial autocracy, and it is feared that it will harm the development of democratic politics (Bin, 2007).

This has strengthened the China government to use the panda as a diplomatic tool apart from the panda being a real animal, and pandas also have a gentle nature

compared to dragons. Panda's diplomacy has received the spotlight from the local and international press because, in the rental contract process, state officials signed an agreement between the two countries. This activity is precisely what the China government wants to show so that the wider the media that covers it, the more people will know about the cute panda, and also the focus of the community is only on China as their home country which makes China's image better (Hartig, 2013, pp. 56-57).

Based on this, the authors see that China is carrying out Panda Diplomacy to improve its image and identity to achieve national interests, what China has done is the result of the thoughts and ideas of the China government. The China government realizes that their country needs another country to succeed in its national interests and this can be achieved when China has a right image and identity, which creates a sense of trust from other countries. This national interest will undoubtedly bear fruit along with the change of China leaders because each individual has a different idea, idea or discourse, and political direction. This ideational view focuses on intersubjective beliefs such as ideas, conceptions, and assumptions. This idea must be disseminated to be useful, ideas which are the result of mental constructs held by individuals as well as other groups, where actors have different beliefs, principles, and attitudes, which will later become orientations for behaviour and policies (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013, p. 373).

Alexander Wendt believes that the primary unit of analysis in HI is the state, and the nature of this state can change due to changes that occur in international, individual, economic, and political structures. Thus the national interest of a country is also temporary, meaning that the national interest is formed, transformed, and adapts to the international political system. The national interest results from social construction following the situation and conditions of the. So that national interests are formed from interactions between countries as political units and state structures in international politics. Constructivists through logic believe that the national interest is not something that is given and fixed, but will continue to change, this is because the structures contained therein are formed from shared ideas (Wendt, 1999, pp. 189-190).

Although many countries have received Panda Diplomacy from China, China will continue to interact with other countries to disseminate and maintain the country's identity as a friendly country and capable of being a strategic partner. As a country selected for Panda Diplomacy, Indonesia is one of the countries that China considers a friend or strategic partner. Liu Jianchou, as the Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia in 2013, argued that China and Indonesia entered into a partnership because of the result of a close bilateral relationship. The increase of the strategic

partnership to become a comprehensive strategic partnership shows that the two of them will be connected in the long term because of this relationship base on mutual trust. There is also an opinion from former officials of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China needs a symbol that can represent a strong relationship with Indonesia, and this partnership means that Indonesia is a close friend country (Priyandita, 2019, p. 17).

The relationship between China and Indonesia, according to neorealists, is impossible because the views between neorealists are materialist views. In contrast to the constructivists, namely the ideational theory (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013, p. 372). Neorealists see international relations as determined by the existing material structure. Constructivism sees it from the other side, namely through the ideas that will shape international relations. This makes the perceptions of international actors influence the actions or determine the patterns of interactions that will occur. When realists see the state's efforts in increasing military power make other countries fearful, the term "security dilemma". So the response of neighbouring countries should increase their security strength, but the reaction of neighbouring countries is just average. Constructivists answer that the response issued depends on the perception of the country in assessing whether it is a threat or not (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 18).

Under President Jokowi, Indonesia saw China as a friend and not a threat to Indonesia, and this can be seen from Indonesia signing the MoU on strategic partnerships. China also makes Indonesia a comprehensive strategic alliance because Indonesia is an influential country in ASEAN, through Indonesia, China can make it easier to enter ASEAN. Finnemore and Wendt said that in shaping a country's identity, an international environment is needed (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013, pp. 381-382). In international relations, the state will try to build an identity to get recognition from other actors. However, there is also a constructivist perspective that sees the domestic environment also contributes to the formation of state identity. Not all international environmental norms are accepted and have different effects in each country, so domestic factors are responsible for this. According to constructivists, identity and interests are interactions that are carried out with each other and create a structure of identity and parts. With the interaction between countries, identities, and interests can be known. Finnemore also argues that international organizations that put forward international norms can influence national guidelines; countries will make these norms guide in making their national policies. Alistair Johnston also conveyed this, that international standards in international relations can change state behaviour.

The identity of a country describes the trends and actions of the state, and constructivists see that identity is fundamental in life. The state will be chaotic without originality, and the world will fill with uncertainty and no solution, this condition is more dangerous than anarchy. Identity has the function of telling you who to others (Hopf, 1998, p.175). There are four kinds of identity, according to Wendt in international relations. First, personal identity (corporate identity), which is an attribute of the state that makes a country different from other countries, and the state has an individual identity that other countries do not have. Each country has the characteristics that differentiate it from other countries, both in terms of territory, national symbol, national anthem, nationalism, and others. Other countries do not own pandas, and this makes China different from other countries. China people's belief in pandas as a form of yin and yang means that pandas are animals that bring peace, so this helps China in building an image and identity. Personal identity does not need a significant other to differentiate it from other countries. All countries have an identity like this, giving rise to the interests that all countries want, such as the desire for physical security and social identity, the desire to be recognized, respected, and achieve prosperity (Rosyidin, 2015, pp. 50-51).

Second, type identity, which is an identity that classifies a country into specific categories; this depends on the inherent characteristics of the country. This type of identity is known when there is international interaction, and there are intrinsic attributes such as the political ideology of the country (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 51). This identity can be seen from China's ideology, namely communism, which has made China known as a communist state. Starting when China led by Mao Zedong and founded the China Communist Party, the establishment of this party had the aim of taking back China's rights which had been occupied by the colonial government. After the Opium war around 1840, western imperialism entered China and made China enter a "century of humiliation" in which China's sovereign territory became divided and colonized by colonialism. The insistence created by western imperialism pushed Mao and Chinese society to rise again to fight against colonialism. This resistance successfully carried out where China managed to regain the territory occupied by the colony (Nufus, 2014, p. 46).

The significant steps taken by Mao made China develop faster until now China has evolved and has become the second-largest economy in the world. However, the rise of China-made other countries afraid of China's domination, this was also motivated by the meaning of communism brought by Mao Zedong. During his leadership, Mao also gave strict and authoritarian rules, whereby all books or arts that did not support Communism would be destroyed, and those who opposed them would be killed (BBC, 2019). This reason also makes the Indonesian people still

have anti-China sentiments because people consider that the cooperation between China and Indonesia is China's way to dominate Indonesia.

Third, role identity, which is an identity that sees the state's position in international relations and concerning the state's responsibilities when faced with specific situations. This identity requires an intersubjective to determine the status of the actor and is needed by other countries as a significant other as a comparison (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 53). Xi Jinping continued the concept of Deng Xiaoping's revival in which China hopes that the next generation will be happy, create strength and build a spirit of nationalism, according to Xi's China dream not only benefits the China people but is also in line with the objective of the international community. This is what makes him want to rebuild the maritime silk route again, because, with the silk route, China can regain the pride and glory of China in the past and revive the economy of the surrounding countries. Xi emphasized this when he visited Kazakhstan and Indonesia in 2013, and it was not without reason that Xi chose to convey his ideas in the two countries. Kazakhstan is a connecting country between China and countries in Central Asia which have rich natural resources. Meanwhile, Indonesia had chosen because of its geographical location that coincides with the strategic route of international waters (Nufus, 2014, pp. 49-52). In making policies and determining the direction of development, Xi Jinping also views matters of domestic and international interests and maintains the principle of peaceful development; therefore Panda Diplomacy policy is also one way to achieve Xi Jinping's interests.

Fourth, collective identity, namely identity, is formed when actors have the same interests, so that these actors will take action together (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 51). Jusuf Kalla's visit to China to discuss cooperation in various fields made Jusuf Kalla say that Indonesia and China have the same interests, namely infrastructure development. China is a country with extensive industry, so it requires a large market as well, which makes China have to improve communication to every nation and Indonesia is a large market for China. It is this common interest that makes them agree to work together on the Belt Road Initiative project (VIVA, 2019). Besides, the Panda diplomacy carried out by the two indicated that they wanted to carry out cultural exchanges to strengthen their relationship. Similarly, the Panda diplomacy carried out by the two suggests that they are willing to carry out cultural exchanges to enhance their relationship. Sun Weide as the Consular of the Chinese Embassy to Indonesia said that Cai Tao and Hu Chun came to a country with thousands of islands to become a bridge of friendship for China and Indonesia, as well as a new momentum in promoting cultural cooperation between the two countries (Detik, 2017).

Constructivists and neorealism have the same idea of interest, and they assume that claim implies choice. Realists say that every country has the same priority interests; these interests might occur if interests are the result of social practices that shape actors and structures. However, according to constructivists, interests are a product of multiple identities and identities; the identities formed imply a different set of interests. Social practices that shape identity will generate claims consistent with social rules and structures, and constructivist logic breaks the notion that curiosity is a gift (Hopf, 1998, p. 176).

Looking at the constructivist view, the writer argues that China carrying out Panda Diplomacy to Indonesia is also one of China's efforts to carry out its interests in the South China Sea and wants to cover up Natuna's problems, as well as the Malacca Dilemma problem because this problem has quite an impact on China's aggressive identity. This makes China have to rebuild a positive identity and perception in the eyes of the international community. Constructivists see that identity is impermanent, and it will change according to the meaning of the actors in the interaction. So that as much as possible, the actors must maintain their attitude in interacting to keep the identity they want. In a thesis written by Samuel P. Huntington, he states that the post-cold war world conflict is no longer ideological, but in the form of civilizational conflicts related to identities, culture, and culture. As underlining, that identity has a role as a cause of conflict and cooperation in world politics at the end of the twentieth century. Politics is not one way to achieve interests but also in introducing and maintaining identity. We will know ourselves when we know "who is not us" beside us, and this can be known through "whom we are dealing with" (Rosyidin, 2015, p. 45). Intersubjective can also influence behaviour in comparison to material structures. Through interacting actors will create collective meaning and identity. This identity is stable because there is an understanding of specific roles and desires in oneself. In the process of conceptualizing a situation, identity is the basis for attracting interest, and identity needs to be developed and maintained in interactions with other people. When identity guides them in taking action, they also determine the form of anarchy that will occur (Guzzini & Leander, 2006, p. 94).

Based on this, constructivists see that China has succeeded in using pandas to build a better identity and image. This has evidenced by the number of countries that want them to become recipient countries of Panda Diplomacy, even though they know the consequences or rules that they must obey when becoming a Panda receiving country. An example is Canada which has waited for Panda Diplomacy for up to 40 years (Islami, 2015). The success of China in building an identity as a friendly country, a strategic partner can be seen from the number of MoU ratifications by President Joko Widodo and the policies of the Joko Widodo

Government that make it easier for China's access to Indonesia. It can also say that Panda's diplomacy is part of China's cultural diplomacy and image. A different way of making Panda's diplomacy does not look like ordinary diplomacy, where this strategic practice puts its practice outside the framework, even so, the Panda has the right steps for the long term and increases China's attractiveness in the eyes of the public and the host country.

Constructivism assumes that identity has the potential to become part of the constitutive practice of the state, which makes this identity capable of producing action at home and abroad. With originality, there is an advantage to politics, namely the emergence of differences between countries. In one country alone, there are many different actors or actors in world politics, and each country has different views and actions towards other countries, that identity determines this. Therefore, a different pattern of behaviour needs between groups of countries with different identities and interests. Identity has more meaning than a mere label, with this China will try to invite each country to understand other countries in terms of their nature, motives, interests, actions, attitudes, and roles in politics (Hopf, 1998, p. 193).

This is what Xi Jinping did, the implementation of China's Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia, making it easier for China to create cooperation and policies between the two. After Panda Diplomacy had carried out, Xi also focused more on community development or people-to-people relations between China and Indonesia. Individuals have an essential role to play in maintaining this Chinese identity, a policy made by Xi Jinping by increasing cultural activities in Indonesia and increasing the scholarship quota for Indonesian students in China. This aims to increase knowledge of Chinese culture to the public, Indonesian students in China will, of course, learn Chinese culture. Through them, Xi Jinping hopes that Chinese culture can be better known and accepted; there are still many opinions that China is a military, severe, and uncooperative country. But on the contrary, with diplomacy, Panda China will be known as a friendly country with good intentions.

Tempo conducted a survey.co shows that Indonesians still have difficulty understanding the basic principles of equality in political rights and democracy. The director of the Jakarta Institute of Conflict Policy Analysis (IPAC) said that the majority of Indonesians do not want to understand the basic principles of democracy, which are political equality and justice or equal rights, be it race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. Thirty-three per cent of them believed that Chinese culture could not be in line with Indonesian culture, thirty-two per cent saw that the Chinese minority still clung to their ancestors, namely China, and

thought that the Chinese were greedy and ambitious and this was as much as 35 per cent who believed (Tempo, 2019).

The author also believes that the reason China is now more focused on inter-community relations is that there is still much anti-China sentiment in Indonesian society for domestic problems such as economy and politics. It is undeniable that there is always an anti-China sentiment in Indonesia; however, this sentiment aim at domestic issues such as the economy, racial and communist stereotypes, and this has not stopped the efforts of the Indonesian people to go to China, and many continue their education there (Muhaimin, 2018). Therefore, the addition of the scholarship quota and the creation of cultural activities by Xi Jinping, are China's efforts so that slowly the Indonesian people can be more open to China and accept Chinese culture. Although the bilateral relations between China and Indonesia continue to improve and to maintain friendly relations between the two, China also needs the support and activeness of the community to learn from each other Chinese culture. In the Constructivist view, the State like humans, is an actor in international relations that has attributes in it such as rationality, identity, interests, and beliefs, as well as the State. This attribute will affect how the actor acts.

Besides, constructivism is a theory that changes the approach in international relations, if liberals and realists who see material and agent-centric matters are essential in international relations and the state is a given interest or does not have an inherent interest. Constructivists see that the state is not a shared interest because there are norms within the state, which makes the state inseparable from the social structure (Rachmawati, 2018, p. 28). The Chinese government is trying to convince the existing social system in Indonesia, and here it means the Indonesian people because Indonesian people have an essential role in making policy in Indonesia.

Hadiwinata (2017) states that constructivism has two main ideas in international relations and can see the relationship between China and Indonesia. First, material strength is not a structure that unites humankind but is determined by shared ideas. Second, shared ideas ascertain the identity and interests of actors rather than natural factors. Actors will act to do something not based on their motives, but actions have shaped by interactions between individuals in their surrounding environment, such as social, political, economic, cultural, and other structures. This illustrates that the social world is not Given, the laws of the social world cannot be determined from scientific research and explained through scientific theory because the social world is intersubjective (Hermawan, 2017, pp. 20-21). The relationship between China and Indonesia is the result of a shared understanding. Through Panda Diplomacy, the sense of trust between governments is increasing,

and they think that the two are friends. With this assumption, they can take action, especially China, to achieve its national interests.

CONCLUSIONS

Xi Jinping said that a country that accepts Panda's diplomacy would be considered a friend by China and China made its position a strategic partner. Indonesia is a country chosen in Panda Diplomacy, and Xi sees Indonesia as a country whose priority is China in international affairs and a large country that influences the region. What is the constructivist view of seeing China Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia? First, Panda has used as a diplomatic tool and a symbol of friendship to build a better China image and identity. Here Constructivists see that Panda's diplomacy is a form of symbolic interaction. Second, in carrying out Panda Diplomacy, of course, the China government has thought of any strategies that can help them in smoothing their interests. So that Constructivists see this as an ideational view, namely a focus on intersubjective beliefs such as ideas, conceptions, and assumptions. Third, the identity built by China through Panda Diplomacy in Indonesia is not just a form of friendship. However, there are other interests that China wants to achieve through Indonesia. Constructivist logic says that claims are the result of identity, which means that identity forms to imply different interests, so that identity is multiple.

Furthermore, the China government realizes that there is still an anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia, and the China and Indonesia governments need support from the Indonesian people regarding their cooperation which makes Xi Jinping focus on cultural cooperation and relations between people. The state is not a given interest because there are norms within the state, which make the state inseparable from the social structure. That is why pandas are used as diplomacy tools because pandas can portray China as a peaceful and friendly country. Through this image, hopes that China's national interests will be achieved, such as China's interests in the Malacca Strait and the South China Sea.

Seeing this, the authors conclude that the Panda diplomacy carried out by China is quite successful, where the panda which uses as a symbol of friends can see in the increasingly close relationship between Indonesia and China and the amount of cooperation made by the two countries. However, there are also challenges faced by China, namely the Indonesian people themselves, because there is still an anti-China sentiment in Indonesia. Society is an essential element in the state in making policies, and community support is needed further to strengthen the mutually beneficial relationship between the two.

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The Role of Media in The United States Environmental Diplomacy: A Case Study of Oil-spill Disaster in Deepwater Horizon

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Abstract

The Deepwater Horizon Oil-Spill is the most disastrous environmental pollution event in America's history. The film Deepwater Horizon, which takes the title exactly matches the name of the incident, explains the backgrounds of the catastrophe. This film shows that the accident occurred due to the negligence of British Petroleum as a company that manages the Deepwater Horizon rig. To reveal the role of the film in United States environmental diplomacy, the researcher will use the Deepwater Horizon film as a case study and the concept of environmental diplomacy as a unit and research analysis tool. This study uses qualitative research methods with data collection techniques, such as literature surveys and observations. This research argues that media is an essential component that plays a role in environmental diplomacy.

Key Words: Environmental Diplomacy, Deepwater Horizon, the United States, Media

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INTRODUCTION

Environmental problems such as water pollution, deforestation, and illegal hunting of animals are very alarming. The importance of solving these ecological problems has encouraged international community awareness and created a new form of diplomacy called environmental diplomacy. Environmental diplomacy is a tool to address environmental issues through diplomacy and the foreign policy of a country. Environmental diplomacy in the international sphere has several diverse meanings, according to several experts.

Pramudianto defined environmental diplomacy as the science and art of studying and dealing with environmental issues to achieve conformity with national interests (or the interests and policies of non-state entities), especially foreign policy and domestic politics in a country's ecological field (Pramudianto, 2011). Pramudianto explained that there is an essential component in the study of environmental diplomacy, which we can see from the institutional structure, processes, and plan carried out through environmental diplomacy. According to Forsyth, public concerns about environmental issues are significant because they show how ecological change experienced by them becomes a problem. They offer insight into the political processes that shape policy interventions. Social scientists refer to the relations between public awareness and policy challenges as "environmental narratives" because they formulate the concepts of blame, risk and potential solutions (Forsyth, 2014)

To obtain support from public opinion, one of the optimal tools used frequently is the mass media. According to Lang in (Severin & Tankard Jr., 2008), "the mass media imposes specific issues. The mass media builds public images of political figures. The mass media continually presents objects that show what individuals should consider, know, and feel in society". (Severin & Tankard Jr., 2008). Public opinion, branding, image, and reputation offer rich variations for policymakers in ensuring environmental protection throughout the world. Public relations lobbyists and consulting firms will survey news about specific environmental issues and suggest communication strategies to change perceptions about the government's reputation on environmental issues (Robertua, 2019). In short, the relation between environmental diplomacy and the media is about applying communication tools to shape people's perception of a country's policy or response in environmental matters. Environmental diplomacy aims to change the effectiveness of communication strategies in achieving reputation and image as an environmental actor.

In 2010, the world was shocked by a Deepwater Horizon disaster. The disaster also had a devastating impact on several vital aspects in the surrounding area, such as

the economic, social, and, most importantly, environment. The Transocean offshore drilling contractor owned the Deepwater Horizon oil rig and leased it by the British Petroleum energy company. This rig is operated by Transocean, which works under BP as a company that holds rights and authority in carrying out oil drilling activities in one of its operational areas, the Prospect of Macondo. The Macondo prospect itself is a prospect of oil and natural gas located within the United States Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), precisely in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

On April 20, 2010, Deepwater Horizon reportedly approached the completion of an oil well when uncontrolled hydrocarbon gas (petroleum and natural gas) overflowed and caused an explosion. The accident resulted in 11 crew members from the rig killed and the oil well leaking. United States federal government officials estimate that the well released more than 200 million gallons (or 4.9 million barrels) of crude oil to the surrounding sea level in more than 84 days. This case became the most massive maritime oil pollution case in history for the United States (Ramseur, 2010). The leak of oil that occurred due to drilling activities in this region had caused a detrimental impact on the surrounding environment. Widespread pollution caused by oil spills has affected the marine ecosystem, including marine biota and water quality along hundreds of miles of Gulf coastline.

This case also brings significant harm to the economy and livelihood of the local area, especially people who work as fishermen. The declining fish population due to the impact of pollution in these water areas has disrupted the community's welfare and harmed the whole fishing industry. Water that has been polluted by leaked oil also contains poisons harmful to public health and plants around the coastline. The losses incurred from this disaster have immediately attracted the attention of the international public. This attention results from the influence of media publications either through the news coverage of newspapers, radio, internet, television, and even film.

Related to the case study in this research, The United States, as a country that receives impacts from pollution and environmental damage in the case of Deepwater Horizon, demands compensation and accountability from BP. The US uses the Deepwater Horizon film as a 'blanket' to explain its environmental diplomacy. The US uses this environmental diplomacy covered by Hollywood drama to encompass public opinion and transform people's perceptions in support of the US position and raise its reputation in the public eye in this case.

The independence and objectivity of the reporting are the centre principles of media, which is never a straight-talking. Irregularities commonly shape the news that follows ideological orientations and the political-economic interests of the media.

Meanwhile, the study of media content cannot be separated from the framework of interpretation that contains the concept of the public sphere (public space/area). The media occupies a central position that functions to supply and disseminate information needed for attitude determination, facilitate the formation of public opinion, and position itself as an independent forum where general issues can be debated (Sudiby, 2001).

Three essential elements are the centre of this research, namely the media, environmental diplomacy, and the case of the Deepwater Horizon film. The researcher also used that the concept of environmental diplomacy could solve environmental damage and a reference to criticize the elements that caused the problem in this study.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND STATEMENT OF ART

In analyzing this research, the researcher found a connection and relevance from several previous types of research. Several previous kinds of research have similarities in their discussion about the role of the media in environmental issues and other international issues. Several studies discuss the Deepwater Horizon event and its impact using different perspectives, concepts, and sides.

Several studies also discuss applying the concept of environmental diplomacy in relations between countries and the role of the media in environmental issues and other international political activities. The researcher makes some of this as reference materials to assist the researcher in examining more deeply the problems presented in this research.

The researcher reviewed the first study as literature in this research is research with the title "Peran Film Sebagai Media Sosialisasi Lingkungan," written by Ahmad Toni. In this research, Toni analyzes the role of film as a tool that can influence individuals, groups, and other countries to instil ideology and realize interests.

Asian Development Bank (ADB), as an international lending institution, is an example of a subject that uses film with an environmental theme, especially in the availability of clean water with a specific purpose. The conclusion from Toni's research is that ADB uses film to trap capitalists in a socialist way. ADB seeks to instil the issue by standing on the social side as a form of marketing debt loan products to ensnare member countries using the product (Toni, 2015). From the description above, there are fundamental differences between the research written by the researcher with Toni's research. The researcher used a different case study that was not the same as Toni's research. The researcher used the Deepwater Horizon film as a study case that raised the oil rig incident in the Gulf of Mexico.

The researcher does not focus on any international organizations or institutions that use film and other mass media as political objects to realize their interests. The researcher focuses on a specific state as a subject that uses mass media as a political tool in realizing its national interests. The country that the researcher referred was the United States. This country has experienced environmental and economic losses due to the Deepwater Horizon oil leak case caused by the British energy company, BP.

The result of the second literature reviewed by the researcher is a study entitled "Diplomasi Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia – Norwegia Melalui REDD+ Agreement," written by Pramesthi Cahyani Hedhi Ningsih. This research focuses on Indonesia's collaboration with Norway on environmental issues, specifically deforestation and land degradation. This research uses a qualitative method and looks at the process of environmental diplomacy carried out by Indonesia and Norway in implementing the REDD+ agreement, using six key elements of diplomacy (Ningsih, 2019). REDD+ is an international action program in reducing deforestation and forest degradation. REDD+ helped developing countries in financing and technology transfer in the implementation of sustainable forestry. Many countries have joined REDD+, including Indonesia. This research indicates that the Indonesia-Norway REDD+ cooperation has been going well, based on the national interests of the two countries. Even though REDD+ experienced a delay in achieving the target set for 2016 by Indonesia because Indonesia has not been able to meet the requirements provided by Norway to establish an institutional setup, Indonesia and Norway continue to work together to achieve the agreed targets until they are completed (Ningsih, 2019).

The differentiator elements between this research and Ningsih's are the objects that focus on both studies. The researcher was not focusing on the collaboration between the two countries in solving environmental problems like Ningsih. Although using the same concept, namely environmental diplomacy, the researcher was more focused on the basic ideas of the concept of environmental diplomacy and the role of the media in the concept application process, which are the necessary instruments in this research. The researcher uses these two instruments as units and analytical tools in answering research problems related to the use of media by the US in supporting its political practices on the issue of Deepwater Horizon environmental pollution.

The result of the third literature reviewed by the researcher is a study entitled "Environmental Diplomacy: Case Study of the EU-Indonesia Palm Oil Dispute," written by Verdinand Robertua. This research analyzes the dynamics of EU environmental diplomacy through a case study of the palm oil conflict between the

European Union and Indonesia. Indonesia and Malaysia protested the European Union's decision to pull out palm oil as renewable energy in Renewable Energy Directive II. This decision happened because the expansion of the oil palm area had caused deforestation and forest damage. Through this case study, Robertua found that Indonesia's environmental diplomacy dynamics underwent three stages: a low carbon economy, a green leadership of the European Union, and an Indonesia-European Union trade war (Robertua, 2019).

There are differences in the case studies taken in this study and in the researcher's research from the description above. This study also uses international actors, namely countries and regional organizations, as the main subject of the study. Simultaneously, the researcher focuses on the role of the media in US environmental diplomacy in a case study, the Deepwater Horizon film. Although using the same concept, the focus of the two studies is different. Another different example is the source that the researcher use. The researcher uses film as one of many forms of media that is popular today.

The fourth literature comes from a study entitled "Kebijakan Pemerintah Amerika Serikat Dalam Menangani Tumpahan Minyak British Petroleum Di Teluk Meksiko Periode 2010 - 2013," written by Muhammad Fadhli. In his research, Fadhli explained the analysis of the factors that influenced the United States government's policy in handling British Petroleum oil spill cases in the Gulf of Mexico from 2010 through 2013.

This study used a qualitative method with data collection techniques, like a literature survey. This study uses two concepts, namely national importance and civic environmentalism, as units of analysis. In this research, Fadhli concluded that US policies include the implementation of a moratorium on drilling in the Gulf of Mexico, the formation of organizations, the making of laws and programs as an effort to handle the case based on national interests and domestic and external environmental factors (Fadhli, 2014)

Although using the same case study, the difference between Fadhli's research and that this research is the concept used as a unit or analysis tool. The researcher uses the idea of environmental diplomacy as a unit of research analysis. The researcher also did not focus entirely on international actors such as the state in the case studies taken.

The fifth literature entitled "Environmental Documentary Film: A Contemporary Tool for Social Movement," written by Rachel Gregg, explained that in creating 21st-century movement groups that can provide inspiration and social structural change, a persuasive and motivational new strategy is needed. The strategy is to use an

environmental documentary. The environmental documentary can dramatize the reality of environmental issues and strengthen the audience to participate in the changes facing the ecological crisis. Gregg uses two environmental documentary films as examples in his research, and both films are titled *Food Inc* and *Bag It* (Gregg, 2011)

Both films, which used as instruments in Gregg's research, focused on environmental issues. *Food Inc* is a film that explains problems in the food system, while *Bag It* is a persuasive film that aims to create awareness in the audience to reduce plastic products. In this study, Gregg concluded that in this new 21st century, conventional rhetorical methods are no longer reliable for creating a social movement group. New creative, attractive, and educational strategies are necessary to promote environmental awareness of the community and society worldwide. One of the latest innovative approaches is using film. By using film as a new communication element, we can deliver rhetorical messages and create public awareness to protect the environment.

From the description above, there are fundamental differences from the research written by the researcher with Gregg's. First, the researcher does not thoroughly discuss the film as a medium for creating any social movement groups. The researcher analysed the use of film as one of the research instruments to explain how vital the role of the media is in international environmental politics, especially in environmental diplomacy conducted by the US. Second, the researcher only uses one film example, the Deepwater Horizon, as an object that represents and is related to the case study that the researcher used in this study. Moreover, the researcher used the concept of environmental diplomacy to explain media use in the film as a political tool of the United States in cornering BP in the Deepwater Horizon case.

The sixth literature review refers to a study entitled "The Politics of Accuracy in Judging Global Warming Films," written by Felicity Mellor. In this study, Mellor raised a controversial case in the UK in 2007. The case includes two documentaries on global warming, namely *An Inconvenient Truth* and *The Great Global Warming Swindle*, subject to legal and regulatory challenges in the UK. Mellor's research analyses the limitations of appealing the discourse of accuracy in both films. Mellor explains the discourse of accuracy used to see the accuracy of the facts and see the political elements contained in the two films cause problems (Mellor, 2009).

According to Mellor, the use of accuracy claims in assessing documentary films is inadequate and insufficient because the role of image visualization also needs to be considered. Mellor also explained that the use of the discourse of accuracy could expand the controversial problems and be a source of all kinds of political activities.

Mellor argues that observing the textuality of documentary films can help evaluate the text's truth. We can see accuracy discourse as one of the many textual features compared to making the discourse of accuracy as private property (a kind of textual singularity that points only outward to the reference reality). These textual features will work together to build the integrity of the entire text, signifying honesty, openness, and honesty.

From the description above, several things distinguish the research written by the researcher and Mellor's. The researcher uses film as a form of media to explain the role of the media itself in international environmental politics, especially in US environmental diplomacy. The researcher also took a different film example, the Deepwater Horizon film. Deepwater Horizon is a film that tells the reality of the accident from the perspective of one of its workers. In analysing the use of this film as a tool for the US to carry out its environmental politics, the researcher used the concept of environmental diplomacy. An idea related to environmental issues and international environmental politics is also relevant to the case in this study.

In continuing several of the studies above, the researcher will raise research entitled "The Role of Media in US Environmental Diplomacy: A Case Study of Deepwater Horizon Film." The differentiation of the researcher's study and the several kinds of research above is the main focus of this research to prove the importance of the role of the media in international environmental politics and environmental issues, specifically environmental diplomacy conducted by the United States.

The researcher will use a specific film as a case study highlighting the accident of an oil drilling rig in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010, and the film is Deepwater Horizon. In the movie, the oil spill case that occurred in the Gulf of Mexico results from the explosion of a drilling rig managed by BP company. The concept that the researcher use is environmental diplomacy. This concept will assist the researcher in answering problems in this study.

METHOD

The researcher used qualitative research methods in this research. According to John Creswell, qualitative research is defined as an approach or search to explore and understand a central phenomenon (Raco, 2010). The researcher uses qualitative research to analyse the role of the media in international environmental politics, especially in US environmental diplomacy, by taking a case study of the Deepwater Horizon film.

The researcher also uses qualitative descriptive-analytic types. According to Sugiono, the descriptive method describes or gives an overview of the object studied

through data or samples collected by concentrating research on the problem. The research results are then processed and analysed to conclude (Sugiyono, 2005).

This research will provide a detailed description of how much the role of the media concerning international environmental politics, particularly environmental diplomacy carried out by the United States. This study takes the Deepwater Horizon movie to describe the magnitude and importance of media capacity in influencing environmental diplomacy related to the case. This type of descriptive research is relevant to the title of this study because it focuses on analysing the concept of environmental diplomacy in providing solutions to environmental problems contained in this study.

The researcher made observations through the Deepwater Horizon film directed by Peter Berg, released in 2016. Data collection techniques include 2 (two) methods: (1) Observation by observing objects relevant to the research. (2) Documentation, by analyzing the data available from various sources such as reports, news, pictures, or schematics.

The researcher used qualitative research, where there are validity and reliability data tests through the "Triangulation" technique. Triangulation divided into five techniques, namely: triangulation of sources, theory triangulation; triangulation of researchers; time triangulation; and triangulation of methods. In this research, the researcher used source triangulation techniques. According to Patton, the triangulation of sources means comparing and double-checking the degree of trust in information obtained through different sources. The researcher compared the results of observations with documents obtained in books, scientific journals, and information from the mass media (Moleong, 1999).

In this study, the researcher will collect data from various sources. These sources include some expert perspectives related to the problems in this study, documents, and reports from the mass media and journals officially published by government and non-government. The researcher will compare the collected sources to find the actual and concrete bases to use as data in this research.

Data analysis in research is solved in three ways: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification. First, data reduction is the process of data analysis to reduce and then summarize the fundamental research. It is helpful to facilitate data understanding into a more detailed reference. Second, the data presentation solved in the form of a report following the research results obtained. Third, verification is giving meaning to research conducted or analyzed.

This process begins with structuring field data and reduces it to unification in the form of data categorization. In this research, the researcher will use data reduction methods. The researcher will collect the data obtained and summarize it according to its relevance in this research. The researcher does this to look for equivalent and related data to be categorized in the same type.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Impact of Oil Spills on the Environment around the Gulf of Mexico

Deepwater Horizon is an oil drilling rig owned and operated by the offshore oil drilling company Transocean and leased by the oil company BP. This rig is in the Mississippi Canyon, a valley on a continental shelf to obtain oil from the Macondo Prospect in the Gulf of Mexico. The oil well located on the seabed, 4,993 feet (1,522 meters) below the surface (Pallardy, 2020).

On the night of April 20, a wave of natural gas exploded through a concrete core that had just been installed by a contractor Halliburton. BP used this core to seal the well so that it becomes reusable until the drilling sequence. Halliburton itself is one of the best oilfield service provider companies in North America that provides cementing services for BP in Macondo wells, including the placement of "centralization," which helps stabilize the wellbore during cementing (Rushe, 2014).

The concrete core installed by Halliburton may be too weak to withstand the pressure because it consists of a concrete mixture that uses nitrogen gas to speed up the curing process. After being released by a core fracture, the natural gas climbed onto the rig, exploded, killed 11 workers, and injured 17 people. The Deepwater Horizon rig capsized and sank on the morning of April 22 and broke the riser, a large diameter pipe connecting the underwater BOP (Blowout Preventer) stack to the surface of the rig used to bring mud back to the surface (Schlumberger). Without a riser, mud will only spill from the top of the pile to the seabed. The absence of opposing forces causes oil to begin to flow into the bay. (Pallardy, 2020).

United States federal government officials estimate that the well released more than 200 million gallons of crude oil to sea level in more than 84 days. This case is the most massive maritime oil pollution case in US history (Ramseur, 2010). Oil leaks that occur due to drilling activities in this region are very detrimental to the surrounding environment. Widespread pollution caused by the oil spills has affected the marine ecosystem, including marine biota and water quality along hundreds of miles of Gulf coastline. The oil leak also caused social and economic

impacts on the surrounding communities. Nearby industries, such as tourism and fisheries, also receive losses on a large scale.

The environmental impact caused by the fire incident of the Deepwater Horizon rig was immense. Oil leaks that last for approximately 84 days have caused high-scale and long-term environmental pollution. The Deepwater Horizon rig oil spill has endangered organisms that inhabit the oceans and coastal areas in the Gulf of Mexico. Coastal areas are the most vulnerable areas because waves and tides wash away stranded oil in wetlands such as swamps, rivers, and lakes. The absorption of dissolved oil components is toxic to fish, shellfish, invertebrates, and plankton. Oil can also cover small animals and plants that live in the area around the coastline and make them suffocate (Upton, 2011).

Commonly found species in the bay area and the surrounding natural environment are seabirds such as brown pelicans, sea ducks, different types of fish and marine mammals, oysters, crabs, shrimp, turtles, and native flora and fauna as a result of changes in the chemical composition of water (habitat) and the palpable shift in habitat gradually (Neff, 2002). We can see the effects of oil spills in the Gulf of Mexico on living things in the ecosystem. As seen in picture 3.2, living things covered in oil will have trouble breathing due to exposure to the toxic effects of the oil. The oil that protects the fur or animal skin will destroy the insulation value of these living creatures and cause them to die from hypothermia (Mansir & Jones, 2012).

According to a report from an environmental NGO from the United States, the Centre for Biological Diversity, it was found that oil spills may have injured or killed around 82,000 birds from 102 species, around 6,165 sea turtles, up to 25,900 marine mammals, including several species of dolphins and whales. The oil spill also injured several fish, including bluefin tuna and substantial habitat for the smallest seahorse in the United States. The spill also covers more than a thousand miles of coastline, including beaches and swamps, where the most prominent victims are animals and plants found on the shoreline, namely seagrasses, shorebirds, and other living creatures (Center for Biological Diversity, 2011)

The effects of oil spills caused by accident on the Deepwater Horizon drilling rig have not even ended in a decade. Until now, the long-term effects of these events are still visible and unresolved. Researchers can not accurately calculate the quantity of the oil that pollutes the waters of the Gulf of Mexico because the oil expands and settles below sea level. This oil spill also affected three coastal regions of the United States of America, namely Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Immediately after the oil spill occurred, 1,300 miles of contaminated coastal areas experienced 100 times higher oil concentrations. Even eight years later, the intensity was ten times higher than before the spill. In February 2020, a study showed that the oil footprint spread about 30 per cent more extensive than previously estimated, potentially contaminating more fish populations than previously thought. Scientists are still figuring out exactly how oil impacts the physiological state of the Gulf of Mexico. Nevertheless, according to a study, the immediate effect is to change the seabed near an oil well into a "toxic waste disposal site" (Borunda, 2020).

In addition to having a profound impact on the Gulf of Mexico's physiological state and environmental ecosystems, the Deepwater Horizon oil spill also impacts the social and economic life of the people who live around it. Communities living in coastal areas generally work as fishermen, fish farmers, or other work related to the fishing industry. Communities living in coastal regions also utilize the beach area as a centre for tourism to attract tourists from outside their area. Using these two industries, people in coastal areas can maintain their survival and economy so they can be stable.

As a result of oil spills covering the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, both industries received very significant damage. Environmental pollution that occurs at sea brings a direct impact on the socio-economic sector of the area. Most federal territorial waters that receive immediate and adjacent effects are immediately closed after the oil spill is unstoppable. On June 2, 2010, the federal waters were closed to fishing activities had expanded to reach 88,522 square miles or nearly 37% of federal waters in the Gulf of Mexico. The top portion of state waters closed for fishing activities are as follows, Alabama (40%), Florida (2%), Louisiana (55%), and Mississippi (95%) (Upton, 2011).

Closure of the Gulf of Mexico waters has led to a decline in commercial fishers' productivity in the area. This closure becomes the prevention of the entry of seafood products that have the risk of being contaminated with oil spills on the market. Areas affected by the shutdown are some of the most affluent fishing areas in the Gulf of Mexico. This area is a habitat for commercial species such as shrimp, menhaden fish, and oysters. Compared to the same period in 2009 (January to December), the total catch in the Gulf for shrimp species in 2010 decreased by about 35.6 million pounds (27%) at the state level, 32% in Louisiana, 60% in Mississippi, 56% in Alabama and almost 15% in Texas. Menhaden fishing in Louisiana also declined 171 million pounds, or about 17% (Upton, 2011). According to a new study by the US Bureau of Marine Energy Management, the Gulf of Mexico commercial fishing industry losses costs \$ 94.7 million to \$ 1.6 billion. These losses also include

the loss of 740 to 9,315 jobs in the first eight months after the disaster (Schleifstein, 2016). These losses caused a decrease in the catch of commercial fishers operating in the bay area. The closure of fishing areas also causes the fishing industry to suffer injuries that forced them to impose terms of employment on a large scale. The loss of the opportunity to make a living is a bitter dilemma for local people. Their welfare to live in the area has become disturbed. This disaster is a common enemy that becomes a consideration for preventing losses that could be next.

Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)

Various types of content analysis are used to analyse the content and problems in the media. These types of studies used for research methods that focus on the newspaper media as a lens in looking at issues in political discourse, social issues, religion, conflict, pluralism, and many more. Burhan Bungin, in the book entitled "Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif," explains that qualitative media content analysis more widely used in examining documents in the form of text, images, symbols, and others. To understand the culture of a particular social context (Bungin, 2001), this type of analysis also applies to analyse increasingly evolving audio-visual texts such as television and film.

Bungin also explained that the document in qualitative content analysis is a form of symbolic representation that can be recorded or documented as a content analysis method in understanding its meaning, significance, and relevance. David L. Altheide prefers to use the term Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) to explain the research model of qualitative content analysis.

The term ECA is a combination of the traditional notion of objective content analysis with participants. According to Altheide, in-depth ECA is used to document and understand the communication of meaning and verify the theoretical relationship. Its distinctive characteristics are the intuitive and highly interactive nature of sympathizers, concepts, data collection, and analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013).

While Kriyantono considered that in ECA, researchers who interacted with documentation materials were able to conduct in-depth interviews to get the context (Kriyantono, 2008), the content analysis depends on some categorical data or documentation validation. These categories include war, defence and diplomacy, politics and government, economic activity, crime, public moral issues, health and welfare, accidents and disasters, science and inventions, education and classical arts, folk entertainment, and human interest (Flournoy, 2000). These categories are part of the categorization process that results in the birth of perspective or the way someone sees an event. This idea called framing. Edelman states that framing

results from the categorization process carried out by the human mind on various events they experience. With categorization, we can understand a fact or reality when using a particular perspective. Furthermore, the categorization process requires the use of certain words to realize the facts or truth.

Besides, categories help people understand the diverse and irregular reality into a reality that has meaning. According to Edelman, we can use categorization to simplify complex and multidimensional realities by emphasizing precise dimensions and leaving other aspects of observation. Therefore, Edelman aligns the classification with the framing process (Rohmatullah, 2017). The media often use framing to influence people's perspectives. The public is not aware that their realms of mind and consciousness dictate a particular aspect, so they do not think in other dimensions. Ibnu Hamad, in the book entitled "Komunikasi Sebagai Wacana," states that certain factors influence the construction of reality. These factors include innocently, internality, and externality.

Certain parties often use language to arrange facts (Hamad, 2010). This idea's name is framing manipulation. Kriyantono explained in the ECA; researchers faced several issues concerning systematic content analysis as a guide to categorizing (Kriyantono, 2008), including:

- A. Content
- B. Process (packaging media forms)
- C. Emergency, which is the stage of the gradual formation of a message through interpretation.

Furthermore, Bungin also stated that any type of image text, including moving images (movies), must pay attention to several things (Bungin, 2001), including:

- A. Studied context or social situation around the document or text.
- B. Process, media production, or content in messages are created and organized.
- C. Emergency, the meaning of a message is conveyed through its understanding and interpretation.

To understand the meaning of the Deepwater Horizon film, the researcher used two aspects: narrative and cinematic. The researcher uses both of these aspects as a means of interpretation and analysis in understanding the purposes of the film and point of view (framing) formed by the director, Peter Berg.

The Deepwater Horizon is a film formed to reconstruct the Deepwater Horizon fire event from Mike Williams's perspective. The director designed the movie as realistic as possible to raise public awareness of the struggle of Transocean workers in defending their lives from the disaster. The film focuses on Mike's life with his family and his work as chief engineer at the Deepwater Horizon drilling rig. This film combines several aspects of the genre, such as drama, disaster, survival, and minor heroic elements.

The researcher regards this film as a subjective film. Although showing different aspects and terms that describe exploration and exploitation in the oil and gas industry, this film is very focused on the main protagonist. It oversimplifies the facts that occur in the field. The first simplification of points is the party responsible for the Deepwater Horizon case. In this film, BP is portrayed as greedy people where they are the cause of the accident. However, the facts state that BP is not the only partly responsible for the incident. The other parties were Transocean and Halliburton's nursery contractor, who were negligent in carrying out their obligations.

The second simplification of facts is about the cause of the accident that can occur. The Deepwater Horizon movie explained that Vidrine, a BP official, made a wrong decision that resulted in the overflow of mud and oil to the rig's surface. The mud and oil overflow ignited a fire accompanied by an explosion in the machines at the rig's body. On the other hand, the facts are far more complicated than those shown in the film. The fact states that the explosion was not the result of a single wrong decision but from a series of events that allowed the 'barrier' that intended to prevent the disaster from becoming malfunctioning (Oort, 2016).

It is also clear that in this film, the director is very much in favour of Transocean. This partisanship, shown through various debates, strongly cornered BP as the most negligent party. All the actions and dialogues of Mike Williams also played well by Mark Wahlberg, which seemed to justify that he was 'the hero,' and Transocean was the right people.

The director very well-formed this framing. The moral message contained in it is also neatly packaged. Dramatization that occurs in some scenes of this film shows that there are political elements that the director tries to insert. These political elements are undoubtedly related to the Deepwater Horizon oil spill case, which used as a tool in leading public opinion.

The US Environmental Diplomacy

Most Hollywood films made for commercial purposes as they are released to gain financial income for the production house and the filmmakers. Although the function of the film is to entertain the audience, specific groups or individuals use many films to fulfil their political interests. Some famous Hollywood films have political elements that hidden and inserted in the movie. The political factors dramatized in such a way that the audience can be influenced and more easily manipulated. Dramatization that occurs usually done by using a gimmick as a cover in covering political elements.

The dramatizations and gimmicks used to have strong links with a genre in a movie. One example is the film Iron Man. Iron Man is a film that tells the life of a wealthy billionaire from the United States with a high intellectual level. He used his abilities and resources to make himself a hero. The film Iron Man uses the 'hero' as a gimmick to attract the audience's attention. After the gimmick has successfully influenced the audience, the dramatization process will be present. The dramatization that came included the protagonist's personal story and his struggle to save ordinary people from criminals. If examined in depth, there are political elements hidden in the film Iron Man. One political component of the film is the portrayal of the superiority of the United States as a superpower that has abundant resources and advanced technology.

We can also see political elements in the Deepwater Horizon film. In the beginning, the film invited the audience to focus on the main character, Mike Williams. The audience sees the simple life of Mike, who began to interact with his family and co-workers. Then the film underwent a transition and showed the conflict between Transocean, represented by Jimmy Harrel and Mike Williams with BP, represented by Donald Vidrine and Robert Kaluza. The conflict presented by the filmmakers shows that BP is the antagonist responsible for the accidents and disasters that occur on the rig.

Framing in this film is made to influence the audience's perception to side with the main protagonist and create a sense of sympathy in the audience's mind for Transocean employees who died in the accident. The gimmick used in the Deepwater Horizon film focuses on the fire and explosion on the rig. After the scheme in the movie is successful, the dramatization will be present to manipulate the feelings of the audience. One example of the dramatization in the Deepwater Horizon film is a scene that shows the efforts of the Transocean crew to survive the disaster. Another example is the heroic moments of the main character that tries to save his friends and co-workers from the fire.

We can also see certain political elements in the Deepwater Horizon film when the film concludes. The director reaffirmed his alignments with Transocean and cornered BP by presenting the facts of the case. These facts include the legal verdicts, the impact of the incident, and the list of employees who died due to the burning of the Deepwater Horizon drilling rig. If related to several aspects of IR, such as politics, economics, and the international environment, this film is used by the US as a political tool in implementing environmental diplomacy. Through this film, environmental diplomacy conducted by the US aims to solve various problems such as water pollution, damage to ecosystems, and economic impacts that occur in the area around the Gulf of Mexico.

The contextualization of this film as a tool of US politics utilized in two ways:

A. As a Tool to Support US Political Schemes

The US conducted and used Environmental Diplomacy to corner BP in the public eye through the Deepwater Horizon film. BP's declining image will force it to remain accountable by paying compensation to the government and affected communities and helping finance government research and environmental NGOs to implement environmental restoration in the Gulf of Mexico. This film also used to support the political scheme used by the Obama administration to corner BP. One political scheme created by the Obama administration indirectly is political rhetoric, namely "anti-British" sentiment.

This sentiment itself formed from the name "British Petroleum," which was used by Obama administration officials when criticizing the company, sparking controversy in Britain. The US Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Louis Susman, said that Obama might have used the term "British Petroleum" once and subsequently used the designation "BP." Obama issued a statement in which he would fire BP's top executive, Tony Hayward, if proven responsible for the company and support the idea that they postpone quarterly dividends to shareholders (BBC News, 2010).

This comment sparked outrage among business workers and retirees in the UK who invested in BP. The statement issued by the Obama administration was considered inappropriate in reviewing the case. BP itself is a company that has changed its name several times since it entered into a merger with several other companies. The term "British Petroleum" is one of the names used by the company. The use of the name "BP" itself is a transition from British Petroleum in 1998. However, some parties in the Obama administration have clarified and stated that the Deepwater Horizon case has no relation to nationalism; this anti-British rhetoric was used indirectly to show the Obama administration's firmness public.

B. Manipulating the public by appointing BP as the sole actor in Deepwater Horizon

The US government uses the framing contained in Deepwater Horizon movie content to influence the audience's mindset. The range of influence of this film is undoubtedly vast, considering this film is a Hollywood film that has circulated in many countries. We use the audience mindset that has been manipulated by this film suppress BP's position by making BP the sole actor to be criticized in the Deepwater Horizon case compared to US contractors such as Halliburton (Wintour, Macalister, & Tremlett, 2010). This manipulation method is the same as the dramaturgy analysis used by Carolyn M. Hendriks in her study of the use of politics in social media.

The dimensions of the dramaturgical analysis proposed by Hendriks review political use in the social media centre on two things: scripting and staging. Scripting functions to create specific political effects by displaying characters in a show and directing them to behave as expected. While staging can organize, manage, and lead the material and audience to ensure that the show is "successful" (Hendriks, Duus, & Ercan, 2016). Dramaturgy, built by the US, focuses on the Deepwater Horizon case as the narrative centre. The US then appoints several actors to portray the main character in the show it makes, with BP as the sole antagonist actor.

After the scripting of the dramaturgy formed, the US created a stage where he placed himself as an orchestrator. This analysis is one of the glasses used to interpret the use of the media in carrying out political interests. On the other hand, the US also uses the film Deepwater Horizon to encourage social movements to support its political scheme. This utilization is the same as the meaning of media by Bennet. T internet and social media can change the political game that supports resource-poor players such as non-institutional actors, including those in the environmental movement (Hodges & Stocking, 2016). Through these two analyses, the researcher argues that the US uses film as a tool to achieve its political interests in the Deepwater Horizon case.

CONCLUSIONS

The Deepwater Horizon oil spill is a major disaster that has brought detrimental impacts to the United States. The accident has affected various aspects such as environmental, social, and economics. The losses suffered by the US make this environmental pollution problem became a political issue. This argument exists because the accident has taken away the state's national interest and the welfare of its people. To receive compensation, the US government, under the leadership of Barrack Obama, runs a variety of necessary political practices and schemes; one of them is environmental diplomacy. An environmental diplomacy is a new form of diplomacy used to solve various environmental issues and other related issues.

To support this political scheme, the US uses various forms of modern mass media as its political tool in cornering BP as the party most responsible for the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. One of the contemporary mass media that we use is film. The film is a viral media and easy to attract public interest. Through cinema, public perception of a matter can be manipulated and controlled in such a way by providing political elements that veiled in the film's content. The film used by the US as a political tool is Deepwater Horizon, a film directed by Peter Berg that tries to reconstruct the events behind the oil spill in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

The story in Deepwater Horizon movie came from a Transocean employee, Mike Williams, who explains how the Deepwater Horizon oil drilling rig caught fire and destroyed, causing oil spills to flow into the sea. The film illustrates that BP is the antagonist and the sole actor, destroying the Deepwater Horizon rig. Through this film, we can find that there are some political elements that the director tried to insert in the movie so it can manipulate public perceptions about BP. To not be seen clearly, the director uses Hollywood gimmicks and dramatization as a "blanket" to package the film neater and engaging for the public to see.

The film successfully circulated and attracted public attention both in its own country and in other countries worldwide. The success of this film dramatically benefits the US's position in carrying out its environmental diplomacy and other political schemes to corner BP. This success is proven by BP's image, which is getting worse in the eyes of the international public day by day. BP has no choice but to work together with the US government to implement environmental restoration and pay total compensation for its negligence. Through this description, the researcher concluded that the role of the media is vital in a variety of political activities, especially environmental diplomacy. The existence of the media in influencing the public becomes an essential essence for the US in the success of its environmental diplomacy practices. It is because people are the deciding factor, which is the biggest weapon in political activity.

Environmental issues, especially seawater pollution in the Gulf of Mexico, are a joint issue that all parties must handle. This including non-state actors that move in environmental, social, or economic issues. This issue can threaten not only human health but also animals, plants, and other living things that surround the area. This joint issue should be dealt with periodically by carrying out environmental restoration, socialization, and intensive supervision. The level of pollution in maritime water in the region can continue to decrease.

The issues raised in the Deepwater Horizon film are not just political tools aimed at cornering BP alone. It is also a form of warning to provide awareness about humanity and the environment. Today's film industry also needs to have moral impacts on the public, who are the audience of films. So they don't just become political instruments. Still, they can transform into new societies with advanced and moral thinking power. Today's political activities, especially those related to environmental issues, need to adapt to modern mass media, popular among all people's classes and groups. The process of adapting political practices with contemporary mass media must be harmonious to produce a political product accepted by society. Political products approved by the community will become a face and increase the image of political individuals or a particular political group.

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The Strategies of Transnational Advocacy Networks: A Support to Anti-Fracking Movement In The United Kingdom (2013-2019)

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Abstract

The implementation of fracking activities in United Kingdom that involves the pumping of water, chemicals, and sand underground to explore shale gas has caused several hazardous impacts. This situation has sparked protests from various kinds of demonstrators, both individuals and organizations. In response to the public objection to fracking activities, the British Government tended to fight back against the action. The detention of demonstrators ultimately created a pattern of limited advocacy among the public against the British Government. It has prompted an NGO called Friends of the Earth to start mobilizing these issues to the international realm by promoting principled ideas or norms to form a transnational network, aiming to influence national policy. The authors explain the transnational advocacy network's role in influencing British policy by applying the concept of Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) from Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. Specifically, the role is analysed based on TAN's strategies, namely Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics. The authors also use Constructivism Theory to explain how norms and ideas can influence national policy. This research uses qualitative methods with secondary data collection techniques to describe and interpret some relevant phenomena to become an integrated explanation.

Key Words: Anti-Fracking, NGOs, International Advocacy Network, United Kingdom

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INTRODUCTION

Fracking or hydraulic fracturing is a stimulation technique used by shale gas producers, involving the pumping of water, chemicals and sand underground (CPRE, 2018). Fracking is to crack the rock walls in the well that have been excavated and extracting shale gas from the rock layers with high pressure of chemical fluid so that the shale gas can flow through the cracks. The British Government began to actively encourage the exploration of unconventional oil and gas industry when Prime Minister David Cameron announced that the Government would act optimally to implement fracking to boost the economy and increase new jobs. It is known that England's geographical location contains oil in the south and gas in the north. Therefore, the UK uses fracking stimulation techniques to maximize shale gas production. In May 2011, the first exploration of shale oil and gas began using the fracking technique at Preese Hall, Lancashire. This fracking activity eventually triggered two small earthquakes and created seismic instability (British Geological Society, 2018).

Along with these problems, certain communities have started to raise concerns about the direct impact on the local natural environment, including soil, air and water pollution, and the broader problem of maintaining dependence on fossil fuels in the face of the global climate. The first major protests against fracking in England and Wales took place in the summer of 2013 at Balcombe in Sussex, where a coalition of local groups and environmental activists set up a protest camp on an exploration drilling site run by an energy company, Cuadrilla. Some of these protests have been ongoing for months, with continuous action by protesters seeking to highlight opposition to shale gas extraction. However, there are limitations to advocacy between local communities and British rule. This can be seen through several examples of the British Government's resistance to the actions being carried out, such as the detention of more than 200 demonstrators in a demonstration procession using violent means (Perraudin & Pidd, 2018).

The resistance to influence policy changes related to fracking is increasingly being carried out, involving local actors and several NGOs that have brought this problem across national borders. These various NGOs have connections with other NGOs outside British territory boundaries, linked by viral information. It has triggered international responses from multiple parties, including the European Union, which showed a commitment to the anti-fracking movement in 2014, which was appointed in the Green Council Copenhagen Spring by the European Greens Party. In this regard, the European Union shows its full commitment and puts pressure on member countries to minimize fracking action and its impacts (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014). Moreover, anti-fracking support also comes

from the United Nations which issued an anti-fracking warning through the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to completely ban fracking on March 14, 2019 (Hayhurst, 2019).

The role of the international advocacy networks related to fracking practice in the UK, met its expectation in 2019 when the British Government issued a moratorium which technically means a temporary ban on the implementation of fracking (Peters, 2019). Research on the role of international advocacy networks in supporting the UK's anti-fracking movement in 2013 - 2019 can also illustrate that disseminating values and ideas can be an influential factor in adjusting certain policies. Therefore, it is interesting to examine international advocacy networks' role in supporting the UK's anti-fracking movement in 2013 - 2019.

Literature Review and Statement of Art

To maintain originality, the researchers try to describe several relevant literature studies. The following are some of the previous studies that were used as references in this study. The first reference used is a journal article written by Joanna Gillmore in 2019, entitled "Protesters' experiences of policing at anti-fracking protests in England, 2016-2019: a national study" (Gillmore, 2019). This journal article discusses various kinds of actions against fracking activities in the UK. In addition, this journal article also discusses the British Government's actions and police who often conflict with protesters voicing their views on fracking activities. Protesters have reported experiences of violence, intimidation and aggression from police officers.

The second literature reference comes from a journal article entitled "Shale we drill? Discourse dynamics in UK fracking debates", written by Elizabeth Bomberg in 2017 (Bomberg, 2017). This journal explains the differences in political discourse around the fracking method in England, by involving two parties arguing with each other, namely those who are pro to fracking activity (shale opportunity) and those who oppose it (shale threat). The third reference is two journal articles from Citra Hennida (2015) entitled "The Spiral and Boomerang Model On Transadvocacy Networks Case: The Sarayaku Ecuador" and from Young Sokphea (2016) entitled "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Supply Chains: A Study of Civil Society Organizations: Sugar Movements in Cambodia". These two journal articles discuss the use of the Boomerang Pattern in Transnational Advocacy Networks in solving domestic problems, which are then brought to the international realm to influence policy in a domestic issue.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink's works (1999) also reflect a constructivism trait. They explain that NGOs operating within a country can mobilize various

issues or norms through interactions with NGOs or international organizations outside the country's territory. In analyzing the British public advocacy network's role against the anti-fracking movement amid the blocking of advocacy access to the Government, the authors use the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN) proposed by Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. TAN is a network consisting of international actors working on an issue, bound together by shared values and discourses, as well as information exchanges. The transnational network seeks to promote ideas and norms based on specific issues, usually soft power. These issues, which are generally domestic, have become a concern among the international community, thus forming a transnational network that aims to advocate for policy change on an issue of their concerns and interests (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). There are four strategies that the transnational advocacy networks maintain to achieve their goals and targets, namely:

1. Information Politics

In this strategy, TAN uses many information exchange techniques, such as telephone calls, e-mail communications, and faxes, providing credible education and knowledge to the public about certain issues that may not have been available before, such as the distribution of newsletters and pamphlets. These methods can greatly impact changing state behavior in formulating a policy to deal with certain issues.

2. Symbolic Politics

Transnational networks frame certain problems with symbolic politics or giving a strong impression through symbols, actions, or stories that describe the situation or demands of activists. The implication is to get many people to change their minds and take collective action to address a particular issue.

3. Leverage Politics

Leverage politics involves actors who are considered vital in a country's government system to participate in a series of transnational advocacy networks. Politically, it can have a direct impact on the policies of the Government of that country. This is because these actors who are considered strong will make it easier for a transnational network to gain influence and public attention so that they are able to influence state policy directly.

4. Accountability Politics

Accountability politics is an effort to evaluate existing networks on the advocacy results. In this context, activists try to test government accountability through implementing policies on a particular issue with an agreed commitment.

METHOD

Through the Transnational Advocacy Networks approach, the authors focus on the TAN actors' four strategies to push for the moratorium. Furthermore, in answering research questions, the authors use Qualitative Research Methods. Qualitative research is a useful approach to explore, understand, or interpret phenomena in the context of meaning brought by the subject or object involved in the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Using qualitative method, the authors describe and interpret the role of international advocacy networks in supporting the anti-fracking movement amid barriers to advocacy access to the British Government in 2013 - 2019. In this study, the unit of explanation is the involvement of international advocacy networks in the UK; While the unit of analysis is the goal of the UK's anti-fracking movement from 2013 to 2019. The timeframe of 2013-2019 shows various efforts of the advocacy networks conducted by NGOs and environmental activists against fracking activities amid the barriers of access to the UK Government until the enactment of moratorium or temporary ban of those activities.

The authors apply secondary data collection techniques, mostly internet-based, to support argumentation and built integrated explanations (Bakry, 2016). Some of the main keywords used in the literature search were “Fracking in England”, “Anti-fracking Protests in England”, “Anti-fracking Movements”, and “Fracking Effects on Environment”. The literature obtained based on these main keywords is in journals, books, papers, dissertations, or research reports. These sources are compiled in the bibliography.

The research phases began by collecting data on the background of fracking activities that triggered opposition from the British community, the parties involved in international advocacy, and the objectives and development of the results of the international advocacy network on fracking activities in the UK. After obtaining valid and credible data, researchers analyze the role of international advocacy networks in supporting the anti-fracking movement amid the blocking of advocacy access to the British Government. The data are then linked to the existing conceptual framework so that the role of the advocacy network against the anti-fracking movement can be concluded as an effective explanation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Beginnings of the Fracking Method and Its Impacts in United Kingdom

Britain is one of the countries that consumes natural gas on a large scale. In 2018, gas consumption met nearly two-thirds of the total energy demand in the UK. About 85% of UK households use gas for heating and about 40% of electricity generation also comes from natural gas (UK Government, 2019). The continuous large-scale consumption of gas certainly affects natural gas production, where since 2000 the production of this gas has decreased, which makes the UK position shift from exporting natural gas to importing. Since 2018, the UK has imported more than half of its gas supply and expects to import more than 72% of gas by 2030 (UK Government, 2019). According to the British Geological Survey (BGS), UK has a considerable enough potential for shale gas reserves, such as in the Shale Bowland of northern England, which is estimated to contain around 1,300 trillion cubic feet (Tcf) of gas (UK Government, 2019). In comparison, the UK only consumes about 3 Tcf per year. However, only about 4% of the gas in Bowland can be extracted (ECIU, 2016). The large potential for shale gas reserves owned by the UK has motivated the British Government to explore energy resources for long-term energy fulfillment. In March 2011, the first exploration of shale gas using the fracking method began at Preese Hall, Lancashire, by an energy exploration company, Cuadrilla Resources.

Fracking is a complex technology, where there is no scientific consensus on the long-term sustainability of the use of the fracking method as a climate change mitigation technology and alternative energy source. The Chartered Institution of Water and Environmental Management states that many of the concerns about fracking in the UK result from the experience of fracking regulation in the United States (White & Fell, 2015). The use of the fracking method often causes various detrimental impacts on the community's environment, health, and social life, such as:

1. Water Contamination

In the shale gas extraction process, there is a risk of groundwater contamination due to errors in the construction or operation of wells. Besides, the use of the fracking method requires large amounts of water to extract shale gas, which can put considerable pressure on the water supply around the drilling area. If the water supply decreases due to the pressure, water availability for daily needs will be difficult to obtain. Moreover, it also causes some habitat loss in the water, changes

in water temperature, increases in sedimentation, impacts on the livelihoods of farmers who depend on water supply, and so on (Esterhuyse & Avenant, 2014).

Surface water quality is one aspect that is likely to be affected by the use of the fracking method. Not all impacts on surface water are direct. Many impacts are indirect, such as groundwater contaminated by chemical substances, which then flows through springs to surface water. Another possibility is air pollutants that dissolve in rainwater and end up in surface water (Esterhuyse & Avenant, 2014). Chemicals that can contaminate surface water include methanol, uranium, naphthalene, carcinogens, mercury, and several other substances that tend to be corrosive.

2. Damage to Soil

The extraction of shale gas can also have a major impact on the soil. Soil can function as a pathway for contaminants that can contaminate surface water, groundwater, and also plants. The implementation of fracking activities often causes the rain infiltration rate to decrease and the surface water flow increases, causing more soil erosion. The industry regulator report by the Oil and Gas Authority (OGA) contains various kinds of impacts from fracking activities which caused more than 50 earthquakes and 134 seismic instability events around the drilling location using the fracking method (United Kingdom Government, 2019). Apart from causing seismic instability, another impact of fracking activities is the loss of biodiversity due to decreased ecosystem resilience at mining sites. This will also have a significant adverse effect on ecosystem function, as the sites used for exploration and exploitation will pose a considerable threat to vegetation communities. Construction on the drilling sites will have several impacts that affect native vegetation, such as new plant diseases, slow growth of plants, and death of a number of plants.

3. Impact on Health

A study conducted by Colborn, identified that fracking activities in the United States contain about 632 chemicals. More than 75% of these chemicals can affect health problems such as skin, eyes, respiratory system, digestive system, potentially affecting the brain and nervous system about 40 - 50%. About 25% have the potential to cause cancer (Waugh, 2020). An example of what happened was that of a family in Texas who was drilling a shale gas well within a 2-mile radius. The girl in the family develops symptoms including nosebleeds, nausea, rash, fever, and high blood pressure. In the end, the family brought substantial evidences and filed a lawsuit against Aruba Petroleum, which operates most of the wells in the location, to be responsible for the family's health problems (Waugh, 2020). It can also be

ascertained that the Lancashire region has a higher average rate of people with common mental disorders (CMD) than other regions, such as the incidence of fear, anger, anxiety and sleep disorders (Short & Szolucha, 2019).

Specifically, the health effects of fracking activities in the UK can also affect women. A study by Concerned Health Professionals of New York found that pregnant women living near active fracking surgery in Pennsylvania had a 40% increased risk of preterm delivery and 30% had high-risk pregnancies. Therefore, this can increase the percentage of cases of miscarriage or stillbirth caused by heavy metals in fracking wastewater. There are also fertility and menstrual problems in women potentially caused by exposure to chemicals associated with fracking, including benzene, toluene, and xylene. Reflecting on the United States' experience on the impact caused by fracking activities, it can be a reference for British people to be aware of the people living near the drilling locations of fracking (Hayhurst, 2019).

Public and Government Responses to Fracking Activities in United Kingdom

The British public's response to fracking activities cannot be said to be one-sided only. Several parties show their support for the implementation of fracking activities instead so that it creates two camps between the pro-fracking and the anti-fracking.

1. The Pro – Fracking

The pro-fracking camp believes that the implementation of fracking activities can provide greater benefits so that it can cover all existing impacts and losses. Generally, pro-fracking parties are more supported by bureaucrats and stakeholders such as coalitions of governments, oil and gas companies, and industrial networks that are involved in implementing fracking activities, which embrace the discourse of opportunity and try to convince others of its benefits (UK Government, 2019). The pro-fracking party believes that fracking activities will be in line with the opening of more jobs. Besides, fracking activities can also open up space for foreign investors to invest in the project. Meanwhile, in terms of security, the UK can build its energy independence by discovering unconventional gas reserves. In terms of assurance, the pro-fracking people are optimistic that current technology (fracking) can minimize the potential for environmental damage, as innovation and research can increase the percentage level of security. For them, the anti-fracking response is only a concern that cannot be proven empirically (Bomberg, 2015). Prime Minister David Cameron also stated that exploration opportunities for shale gas energy would increase new jobs by as many as 74,000 types of jobs (Perraudin & Pidd, 2014). This will bring the UK to a state of energy

independence and reduce dependence on other countries in terms of natural gas imports.

2. Anti-Fracking Parties

In addition to those who agree to carry out fracking activities, other parties oppose these activities. Anti-fracking parties are mostly dominated by local NGOs, environmental activists, and local communities who directly feel the impact of implementing fracking activities. The first major protests against fracking in England and Wales took place in the summer of 2013 in Balcombe, Sussex, where a coalition of local groups and environmental activists set up a protest camp on an exploration drilling site run by energy company Cuadrilla (CPRE, 2018). Since 2013, there have been protests at sites across the UK in Cheshire, Derbyshire, East Yorkshire, Greater Manchester, Lancashire, North Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Surrey and Sussex (CPRE, 2018). One NGO that expressed its public disapproval of fracking in England is Friends of the Earth. Friends of the Earth utilizes information or testimonials quickly and credibly on their website, which contains various kinds of information or accurate data related to the implementation of fracking, which tends to be harmful to the environment. The impact arising from the fracking activities is a threat to the environment, democracy and accountability. It highlights the lack of transparency and feedback from the public. The disclosed facts then made other people who may not care about the environment became worried about the problems of democracy and low accountability from the British Government.

The pro-fracking parties claim that fracking activities can reduce the current unemployment rate in the UK. However, these claims are more based on optimistic assumptions about how much gas can be produced in reality. One fracking company Cuadrilla claims that the production of shale gas in Lancashire will create as many as 1,700 jobs, but this is only for one year, which then drops to under 200 in the following three years (Friends of the Earth, 2019). In addition, the implementation of fracking activities can also endanger existing fields of work around drilling sites that rely on clean air, land, water, or a calm environment, which can suffer losses from these changes such as agriculture, tourism, organic farming, hunting, fishing, and outdoor recreation.

However, there is a pattern of limited advocacy and activism between local people against British Government in the anti-fracking movement due to the British focus that has not put forward the climate change agenda. It hinders the flow of advocacy and public activism against the British Government. More than 200 arrests of demonstrators included the detention of children, pregnant women, elderly people, and the arrest of women using violent means (Jackson & Monk, 2014). Also, the UK

Government does not have a written environmental constitution or environmental provisions explicitly protecting individuals' rights affected by fracking activities. This lack of explicit recognition of environmental rights arguably makes it easier for the British Government to promote a pro-fracking agenda in the UK that is aligned with a political agenda rather than broader social and environmental standards and protection. There is a response from the British Government that cannot fulfil the interests of the community, making the international community or NGOs outside the British territorial boundaries begin to voice their disapproval of the implementation of fracking activities.

The Strategies of Transnational Advocacy Network in Supporting the Anti-Fracking Movement in the United Kingdom

TAN involves non-state actors such as NGOs, International Organizations, or even individuals. Of the various actors in an international advocacy network, NGOs are one of the important actors in pushing for a change in policy. In the case of fracking in the UK, persuasive actions were shown by several NGOs, namely Friends of the Earth, Global Frackdown, World Wildlife Fund United Kingdom (WWF - UK), Greenpeace, Talk Fracking, Frack Free United, and several other NGOs. One of the most vocal NGOs in opposing fracking activities is Friends of the Earth. It is an international network engaged in the environmental sector, which has members of as many as 74 countries, 5000 local activist groups, and more than 2 million members or supporters worldwide. When relations between the state and domestic actors are cut, local NGOs will seek alliances from international networks to exert pressure on the Government, in order to fulfill individual or group rights that could not be obtained previously (Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

The transnational advocacy network is a structure produced through the continuous practice of the agents to shape the interests and identities of the agents who contribute to it. Actors such as NGOs, international organizations, and individuals are agents that form a structure through a discourse, norms, ideas, and a series of existing regulations. The action against the implementation of fracking activities in the UK was attended by more than 400 groups and activists, almost half of which have various information exchange platforms such as websites, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter which can be disseminated to a wider domain (Short & Szolucha, 2017). This then shows that the online platforms used by environmental activists or NGOs can accommodate networks for information exchange between non-state actors.

In 2013, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace UK, and World Wildlife Fund (WWF) also conducted direct advocacy to the House of Lords or the British Upper House

regarding their views on the ongoing issue of fracking in the UK. Gareth Redmond-King as Head of Energy and Climate at WWF - UK stated that several industry players were trying hard to present shale gas as a solution to all domestic energy problems (WWF, 2017). However, the reality is that the risks associated with fracking tend to be unpredictable, and greenhouse gas emissions may worsen than coal exploration. Therefore, WWF UK's decision to support banning fracking activities in the UK is the right decision.

In the TAN scheme, there are several strategies that an NGO or other actors can take in playing its role, namely through Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics as previously described (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). Friends of the Earth, has implemented several strategies in TAN to achieve its goals as follows:

1. Information Politics

Friends of the Earth's movement in using information or testimonials quickly and credibly can be seen freely by the broader community in various ways. Friends of the Earth use many information exchange techniques, including through several social media platforms such as Instagram with the username “friends_earth”, Twitter with the username “@friends_earth” and the official website, www.foei.org. Some of these information exchange platforms contain various kinds of information or accurate data related to fracking's harmful effects to the environment. The website also provides petition platforms for anyone who wants to participate in the UK's opposition to fracking. Various information on this platform offers facts and provides testimony and stories from people directly affected by certain issues.

On the official website of Friends of the Earth UK, there is Barbara Richardson's testimony as an example of a community living near the fracking location (Friends of the Earth, 2015). He said that some people do not understand how dangerous the effects of fracking activities are and feel the impact. One of the testimonies outlined in the information dissemination platform was then framed in a simple way to persuade and encourage the international community to take action and create joint solutions. In the end, the widespread dissemination of information through various existing platforms can have significant impacts on changing state behavior in formulating policies to prohibit fracking activities in the UK.

2. Symbolic Politics

Friends of the Earth's ability to compose stories, actions, or other symbols to support the information conveyed in increasing public awareness is contained in its movement on social media by creating a hashtag, namely #ProtectOurFuture, #FrackFree, #NoFracking, and #BanFracking (Friends of The Earth, 2017). The spread of symbols through hashtags or hashtags in various kinds of social media can support the growth of the network where symbolic interpretation is part of the persuasion process to create public awareness and expand constituencies. Ultimately this connected network will accelerate the spread of discourse across national borders and lead to policy or political change in a country. TAN can be a proof that there is public dissatisfaction with the regime in power, so that it requires resolving solutions from other aspects. In this case, social media's role as a means of disseminating discourse has become significant, thus motivating the international community to take the same steps by conveying certain symbols.

The Friends of the Earth movement globally can be seen from how they mobilize issues through protests against fracking activities attended by more than twenty countries on five continents, incorporated in the so-called Global Frackdown. The Global Frackdown Action was initiated by several local and international NGOs such as Food & Water Watch, Environment America, 350.org, Friends of the Earth, and several other humanitarian organizations. Global Frackdown is part of international action in the energy sector, which lasted for almost a month, in more than twenty countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, South Africa, Scotland, France and other countries. Global Frackdown has succeeded in uniting the activist movement and spearheading more than 150 events and demonstrations on five continents calling for a ban on fracking activities (Friends of the Earth Europe, 2013).

3. Leverage Politics

Friends of the Earth also uses influential actors to suppress other actors. This can be seen in the involvement of a number of community leaders who also support anti-fracking actions on social media. Several community leaders such as Mark Ruffalo and Mark Rylance also expressed their official rejection of the implementation of fracking and signed a petition to paralyze the implementation of fracking (Peters, 2019). In his interview session with Friends of The Earth, Mark Ruffalo conveyed a message to Prime Minister David Cameron that he had broken his promise to listen to the British public's aspirations in rejecting fracking activities in the UK (Friends of the Earth, 2016). In addition, Mark Rylance as an actor and director in several Hollywood films, officially supports the action against fracking activities together with Friends of The Earth. In his interview session with Friends

of The Earth, Mark Rylance expressed his disapproval of the implementation of fracking activities located around the Sherwood Forest (Friends of the Earth, 2018). Sherwood Forest is one of the oldest forests in England and is famous for its historical association with the Robin Hood legend.

Mark Ruffalo and Mark Rylance are public figures who have followers in almost all parts of the world. On his Instagram account, Mark Ruffalo has followers of up to 19 million who come from all parts of the world. The community supports Mark Ruffalo's participation in supporting this anti-fracking campaign because he represents the public's voice in rejecting fracking activities in the UK (Vaughan, 2016). The implication is the increasing public awareness due to information obtained from community leaders who have a strong influence. It then becomes a strategic step to influence policy changes to prohibit fracking activities in the UK.

Some of the roles of international advocacy networks were also played by other opposing groups. A group of environmental activists, academics, along with several public figures such as Amber Heard and Vivienne Westwood, have also urged the United Nations to ban fracking activities in the UK. Hollywood actress Amber Heard and the opposing group made a statement of her disapproval of fracking activities in the UK in a letter to eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in the Geneva meeting. In the letter, there is a statement that the British Government's actions are not enough to protect women who live around the drilling location. In this case, celebrities have the capacity to attract public attention and mobilize public involvement in social activities that involve them. In this case, it will be difficult for the Government to rebuff a public figure's statement, which gets more public sympathy (Huliaras & Tzifakis, 2010).

4. Accountability Politics

This strategy is an effort to evaluate the results of advocacy that has been achieved, to test the Government's accountability through the implementation of policies on a particular issue with an agreed commitment. The British Government announced a moratorium or temporary ban on all kinds of fracking activities in the UK on 2 November 2019. The parties who oppose the implementation of fracking activities, welcome the British Government's decision. The anti-fracking movement in the UK, which involves more than 400 groups, has yielded a result. However, looking at the results of the Government's decision which was limited to proclaiming a temporary ban on the implementation of fracking activities, made activists do not immediately stop observing the case and accept the raw decision. Through the Accountability Politics strategy, activists, NGOs, and other anti-fracking supporters have been still monitoring the results of the decisions to make sure that they run according to the British Government's commitments. The public also waits for the British

Government's decision to change the moratorium or temporary ban into a permanent ban on fracking activities. Therefore, until now, efforts to evaluate the results of advocacy for fracking activities in the UK are still being carried out by activists or other NGOs.

Results of the Efforts of Transnational Advocacy Networks in Anti-Fracking Movement in the United Kingdom

The role of TAN is proven to be able to help them achieve their desired goals. According to research conducted by the British Government, public opposition to the implementation of fracking activities has almost doubled from 21% in 2013 to 40% in 2019, and support for implementing fracking activities has fallen from 27% to 12% (Loughran, 2019). The significant increase in opposition to the implementation of fracking activities from the British public ultimately became a major consideration for the Government to stop the implementation of these fracking activities. This consideration was shown by Boris Johnson as the British Prime Minister in October 2019, before the moratorium on fracking activities in the UK was officially implemented (Loughran, 2019). Boris Johnson stated that the British Government's consideration of banning fracking activities was based on public opinion that was increasingly opposed to the activity.

Apart from getting strong opposition from within the country, the international advocacy network's efforts have created external pressure, which prompted the British Government to temporarily ban all kinds of fracking activities in the UK. The European Union, for example, has shown a commitment to anti-fracking through the adoption of Recommendations (2014/70 / EU) in 2014, which were appointed in the Green Council Copenhagen Spring 2012 by the European Greens Party (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014). In this regard, the European Union shows its full commitment and puts pressure on member countries to minimize fracking's action and its impacts. Responding to the issue of relations between the UK and the European Union, this will certainly relate to the Brexit case which will indirectly have an impact on the implementation of fracking activities in the UK. The laws governing the implementation of fracking activities come from fifteen different European Laws. This includes the EU-wide treaties relating to water contamination, air pollution, chemicals, climate change, biodiversity, environmental responsibility. regulate who is to blame for the negative impact, and several other regulations (Friends of the Earth, 2018). If these rules are not properly transferred into English law, the inadequate regulations against the conduct of fracking activities are likely to be weak.

A committee at the United Nations has also recommended that the British Government consider a comprehensive ban on Britain's fracking activity. This was

further strengthened by the many groups of environmental activists and the international community voicing their disapproval of the implementation of fracking in the UK at the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) meeting (Hayhurst, 2019). In 2018, CEDAW began to raise the issue of UK fracking, then asked the UK government to provide information on steps being taken to reduce and address its health and environmental impacts. In the end a warning regarding the prohibition of the implementation of fracking activities was issued by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) through a recommendation (CEDAW / C / GBR / CO / 8) to completely ban the practice of fracking on March 14, 2019 (Hayhurst, 2019). According to the CEDAW representative, the use of the fracking method needs to be considered more carefully because of the impacts on the environment and health of the surrounding community. As noted by CEDAW, the implementation of fracking activities often has a disproportionate impact on women and girls, because they can be directly exposed to various kinds of hazardous chemicals, environmental pollution, and can cause feelings of anxiety or anxiety in the mother because they are unable to protect the family.

In August 2019, there was a 2.9 magnitude earthquake which was triggered by fracking activity where this seismic activity had exceeded the safety level agreed upon by the Government. The British Government stated that it was no longer possible to override the consequences felt by the people around the fracking locations. Based on the consideration of increasing public opposition to the practice of fracking and its irreversible impact, on 2 November 2019 the British Government finally declared an official decision regarding a comprehensive ban or moratorium on the implementation of fracking in the UK. The British Government stated that the decision to ban fracking activities was based on the community movement's strength who opposed the fracking activity method at every opportunity. The spread of the fracking issue carried out by this advocacy network is one of the factors in the change in British government policy regarding fracking.

The use of the concept of the Transnational Advocacy Network proves that there are networks that are connected between individuals and groups that penetrate the territorial boundaries of a country. This is evidenced by the existence of various activist movements around the world that raise similar issues, namely Anti-Fracking. Friends of the Earth is one of the NGOs that has a strong network in connecting information to other NGOs or groups that are outside the anti-fracking activism movement. The Friends of the Earth movement globally can be seen from how they mobilize issues through protests against fracking activities, which are attended by more than twenty countries on five continents, which is contained in

an action called Global Frackdown. Global Frackdown has succeeded in uniting the activist movement and spearheading more than 150 events and demonstrations on five continents using a strategy based on the concept of the Transnational Advocacy Network (Friends of the Earth Europe, 2013). It can be concluded that the Friends of the Earth movement triggered a transnational activism movement, thus influencing Fracking's policy changes in the UK.

Following the UK government's ban on fracking, Friends of the Earth and its networking transnational NGOs also recommend some actions to keep in mind, including ensuring that the temporary ban becomes permanent, so it doesn't happen again in the future. Moreover, Friends of the Earth also suggests the Government to end all unconventional energy explorations that use extreme methods and fully support anti-fracking measures in the UK and in many other regions.

CONCLUSIONS

The implementation of fracking activities in the UK has a number of dangerous impacts in various aspects such as the environment, health and others. Those adverse impacts have led to the emergence of a movement against fracking activities in several areas such as Lancashire, Blackpool, Manchester, and in several other areas. However, there is a pattern of limited advocacy and activism between local communities and British regulations. This is evidenced by the arrests of more than 200 demonstrators, including the detention of children, pregnant women, the elderly, sometimes using violent means (Jackson & Monk, 2014). This pressuring situation then made Friends of the Earth mobilizing these issues to the international realm by promoting ideas or norms to form a transnational network, aiming to influence British government policy. This network is called the Transnational Advocacy Network. Activists carry out various kinds of activism through a series of strategies in the Transnational Advocacy Network, such as Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics. The strategies are in line with the Constructivist approach, which assumes that interaction patterns are formed by several elements such as norms, identity, values, language and intentions that can change a point of view. Those who oppose fracking activities, such as activists or NGOs, also convey these norms, identities, values, language and intentions in their advocacy efforts.

The demonstrators' advocacy efforts began to get strong support from anti-fracking communities, either in domestic and international realms. TAN has triggered external pressure to the Government, which prompted the British Government to enact stricter regulation to all kinds of fracking activities in the UK. Based on the consideration of increasing public opposition to the practice of fracking on

November 2, 2019, the British Government finally declared an official decision regarding a comprehensive ban or moratorium on the implementation of fracking in the UK. Based on the research that the authors has conducted, it can be concluded that the role of TAN in supporting the anti-fracking movement in Britain has succeeded to a certain degree. The set of strategies in play by opponents of fracking activities has proven to make a significant contribution in mobilizing issues related to the UK's anti-fracking movement more broadly. An international advocacy network using several advocacy strategies in it is beneficial for the community to express their opinions more freely.

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The Islamic Environmentalism in Eco-Pesantren Initiatives: Integrating the Sustainable Development Values in Islamic Boarding School

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Abstract

The potential of Islamic environmentalism initiatives has been emerging in Indonesian Muslim society. The inclusion of sustainable development ideas into Islamic values has raised an increasing initiative of 'Eco-Pesantren'. Following the numerous programs relating to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the country, the 'Eco-Pesantren' undertake the ideas by introducing environmental sustainability in their curriculum. This initiative is widely popular after some Islamic boarding schools or '*pesantren*' in Java Island have successfully performed the value of sustainable development in their learning process. It is evident that sustainable development ideas are not the opposite of Islamic values, and the Islamic way of life can contribute to the environmental vision of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This article analyses the practice of sustainable development from an Islamic point of view by focusing particularly on environmental issues. To describe the 'Eco-Pesantren' programs, this article is divided into three sections. First, introducing sustainable development from Islamic perspectives. Second, portraying the growth of Islamic environmentalism in Indonesia and 'Eco-Pesantren' initiatives and the challenges faced by those initiatives. Finally, the conclusion of this study.

Key Words: Sustainable development, Eco-pesantren, Islamic environmentalism, Education

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INTRODUCTION

The growth of Islamic environmentalism is inevitable in Indonesia. It is believed that the value of sustainable development and environmentalism is an integral part of the Islamic basic value of life. One of the efforts is showed by the initiatives of many Islamic Boarding schools or '*pesantren*' to integrate their education system towards the value of sustainable development, especially in terms of environmental sustainability. Several 'Eco-Pesantren' in Java are developing their education system to perform sustainable development values within their members of teachers as well as the students. Islamic religious thinkers use Islamic approaches to protect the environment and give examples of how Muslims, particularly in Indonesia, are contributing to this effort through education, legal frameworks, and conservation practices. This article describes the program of 'Eco-Pesantren' and the way they practice sustainable development values from an Islamic point of view.

Islamic environmentalism and the raising awareness of environmentalism in Islamic society in Indonesia is not a new case. In this country where there are at least six religions are being recognized, Indonesian religious societies were already integrated their belief system towards the sustainability of their environment. Many cases of religious activism are related to environmental projects. These are coming from Islamic societies which become the majority in Indonesia, as well as other religious societies such as; Buddhist, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, and Kong hu cu (Confucianism). This trend of religious environmentalism was seen by Pederseen (1995 in Aoki 2016) as part of the counterculture trend of capitalism.

As one of the developing countries, Indonesia is at the same time also facing its problem of environmental danger. Despite the growing number of deforestation and industrial waste problems, environmental awareness is also increasing. Most of the programs are raised not only

by government bodies like the Department of Forestry and Environment, but also many NGOs, student associations, as well as educational institutions. These stakeholders are trying to realize sustainable development by helping Indonesian to live in a respected, protected, and conserved environment. Most of them are working to preserve and enhance the quality of the natural environment, preserving renewable resources, conserving and protecting water resources. However, the approaches of structural 'top-down' pattern of the environmental program were doubtfully effective due to its applications in the fields. The study of Mangunjaya and McKay (2012) notes that the efforts to protect or preserve Indonesia's natural environment require a strong and innovative approach. They argue that many conventional attempts corresponded to government policies have, in general, not socially inclusive (Mangunjaya & McKay 2012). These policies may give the impression that local populations cannot constructively engage in the process, particularly when the establishment of conservation areas requires the alteration of traditional rights.

By using the literature study and picking up several cases of 'Eco-Pesantren' in Java, this article explores the potential institution of Islamic Boarding School to integrate to recent development agenda, especially environmental sustainability in the biggest Muslim country like Indonesia. Continuing the previous study of Aoki (2016) as well as Fawaid (2016) in the similar topic, this study gives an additional case which includes the feature of modern management system to incorporate the value of Islamic environmentalism in Indonesia. Not only the centralized role of *Kyai*, but also the modern Islamic Boarding School that managed its 'eco-pesantren' system by using modern approach. Henceforth, this article relies on its discussion to be more focused on the potential and effects of the 'Eco-Pesantren' system by reviewing theoretical and empirical studies that existed. It also provides analysis that suggests that 'Eco-Pesantren' can play an important role in meeting one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of environmental sustainability. The usage of a theoretical framework on

Alternative Development by Pieterse (1998), Social Capital by Putnam (1993) and Fukuyama (2001) *Maqashid Al-Sharia* (Al-Ghazali), and set of ‘Eco-Pesantren’ initiatives particularly in Java Indonesia are employed in this paper. By those stances of purpose, this article builds its set of arguments based on two questions; (1) what programs do ‘Eco-Pesantren’ initiatives incorporate Islamic environmentalism in Indonesia? And (2) in what way is Islamic environmentalism be able to be integrated into the value and practice of sustainable development?

METHOD

This article applies literature study, qualitative interview, and observation to collect data. A literature study is carried out to gather the written information from books, journals, working papers, magazines, newspapers, research reports, official documents, etc. These written resources are collected from libraries and internet resources. It also employs the series of observations through the practice of ‘Eco-Pesantren’ conducted by related Islamic boarding schools in Java with the interviews with the staff and prominent people. The interviews are conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and Jawa to help understand the unspoken culture of interviewing the Muslims in the Javanese culture context. All collected data are being analyzed through qualitative analysis. As Babbie (2013) suggests qualitative analysis is “the nonnumerical examination and interpretation of observations, to discover underlying meanings and patterns of relationships.” Primary data from interviews and observations will confirm preliminary findings in secondary data from the literature study. The data classification specifically will be set to make a pattern of relationships among particular data to draw general meanings. Based on this generalization, this article is being concluded.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Islamic Environmentalism

The study of environmental change in the framework of sustainable development and religion is not a new thing. Bergmann in Tomalin (2015) argues that this is not an odd relation of religion and environmental issues, remembering that the religious narrative always includes the origin and the future of life as how the basic concept of sustainable development. The basic description of sustainable development according to the Burtland Report (1987) is to ensure the ability of future generations to meet their own needs in the process of fulfilling the needs of the present. As the basic strategy to pursue Sustainable development is to make sure that the dimension of society, environment, and culture, as well as economy, will not be separated. Hence to relate the religion as part of the cultural system as Geertz (1973) mentioned will lead us to another further discussion on the relations of environmental change and human practices as well as their tradition.

In further discussion of the religious discourse, there was a significant point in the Asisi declarations. This declaration was initiate by at least five major religions in response to an ecological issue and climate change. The discussions were held by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and International Consultancy on Religion, Education, and Culture (ICOREC) in Asisi, Italy. The meeting suggests ways for religious teachings to support the ethical way to limit the exploitation of natural resources. This was one of the examples which Tomalin (2015) mentioned about “the greening of religion”, or Pedersen (1995 in Aoki 2016) referred to as “religious environmentalist paradigm”. Those concepts have marked the emergence of religious environmentalism which occurred as a response to climate change.

In Islamic religiosity, a similar process of discourse also emerged as another religious tradition to cope with the threat of environmental change. Internationally, an initiation of exchange approach called

“theoecology” among the scientists, activists, and religious leaders was started a decade ago by the Islamic Foundation for Ecology and Environmental Sciences (www.ifees.org.uk). The founder was one of the Islamic scholars, Fazlun Khalid who believes that environmental teaching is inherent to Islam. Muslim ethicists and legal thinkers have concluded that Islam puts forward conservation of the environment as one of the highest goals of Islamic law (*sharia*). This may be recognized through the fundamental legal and ethical theory which is guiding criteria for the “purposes of the law” (*Maqashid Al-Sharia*). The principles of Islamic tradition and practices towards the environment, which include the goals for protecting the faith, life, progeny, intellect, and wealth (Al-Ghazali 2011). *Maqashid Al-Sharia* is the fundamental base for any material matters to be able to adopt in a Muslim society, including SDGs¹. According to Kamali (2008), *Maqashid Al-Sharia* serves as the purpose of all norms and rules implemented from the Islamic point of view (*sharia*). *Maqashid Al-Sharia* is built on a basic assumption that the jurisprudence is all at the hand of God the creator, with Al-Qur'an and Sunnah which built on goal attainment of benefits, not just for the individual but also social. Thus, the derivative sources under the main sources of the Islamic ontology should also refer to the achievement of individual and community of Islamic trends broadly, not just using the approach of classical *Fiqh*² (Ebrahim *et al.*, 2016). Linked with Ebrahim's *et.al.* (2016) argument that economic and social development today needs to follow a dynamic based on *ijtihad*³ in Islamic trends, not just classical *Fiqh*, is very relevant to the case of

¹ In practice, many Islamic scholars who try to build a framework of *Maqashid Al-Sharia*. The most famous one was the concept offered by Al-Ghazali, Al-Shatibi, and Ibn Qayyim. Al-Ghazali formulate *Maqashid Al-Sharia* into five aspects and focus on fulfilling it. The aspect are; *Al-Din* (religion), *Al-Nafs* (life), *Al-Aql* (intellectual), *Al-Nasl* (progeny) and *Al-Mal* (wealth/property). Al-Ghazali (2011) stated that the *Maqashid Al-Sharia* is about the fulfillment of these five aspects of the above with the religious aspects as aspects with highest priority. In addition to Al-Ghazali's categorization, Ibn Qayyim argue that the goal of *Maqashid Al-Sharia* is the creation of justice for communities in achieving social welfare. Thus, when SDGs are not in conflict with any of Islamic legal formal then SDGs, especially environmental sustainability are acceptable to be integrated with *Islamic qur'anic* teaching by using *Maqashid Al-Sharia*.

² The theory or philosophy of Islamic law, based on the teachings of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet (en.oxforddictionaries.com)

³ Islamic legal term meaning “independent reasoning,” as opposed to *taqlid* (imitation). (<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com>)

SDGs. In addition to compliance with the purposes of *Sharia*, it also encourages the creation of a climate of dynamic and innovative development on the conservation of the environment in general.

As one of the most major number of Muslims in the world, Indonesia is also one of the countries which develop its fundamental thought of Islamic environmentalism. From the guidebook released by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (*Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan*, MENLHK) it shows the relations between human and nature through the Islamic perspective. The concept of “*khalifa*” (stewardship) which refers to human and “*keseimbangan*” (balance) to explain how human as part of nature should balance the ecological system. Before this, the former president of the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI) Dr. Ali Yafie, explained that the relations between humans and nature according to Islamic teachings are divide into three forms; (1) destroyer, (2) developer, (3) manager (Aoki 2016). He stressed that to keep the balance of nature, humans should take responsibility to manage nature. This is similar to the meaning of “*khalifa*” which means stewardship. In the field of social movement, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)⁴ as one of the largest Muslim Organizations in Indonesia also took part in the discourse of Islamic environmentalism. In their 29th Congress in 1994, most of them stated that environmental problems are also a theological issue (*Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama* 1996 in Aoki 2016). They argue that Allah created humans as “*khalifa*” whose supposed to be the responsible ones to take care of nature. Consequently, through the propagation to improve thought and behavior following *Sharia*, the human must aware of the upcoming problems faced by environmental change. Aoki (2016) notes that since the 1990s the environmental approach towards more practical efforts emerged in Indonesia.

⁴ Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the biggest Islamic FBOs in Indonesia. In total there are 79.04 million muslims affiliated with it. Founded by two most respected muslim clerics from Jombang, NU was founded in 1926 in Surabaya. Up until now, NU considered as the most influenced Islamic FBO in Indonesia. <http://www.nu.or.id>

Islamic Boarding School and Its ‘Eco-Pesantren’ Initiatives

The initiatives of educating the value of sustainable development through Islamic environmentalism includes several values of Qur’anic perspectives as its foundation. According to the study of Mangunjaya & McKay (2012), those values include; *Tawhid*⁵, *Khalq*⁶, *Mizan*⁷, *Ihsan*⁸, *Fasad*⁹, and *Khalifa*¹⁰. The goal of delivering such values is to lit more familiar discussions on what may be intended by the Qur’anic verses regarding the environmental themes along with actual examples found in realities. Working as the idea of Islamic Environmentalism as a principle belief, *Maqashid Al-Sharia* can be implemented well in Indonesia and integrate with the SDGs program by working together with many agents especially the Islamic Boarding School and its ‘Eco-Pesantren’ initiatives. Eco-Pesantren initiative, according to Mangunjaya and McKay (2012) refers to the *Pesantren* education system as well as its cultures to indoctrinates the Islamic environmentalism values mentioned above.

Pesantren or Islamic Boarding School are one of the basic and popular religious institutions worked in the education system. The education system of *Pesantren* used the holistic approach of basic everyday life with the center of its system usually lead by *Kyai* (religious leaders). As Aoki (2016) wrote in his research, *Pesantren* is a vital education institution that prepares Muslim youths to deal with both religious and

⁵ *Tawhid* related to the “Oneness” nature of the Creator, His creation and the importance of its conservation.

⁶ *Khalq* is the way Qur’an deals with matters relating to the environment and conservation through verses relating to “*khalq*” (creation).

⁷ *Mizan* is the principle of balance and how the earth remaining in a stable balance is a step toward conserving the environment.

⁸ *Ihsan* is the knowledge that Allah created humankind in a state of goodness and understanding our place in *fitra* (the Qur’anic term for an original state of nature).

⁹ *Fasad* is knowing the capacity of human species for destructive behavior which leads to the destruction to the environment.

¹⁰ *Khalifa* is knowing our human responsibilities as guardians of the environment, as expounded in the Qur’an, including our treatment of other sentient beings.

social affairs, including environmental issues. *Kyai* who leads in *Pesantren*, are not only served as a religious leader within the *Pesantren*. He usually also serves as a local informal leader in their society. Thus, their opinion is not only heard by their *santri* (students) but also influenced the local society among them including the local government.

According to the study of Mangunjaya and McKay (2012) as well as Aoki's (2016) the design of 'Eco-Pesantren' was to use the Islamic indoctrinates through the charismatic leadership of *Kyai* and also the education holistic education system of Islamic Boarding School. In *Pondok Pesantren* (PP) Annuqoyyah, they used one of their own tradition of "*kompolan*" to discuss their environmental problems from the perspectives of Islam (Aoki 2016). This conservative approach was rather using the charismatic power of *Kyai* to gather local people together with their students. This tradition is similar to many other *Pesantren* which usually gather people and sit together with the Ulema to discuss and listen to *Qur'anic* teachings. It is not new, but it has a very strong influence on the traditional community in the rural area. Some *Pesantren* which had already initiate the program of Islamic environmentalism like PP Daar El Qolam (Tangerang), PP Al Musaddadiyah (Garut), and PP Buntet (Cirebon) (Mangunjaya 2012). Another example taken by the study of Aoki (2016) was located in Central Java called PP At-Tauhid Al-Islamiy, and PP Annuqoyyah in Madura (Fawaid 2016). Another latest example observed by authors is Islamic Boarding School Roushon Fikr in Jombang.

In addition to its conservative approach, many *Pesantren* during these two decades already develops themselves to includes students more in initiating their environmental program. In PP Annuqoyyah, starting from 2008 there were programs to include the environmental conservation program into the school's activities. Their program was based on student initiatives to be sustainable for a longer period (Fawaid 2016). Their student initiates themselves to implement the *Qur'anic* teaching on environmental sustainability by went to the public

dump, collected plastic rubbish and created many kinds of creative handicrafts from such rubbish. They are also involved in the socialization of plastic rubbish in other schools and local people (Fawaid 2016). Their basic idea of these ‘Eco-pesantren’ initiatives is increasing the student's eco-literacy and lit their eco-pedagogy in the value of environmentalism. In this way also, their initiatives able to literate local people about the dangerous potentials of plastic rubbish and the importance of conservation for the environment.

Another example we took here is the city famous as *Kota Santri* (City of Students), Jombang. This city, settled by several major and famous *Pesantren* in Indonesia, like PP Darul Ulum, PP Tambak Beras, PP Tebu Ireng, and many more which are usually affiliated to NU. As we observed in 2019, one of the Islamic Boarding Schools called Roushon Fikr, develop its programs according to Islamic basic understanding of nature. One of their programs is called the “*Kebun Sayur Sehat dan Ikan Organik*” (Healthy Vegetable Field and Organic Fish). From the interview with Ahmad Didin Sholahudin, one of the founders of Roushon Fikr Foundation, their goals are to fulfill the daily needs of their students, teachers, all board staff which are around 1000 people, and even their surrounding local society in Jombang (Figure 1).



Figure 1 Kebun Sehat Roushon Fikr Jombang
Source: Ahmad Didin Sholahudin (2019)

Located in the middle of Jombang City, Roushon Fikr is different from another Islamic Boarding School in Jombang which usually manages traditionally and centered their activity based on their *Kyai*. Distinctively, Roushon Fikr which is also affiliated with NU, design their curriculum and program using modern and professional management without undermining the role of their teachers (*ustadz*). Thus, the program of “*Kebun Sayur Sehat*” is managed by the special division of organic farming in their foundation. However, this program is unseparated from another activity within their education system. Their targets on this program are; 1) producing organic vegetables and fish products ¹¹, 2) education laboratory for their students and neighboring society in organic and self-sustaining farming, 3) providing place and activity for workshop or training on organic farming for the neighboring people (Sholahudin 2019). Sholahudin (2019) also mentioned that this program is actually one of their effort to sustain their own needs in terms of daily consumption of vegetables and protein without leaving their main purpose on educating the students and their staff about Islamic environmentalism. It can be shown by their way on cultivate the field by using organic compost fertilizer from their daily food waste. In the future, he as one of the founders has a goal to make the whole program can be implemented by the students when they graduated from the school. By this means, the value of sustainability and Islamic environmentalism able to be internalized to the society through their students and staff.

¹¹ See Picture 2



Figure 2 Products of Kebun Sehat Roushon Fikr Jombang
Source: Ahmad Didin Sholahudin (2019)

By those cases of ‘Eco-Pesantrens” and connect it to the social capital by Putnam (1993) and Fukuyama (2001), as well as *Maqashid Al-Sharia* by Al-Ghazali (2011) which becomes the main framework among Muslim society in their daily life, we can see how the Islamic value of environmentalism able to be used to pursuing the SDGs. The active role of the teachers and *Kyai* as well as the management of the Islamic education foundation brought trust from the student's parents and neighboring societies to implement the system by their own will. By this means other stakeholders of SDGs programs like the government, other NGOs, able to work together with these Islamic Boarding Schools for another sustainable development program. But of course, the programs should be in line with the Islamic Value itself since in Indonesia, Muslims are the majority of this country (Figure 3).

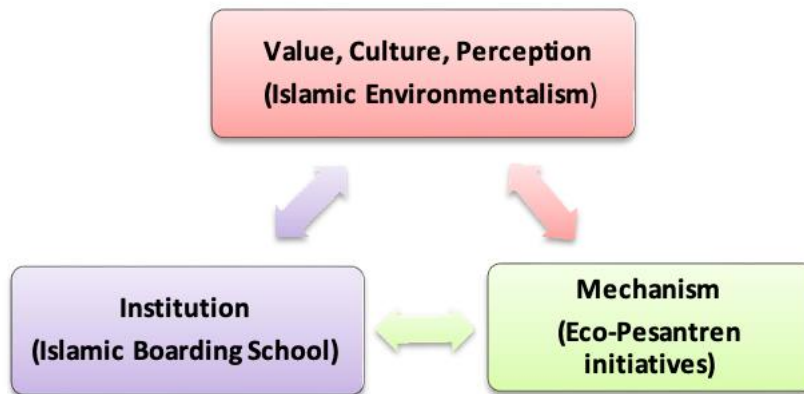


Figure 3 Social Capital Level in the Case of Eco-Pesantren Initiatives

Nonetheless, the good intention of many ‘Eco-Pesantren’ initiatives on bringing the value of Islamic environmentalism is not always in the same line with sustainable development. As mentioned above, usually the *pesantren* are managed traditionally and have nothing to do with the SDGs. Although for some Islamic scholars, Islamic environmentalism itself is the value of protecting the life on earth, thus automatically educating the students with Islamic environmentalism value means they are already on the track of pursuing SDGs. This can be seen as one of the major challenges for pursuing SDGs because mapping the implementation of SDGs is different from the Islamic value of environmentalism. Another challenge mentioned by Sholahudin, in the Roushon Fikr case is the continuity of the program. Since they aim to fulfill their own needs of vegetables and protein from the “*Kebun Sayur Sehat*”, means they have to produce the vegetables and fish at least 1000 portions on daily basis. This number is so huge for them hence they have to work together with the neighboring society to keep these needs fulfilled. Even though this is also can be seen as a good thing to keep the value be implemented within the local society.

CONCLUSIONS

Islamic Environmentalism is one of the concepts which has marked the emergence of religious environmentalism which occurred as a response to climate change in the Islamic world. In the context of Indonesian Muslim society which mostly is affiliated with NU, the role of *pesantren* is quite important to use the social capital that existed among them. Thus, the initiative of 'Eco-Pesantren' can be utilized, together with their existing ideology, norms, and institution already in place. In this way, 'Eco-Pesantren' could be part of the agent which able to deliver the process of adaptation in the context of understanding the potential threat of environmental change and the way to mitigate it by living their sustainable life. From the cases brought in this article, it is proved that 'Eco-Pesantren' initiatives towards environmental sustainability can work due to their familiarity with Islamic norms towards nature which deliver through a comprehensive education system of their daily life. Despite the challenges and its limit on the practices of 'Eco-Pesantren' Initiatives, we could see how the eagerness to work towards more sustainable programs that involve a wider community besides its own students or staff. Therefore, future studies might include a larger scope of initiatives that comprise other stakeholders in Indonesian Muslim society.

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The Spillover Effect of the Consumerism Trap: Analyzing Nauru's Resource Curse Phenomenon to Voluntary Simplicity Prescriptions for Nauruans

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Abstract

The flow of people and goods with the existence of globalization brought a new pattern of life. People tend to change their consumption pattern from fulfilling the basic needs to becoming consumerism; a behavior of buying goods and services that are more concerned with what is desired than what is needed. This phenomenon established a new problem called the consumerism trap; a dilemmatic situation in which we want to dismiss consumerism but the impact it causes is even more detrimental. The upcoming question will be about, is consumerism trap is increasingly escalated with globalization in this contemporary era? The author argues that globalization accelerates the pattern of consumerism. This paper portrays Nauru as the best example to support the author's argument because it shows that Nauruans are complacent with their wealth of phosphate resources, then become lazy, dependent, and finally adopt a consumerism lifestyle. It made Nauruans trapped in spillover problems, like environmental degradation, obesity, financial flows by build shell banks, etc. To sum up, the era of globalization increasingly giving space for people to be trapped in the consumerism trap; moreover, society does not see the continued implications of consumerism. By analyzing Nauru, we learned how globalization accelerates consumerism and creating spillover effects for the country. At the end, the author gives a prescription to solve this problem by doing voluntary simplicity as the antithesis of consumerism.

Key Words: consumerism trap, Nauru, obesity, shell bank, voluntary simplicity

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INTRODUCTION

Globalization is the most precise term to depict the rapid flows of cross-border free movement, such as people, goods, services, and capital. All of those movement has promoted enormous potential responses, including the consumerism agenda. According to Amitai Etzioni (2004, p. 407) there has been a transition pattern where initially, the consumption only to bind the basic needs such as food, clothes, and shelter; now, to be consumerism, the obsession with achieving ever-higher levels of consumption, including a significant amount of ostentatious purchase of prestige items. The key issue that must be faced is that globalization is hastening the rise of consumerism, and the global community as a whole has been unaware of the consequences of this behavior (Dugis, 2018). Individuals who embrace consumerism will develop the mentality that people seeking money or commodities are more important than helping others who are in need. Furthermore, individuals that pursue consumerism are more prone to environmental damage since they tend to use resources more than other societies (Etzioni, 2004, p. 408). That is the implication that sometimes eludes the calculation of a society with a high degree of consumption, much more the other globalization-related effects that will occur.

Thus, in this contemporary era, the world is faced with a dilemmatic situation, namely the presence of a 'consumerism trap' where we seek to end consumerism but the impact is much more damaging on the other side. If empirical studies are to be heeded, the instance that best describes this phenomenon is what occurred in Nauru. The author chose this country because it was formerly one of the world's highest-income countries and might be regarded as a highly wealthy country. However, they are slowly has become engulfed in consumerism, resulting in poverty and environmental degradation to 90% of its region, as well as difficulties from various other aspects (Pollock, 2014, pp. 108-9). Then back to the background, research question arises: "whether the consumerism trap is becoming more pronounced (increasingly escalating) in this contemporary era as a result of globalization?"

Thesis Argument

According to the author, globalization hastens the pattern of consumerism. This is exacerbated by the fact that consumerism has become a cultural norm in society. Capitalism and industrialization are other aspects that contribute to the emergence of consumerism, according to the author, because consumerism is the result of excessive ownership. Not only that, but consumerism is human nature, even from a psychological standpoint, beginning with the notion that great riches in a

capitalistic and consumptive culture can 'purchase' status, which might strengthen the assumption of a more successful life. That excessive ownership and consumptive consumerism correlated with many *spillover effects* afterward. To analyze this, the author will look at what happened in the country of Nauru, which was once quite wealthy but has now fallen into poverty due to the consumerism of the people (Nauruans). Nauru must deal with issues in a variety of other areas; in other words, there is a spillover effect. Nauruans' consumerism is not simply a complacent lifestyle as a result of the wealth of phosphate mining, but it also extends to environmental and health issues as a country with the highest obesity prevalence in the world.

METHOD AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

This research employs qualitative data analysis, in which the author refines and classifies the data so that it can support the answer to the research question; presents and interprets the data in the form of narrative text; and finally, draws the proposition plot to answer the research question (Kawulich, 2004, pp. 101-3). The design study of this research will be the theoretical framework; results and discussions; then, the conclusion. This research incorporating how the consumerism trap is inseparable from the existence of globalization. Later, it can be seen with depth-analysis on how the empirical facts that happened to Nauru prove that the consumerism trap brought the spillover effect for the country.

Begin by considering the theoretical framework, as it can provide a lens through which the data can be viewed, as well as assisting the researcher in situating the results within the theory, which can assist in the understanding of the data within that theoretical perspective. Starting with the debate on the correlation of globalization and consumerism; how consumerism transitioning into global desire; how 'needs' are transitioning in this globalized era.

The spectrum of Globalization and Consumerism Problems

Consumption, according to Andrea Migone (2004, p. 1), cannot be detached from what the market has to offer and people's ability to spend. Consumption is a necessary component of human social and biological existence. The author deduces from that statement that while the market is expanding, particularly in this period of globalization; new techniques to entice consumption will emerge, and the market will continue to strive to satisfy the public. Likewise, Migone (2004, p. 2) argues that capitalism's inclination is more capable of manipulating and blurring the boundary between what is needed and what is desired. According to Dugis (2018),

consumerism is more oriented to 'satisfaction,' where style is more essential than substance, image is more significant than reality, and perception is more important than performance, in accordance with Migone's assertion. The problem spans not just human personal choices to engage in consumption, but it also impacts the global sphere as a result of globalization.

If it is related to globalization, we must not count out the economic phenomena, since the author argues that capitalism and industrialization are also variables that foster the creation of consumerism. To back that argument up, the author might refer to Migone's (2004, p. 5) article which claims that consumerism is indeed *the spirit of modern capitalism*. Migone argued that in the modern era, the market has begun to shift; it has evolved into a space where economic players may choose what to purchase, sell, or provide. Capitalism occurs when both sellers and buyers choose what the market requires; where, in general, the seller will give what the buyer desires, and the buyer, in turn, selects what he desires based on characteristics that 'satisfy' his desires rather than what is required. Because the market may now determine the framework of trade and construct the socio-institutional side, it can be viewed as more than just an arena for trading commodities and services (Weber 1992, Elliot 200, Smith 1963, in Migone 2004, p. 6). As a result, exchange and trade, which are nothing more than descriptions of modern capitalism, may be viewed as a gradual growth of consumerist character in society.

The dominating method of economic exchange in today's world is modern capitalism. Individualistic principles are indisputable in capitalist epistemology; economic actors operate in such a way as to maximize individual satisfaction (Migone, 2004, p. 7). The market, as well as the events that occur, will unavoidably be drawn into the consumerism cycle. Furthermore, the consumerism cycle has an impact on cultural aspects that might link to and influence human generations from a socio-psychological standpoint. This has a wide impact since it is linked to a way of life that spreads across a region, not only within a country. Consumption, which began as a means of meeting fundamental requirements, has evolved into something more. People buy what the market has to offer to get social recognition, and some items with specific brands might have high symbolic value.

Following this consumption, there will be other higher-priced consumptions. These phenomena have the potential to develop a culture because it will satisfy a person's psychological needs (Baudrillard in Migone, 2004, p.9). For the author, consumption has a broad-spectrum problem since it may give rise to a hedonistic character, in which a product or service acquired by customers can be utilized as a social status indicator. This does not only influence one person; other persons will

strive for greater attention and live expensive, complacent, and consumptive lives to achieve a particular level of 'satisfaction'.

Transition because of Consumerism: The Global Transformation of Desire

When the consumerism lifestyle of a country's citizens has an impact on economic activity, particularly in terms of mass consumption, consumerism becomes a global problem. The article of Peter N. Stearns (2006, p. 15) with two main arguments, can illustrate the presence of a transition because of consumerism. First, *the development of consumer apparatus* was in the past, sellers competed to beautify their shop's window display, currently, sales are no longer limited to physical stores and have moved to virtual marketplaces. Advertisements are constantly encouraged, whether on television, radio or on personal gadgets. As a result, people are increasingly unable to determine what they require, and they are lured by the urge to obtain the promoted items or services. Second, *the emergences of the needs*, where the needs are growing. For instance, people did not require a gadget in the past, but in the age of globalization, when communication and technology must be fast, everyone has at least one device (Stearns, 2006, pp. 17-20). This also proves that inevitably there is a global drive to transform what is called desire which is a necessity in this contemporary era. The author agrees with both of Stearns' arguments since globalization will at the very least push the global community to communicate with one another; the interchange of information is extremely fast; some commodities or services may easily 'booming' from one country to another around the world. Moreover, coupled with advertisements that are increasingly attractive and frequent, consumerism is inevitable and escalates.

The Evolution of 'Needs' to 'Hierarchy of 5 Needs'

In addition to that, according to *Needs Theories*, consumerism is also escalating in the contemporary era as people's perceptions of what constitutes a need evolve. William James added that in the past, the construction of needs was solely based on satisfaction in meeting fundamental requirements for food, clothes, and shelter; however, James claims that the level of need today has its hierarchy (Ward & Lasen, 2009, pp. 2-3). The 'material self,' or the satisfaction of what is connected to one's body, such as instinct and appetite, love of jewelry, desire to acquire property, and so on, is located at the bottom. Then there is the 'social self,' or the satisfaction of desires related to receiving recognition from others, such as the want to be admired, the pursuit of honor, or the goal to achieve a high degree of intelligence. At the top,

the 'spiritual self,' namely the fulfillment of what is related to belief, which is a combination of the individual's inner subjectivity and also the human psychic senses, which is intended as a person's sensory and emotional perception; such as religious aspirations, moral sense, conscience sensitivity, to the sense of inferiority or guilt.

Those James' three levels were further elaborated by Abraham Maslow which later his theory on consumerism is still widely accepted today. It should be mentioned that Maslow created his theory by studying the phenomena that occur in a company's workforce, after which he recognized various incentives to further enhance the 'needs' of these people. As illustrated in the figure below, the results of his research are also summarized in five stages or levels placed in a tiered pyramid, widely known as Maslow's five needs model:

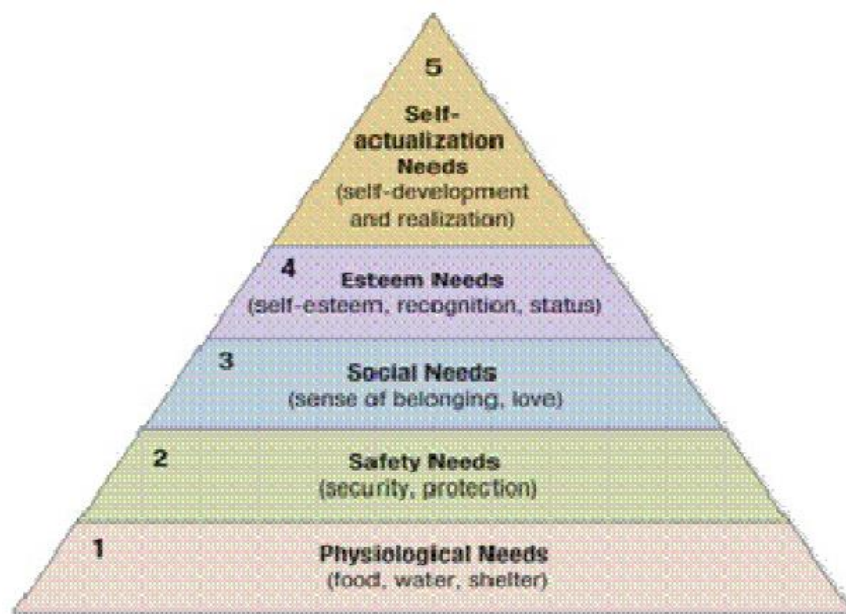


Figure 1. Maslow's hierarchy of 5 needs
Source: (Ward & Lasen, 2009, p. 4)

Maslow views the requirements of life to be the most important of all current 'needs', as seen in the figure above since if they are not satisfied, an individual will not grow into other sorts of needs. Those survival needs are classified as *Physiological Needs* and being the first and foremost by Maslow. At the second level is *Safety Needs* where humans need to be secured and well-protected from any threat. Followed by *Social Needs* such as feeling to be loved and socialize well. The fourth level is *Esteem Needs* which is concerned with how a person requires the value of status, self-esteem, and acknowledgment from his surroundings. The *Self-actualization Needs*

which comprise the need for self-development and realization, are at the top of the hierarchy, or the fifth level (Ward & Lasen, 2009, p. 4). Maslow divides the five needs model into two unequal parts, with the first four stages or levels focusing on "having" or "materialistic" needs, while the last stage is referred to as "being" since it is nonmaterialistic and holistic. It turns out that as globalization and science progress, there are new 'needs,' particularly *Aesthetic Needs*, which are the actualization of a sense of beauty, balance, and shape. This may be observed in the community's desire to preserve physical attractiveness through activities like fitness routines, yoga, cosmetic surgery, dieting instructors, and the purchase of high-end cosmetics (Ward & Lasen, 2009, pp. 6, 16).

From both James' and Maslow's theories, the author sees that humans have a core nature and desire to continue to meet their needs. As globalization blurs boundaries and accelerates information, the classification of 'needs' evolves as well. As a result, humans get complacent, which leads to further consequences. There is an overuse of natural resources in general, which influences the environment. This, according to the author, demonstrates how consumerism has an impact not just on individuals but also on countries. As a result, the author will attempt to demonstrate an empirical instance that demonstrates the link between consumerism's trap and the existence of globalization.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

To results and discussion will portray how Nauru can be used as the empirical evidence where the resource curse is happening because of the consumerism trap. At first, Nauru is lulled by its phosphate resources. Then changing the pattern of their life, the spillover effect (especially environmental degradation) happened, until how Government Money-making Schemes be carried out.

Empirical Evidence: Phosphate, Nauru's Wealth Source

Firstly, to prove the theoretical framework and arguments presented above, the author chooses to examine consumerism in Nauru, a country located between Australia and Hawaii. Nauru, the smallest South Pacific country with a total area of only 21 square kilometers and a population of 11,200 people, has a very beautiful history. This is because phosphate resources cover nearly 70% of Nauru's territory. According to history, Nauru, which was once a British colony, became a Guano bird colony, and the bird droppings accumulated, settled, and eventually became phosphate, which serves as plant fertilizer (Aldino, 2016). Because of its truly

abundant phosphate wealth, Nauru was finally able to become a small rich country with a high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) achievement in 1981, Nauru already had a per capita income of 17,000 US dollars. Later that year, Nauru's income reached US\$2.5 billion, making it the world's highest income per inhabitant (Aldino, 2016).

Phosphate mining began in 1906 when the Nauruan population was less than 1000 people. During the civil war, many traders, primarily from Germany, were keen on this phosphate-rich island. What happened after Nauru became a German colony? Germany proposed a centralized organizational pattern for the administration of Nauru; however, the Nauruans rejected this because they preferred to maintain their traditional structure. This structure emphasizes tribal, district, and family mobility leadership based on loyalty. When the British Phosphate Commissioners introduced new deputies to manage existing mines in 1927, tribal organizations were reviewed further (Pollock, 2014, p. 19). Through the Nauru Local Government Council, the Nauruans established a structure that had begun to be less hierarchical because the ruling and middle classes (Temonibe and Amenkenaname classes) were higher than the immigrant tribes (Itsio class) in 1952. It can be seen here that Nauru has historically had its social system with twelve tribes divided into three classes. The author believes that this fact can amplify the sense of being in a 'better' position than other communities. It is unavoidable that the structure of Nauruan society will inevitably give its own 'need' for social recognition, especially given the state of Nauru's excess phosphate wealth.

Nauruans' Lifestyle Change: High Consumerism

The advantages of phosphates appear to have made the Nauruans complacent even before independence, as a laboratory study was carried out in Sydney for the first time in 1900, attracting the attention of the world because it turned out that the phosphate content was lime. At the time, the most expensive type of phosphate ore was lime-type phosphate ore. As previously stated by the author, a Pacific Phosphate Company was granted the right to mine Nauru by Germany in 1906, when Nauru was still under German control (Pillsrisetti, 2007, p. 4). It did not give Nauruans more authority over phosphate mining until after they gained full independence on January 31, 1968. Nauru inevitably became a wealthy and well-known country. Furthermore, the government does not levy taxes, all access to education and health care is free, food subsidies are provided, and those who wish to further their education abroad are given scholarships. There are no longer any poor people on Nauru, and as a result, the Nauruan way of life has shifted to one of *high consumerism*. Because they were too wealthy, Nauruans eventually chose to import Lamborghinis and luxury commercial planes. Nauruans' lifestyle is

becoming increasingly chaotic because, despite the government's appointment of 80 percent of the workforce as civil servants, many Nauruans choose to leave their jobs and vacation abroad. Because it had become too spoiled, the government was forced to import workers from Australia, China, and neighboring countries such as Kiribati and Tuvalu (Aldino, 2016). Nauruans' minds have been instilled with high consumerism because they believe that even if they do not work, they can still live in luxury and find fulfillment by throwing parties every day. Nauru appears to have been in that situation: the locals were unsure what to invest in and preferred to use dollars as toilet paper.

The author believes that this demonstrates that the identity of the Nauruans, which is a proliferation of Micronesia and Polynesia, can no longer fight for themselves like traditional era warriors; instead, they become complacent with the wealth they obtain and engage in high consumerism, even though they do not see how capitalism affects them because they open their resources to the needs of Australia and other countries. The author's argument is bolstered by Nancy J. Pollock's (2014, p. 108) article titled "Nauru Phosphate History and the Resource Curse Narrative", which claims that Nauru is one example of the negative impact of cash dependence as a component of capitalism.

The Spillover Effect of Nauru's Consumerism: Environmental Degradation and World's Highest Obesity Rate

Nauru's consumerism and reliance on phosphates did not last long; sources of phosphate were depleted decades later, in the 1990s. Phosphate mining has rendered nearly 80% of the interior of the island of Nauru uninhabitable (waste-land), and this phenomenon has forced the island's inhabitants to relocate to the island's outskirts (Pollock, 2014, p. 114). The Nauru region has devolved into a desolate jagged desert, as depicted below.



Figure 2. The Changing of Nauru's Environment
Source: (Aldino, 2016)

The figure demonstrates how excessive exploration to stimulate Nauru's consumerist lifestyle has a spillover effect on other dimensions, in this case, the environment. Environmental degradation has a significant impact; even the environmental organization Greenpeace has condemned the damage caused by the Nauruan government's negligence in conducting excessive phosphate exploration. However, the Government of Nauru has demanded compensation from the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand for damage to Nauru's environment, as these countries have numerous mining companies on the island. Following an out-of-court settlement, Australia paid the government of Nauru US\$2.5 million over 20 years, while the United Kingdom and New Zealand paid US\$1.2 million (Aldino, 2016). This number is not proportional if it is being compared with the environmental degradation that happened to Nauru.

Another issue that must be addressed is Bloom's BMI, and until 2017, WHO noted that Nauru had the world's highest obesity rate. According to the Global Nutrition Report, the obesity rate for adult males in Nauru reached 39.7 percent, which is still four times the global average. The obesity crisis in Nauru is the result of several factors, including history, economy, and even culture. When the country began to collapse economically, this over-mining destroyed almost all of the island's domestic agriculture. Traditional foods such as coconut and other fresh vegetables are no longer available, leaving only fish as the sole source of food in Nauru. What are the consequences? The country is entirely reliant on imported food. Even so, according to MIT's Observatory for Economic Complexity research, Nauru imports only 5% of vegetable products, while the remaining 12% are other food ingredients that are generally unhealthy due to their artificial and sweet ingredients (Gopalan,

2017). One could argue that Nauru imports a lot of unhealthy food, endangering the health of its citizens and possibly contributing to obesity.

The government faces difficulties with type 2 diabetes mellitus, the liver, and the kidney. Obesity occurs because Nauru has a problem with alcohol consumption and tobacco use is widespread. This pattern has become ingrained as a result of the legacy of past consumerism. Additionally, the economic downturn has conditioned Nauruans to rely on staple foods such as white rice, instant noodles, soda, and whatever food and beverages are available in cans. Amy McLennan, an anthropologist from Oxford, stated that this is not because Nauruans are unaware of the dangers of obesity; on the contrary, they are aware that numerous school programs teach about nutrition and physical activity, but these are rarely implemented by Nauruans (Hallett, 2015). The government is attempting to address it by encouraging people to walk at least three miles per week. However, this is less effective at reducing Nauru's obesity rate. Inevitably, when these two economic trends are combined, Nauru finds itself confronted with the current obesity crisis. Due to environmental degradation caused by previous resource exploitation, the state of Nauru has been forced to import the majority of its food, and economic stagnation has forced it to purchase the cheapest food available, which is unquestionably unhealthy (Gopalan, 2017).

What happened next: Government Money-making Schemes?

As the country's security was jeopardized, Nauru began to believe that the country could survive and make money by leveraging cooperation with other countries. First, in the early 2000s, Nauru implemented a money-making scheme by exporting coffee tables to the West and also licensing Nauru's telephone code for sex telephone lines. Nauru has used its UN membership to recognize the Republic of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, for which it has been awarded a reward of up to \$25 million US dollars. Then, it allows for the establishment of a Shell bank in Nauru, where all countries can transact and are not subject to certain transaction records (Jegulo, 2017). In 2000, the Russian mafia owned nearly 400 Shell banks, and money laundering occurred, which became Nauru's responsibility due to unclear banking laws. Furthermore, Nauru raised the visa application fee for foreign journalists from US\$200 to US\$8,000 in 2015 (Jegulo, 2017). Nauru was also paid by Australia in 2001 to house 434 refugees in exchange for nearly US\$10 billion over the previous four years. The most recent development occurred on 7 August 2018, when the Government of Nauru purposefully destroyed refugee tents before

the start of the Pacific Islands Forum in Nauru on 1 September. What is the purpose of this? Apparently, Nauru has not treated refugees properly, and money from Australia has been misappropriated to rebuild Nauru's economy (Rintoul, 2018). The following figure showed the Nauru Government's refugee camps:



Figure 3. Nauru's Refugee Camps
Source: (Rintoul, 2018)

The figure clearly shows that the refugees are not well cared for by the Nauru government, as they are only given a place to live in moldy tents. The government of Nauru constructed a fortress to ensure that there would be no contact between the media and the refugees during the 2018 Pacific Islands Forum. The refugee camps were purposefully relocated in the hope of preventing refugees from complaining, and there is no international media coverage of this reality. Naturally, with the hope that Nauru's global reputation will be preserved.

The government makes these efforts to dredge and earn money. However, for the rest of the world, Nauru is merely a client state of Australia in this contemporary era. The author's point is that Nauru is already irrational and endangering the security of his own country. This is all due to consumerism and the extravagant acts of the Nauruans, who are unable to escape the greed of mining for phosphate resources, with the consequences of environmental damage, so that the country's reliance on its core income has disappeared completely. The economy was destroyed, and now the Nauru Government can carry out this scheme without regard for the country's security.

Author's Prescription: Voluntary Simplicity and Legal Protection

According to the author, every individual Nauruan must raise awareness, at the very least understanding that consumerism, as it is commonly practiced, has a negative impact. This is based on what Etzioni (2004, p. 410) proposes, namely the implementation of voluntary simplicity (VS), a term that is the polar opposite of consumerism and is defined as an effort to voluntarily reduce or reduce a simpler lifestyle. It can be done in three stages, beginning with the simplest and progressing to the most advanced, namely: (1) moderate level, beginning downshifters or reducing simple things; (2) advanced level, reducing complex things; and (3) advanced level, reducing complex things. Dress more modestly, for example; (2) at a high level, begin to restructure life patterns. For example, changing the belief that happiness in the family is far more important than financial wealth; (3) holistic level, by making dramatic changes to the overall level and consumption patterns. Consider the growing number of simple living movements in various countries. VS will provide equality. People's basic thinking can become more rational and willing to share if they are consciously willing to do VS because simplicity is the key to their lifestyle. As a result, if VS is increasingly initiated and carried out by those who have basic creature comforts, it may be easier to provide them with a strong foundation of socioeconomic equality than others (a society that is consumptive or lauds consumerism).

Furthermore, the author hopes that there will be legal protection and more councils or bodies in Nauru to deal with consumerism. The legal protection must be enforced so that Nauruans can better comply with the regulations put in place by the government to address this problem, which the author describes as "extremely complicated." For the author, regulating consumerism is a challenge, but it is important to remember that consumerism is a human construct; despite all of the complex factors involved, it must be brought into the realm of benefiting public life, not the other way around.

CONCLUSION

Consumption has trapped Nauruans, who are lulled by its phosphate resources, according to the case of Nauru, a country that was once very rich and has now turned into the fifth poorest country in the world. The spillover effect occurred as well, beginning with excessive exploration and continuing to have an impact on other things such as the consumerism lifestyle that was overly spoiled by the state; environmental damage; the highest obesity rate in the world; and finally, the

bankruptcy of a country that was heavily in debt. Those many aspects of consumerism that are harmed are increasingly capable of supporting the author's argument that globalization accelerates consumerism. Globalization allows for the presence of new tools, such as new sales techniques through faster internet media, while also increasingly encouraging a global transformation in seeing needs that are no longer limited to food, clothing, and shelter, but rather to the desire to gain *social prestige*.

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The United States Motivation in Having Cyber Security Cooperation With China

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Abstract

The United States and China had conducted cyber cooperation since 2011. But in 2013, both states were involved in the cyber conflict that made the previous cyber collaboration had been ineffective. After that, in 2015, both states agreed to re-form cyber cooperation. This study aims to analyse the United States' motivation in conducting cyber partnerships with China using the cybersecurity concept. This research has discovered at the national level, the United States tried to achieve its information assurance through cyber defence strategy by strengthening collaboration. On the other hand, at the international level, norm construction through bilateral collaboration has made the United States become an impactful actor in international cybersecurity.

Key Words: Cooperation, the United States, China, Cybersecurity, Norms Construction

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INTRODUCTION

Since the early 2000s, China and the USA were having fluctuations relationship. In 2003, the United States issued the National Strategy to Secure *Cyberspace* and related policy directives specifying key elements to secure computer-based systems, including government systems, and supporting critical infrastructure owned and operated by the private sectors (The White House, 2010:5). Based on its strategies and policies, The USA formed the Department of Homeland Security as an institution that protected the critical infrastructure (CIP) in *cyberspace* (Powner, 2009:3). In addition, the roles and responsibilities of this agency are:

1. Develop a comprehensive national plan related to CIP, including cybersecurity
2. Establish and enhance national cyber analysis, and threat preventive capabilities
3. Provide and coordinate the incident response and restoration plans
4. Identify, assess, and support efforts in reducing cyber threats and strengthening international cybersecurity (Powner, 2009:3-4).

Cybersecurity policy in the United States then became a substantial task for President Obama as President Bush's successor. In 2009, President Obama's administration reviewed the previous cyber policy titled *Cyberspace Policy Review: Assuring a Trusted and Resilient Information and Communications Infrastructure* (The White House, 2010:5). An action plan formed that focuses on protecting information and communication infrastructure, protecting the privacy of citizens, companies, and the state, developing the United States' position for an international cybersecurity policy framework, and strengthening international cooperation related to cybersecurity, as well as preparing a draft strategy in dealing with threats and cyber-attacks (The White House, 2010:6).

In 2011, the United States issued the *International Strategy for Cyberspace* which contained the United States strategy in strengthening international cooperation through diplomacy and cybersecurity defence from global cyber threats. There are several policy priorities such as, promote international markets transparency, protect, and enhance security, promote global governance in cybersecurity and support internet freedom and privacy protection. In this regard, the United States and China for the first time agreed to include cyber issues as an important agenda in bilateral relations (Xu, 2011:1).

However, the United States accused China of carrying out a series of espionage activities. Before the two countries entered cyber cooperation, the United States and China were involved in cyber conflicts in the Titan Rain and Shady RAT operations

since 2003. Operation Titan Rain and Shady RAT were espionage operations conducted by China against the US government, such as the Department of Homeland Security and the United States Department of Defence and private institutions.

In addition, it was recorded from 2011 to 2013 after the cooperation between the two countries, China operated espionage activities against the United States Department of Defence, which was called The Operation Beebus. The United States also carried out espionage activities against a Chinese company namely Huawei called Operation Shot giant from 2010 to 2014 (Bebber, 2017:2).

The relationship between the two had worse due to statements by Edward Snowden, a former agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He was also a former agent of the National Security Agency (NSA) of the United States. He stated about the existence of a mass internet surveillance program by the United States. He also explained the United States cyber espionage campaign against China and the United States has been spying on China's information technology, Banks, and Chinese Communist Party Leaders (Baezner, 2018:2). As a result of mutual accusations between the two countries, relations between those two have worsened. Moreover, distrust has dominated between the United States and China bilateral relations.

In 2015, President Obama and President Xi Jinping announced a common understanding. It was an understanding and agreement between the two countries not to carry out espionage activities, especially commercial and economic espionage that steals trade secret information and other important information. The results of the mutual understanding were forming an agreement called the 2015 US-China Agreement (Baezner, 2018:3).

In this case, as from the conflict between the United States and China then the two countries agreed to cooperate but then a conflict occurred until, in the end, the two countries agreed to sign an agreement related to cyber, this paper will analyse the motivation of the United States having cybersecurity agreement and cooperation with China.

METHOD AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

This research employs qualitative data analysis, in which the author refines and classifies the data so that it can support the answer to the research question; Cyber Security

According to Myriam Dunn Cavelti in Cyber Security, a common problem in cyber threats is attacking information security regarding basic information security and systems (Cavelti, 2018:17). Therefore, information assurance is the main protection concept in cybersecurity.

Information Assurance

Information Assurance is the main concept in cybersecurity. Information security assurance is standard practice for risk management relating to the use, process, storage, and information or data transmission (Schou & Trimmer, 2005). Protection of information is the most basic and important thing that must be done by the state in terms of maintaining cybersecurity.

Information assurance is rooted in risk analysis where the results of the risk analysis are used to guide in areas experiencing or having the highest risk, and based on this, plans and policies are developed to ensure that the system is fully protected.

This model of security assurance has three main objectives. The three objectives are Confidentiality refers to the protection of information from disclosure by unauthorized parties. Integrity refers to protecting information from being changed by unauthorized parties. And thirdly, Availability, which means that information must always be available in the authorized party requires the information (Schou & Trimmer, 2005). In information security, the basic objective is the prevention of cyber-attacks by establishing strategies related to information security which are divided into two levels; namely the national level and the international level where each level also consists of several forms of strategy (Cavelti, 2012:17).

Cyber Deterrence

Cyber deterrence refers to a state's efforts to give concern to the enemy by showing the cyber capabilities of that country. Not only giving concern to the enemy but also showing actors in the international system about the capabilities and capacities of information and communication technology owned by the country.

According to W. Goodman, cyber deterrence is preventing attackers from taking aggressive actions in cyberspace (Stevens, 2012:151). Two strategic components implemented by the nation-state in terms of deterring the enemy are; deterrence by denial and deterrence by punishment or retaliation.

Deterrence by denial is preventing attackers from taking advantage derived from a cyber-attack that was launched. Deterrence by denial aims to decrease the advantage sought by attackers by increasing defensive measures to protect

computer systems and networks (Stevens, 2012:151-152). Deterrence by punishment or retaliation is a deterrence strategy in the form of offensive actions and leads to the use of threats against attackers by imposing sanctions or penalties in the form of economic sanctions and retaliation or anything that results in the attackers receiving huge losses than the gains they earn from attack (Stevens, 2012:152).

Cyber Offense and Defence

Cyber offense contains a series of national strategies used to attack enemies such as launching DoDs attacks, Malware, sabotage, and so on to attack critical infrastructure and weaken enemy computer systems and networks as well as obtain information by conducting espionage activities. In addition, cyber offenses are carried out aimed at protecting computer systems and networks from enemy attacks. Cyber offenses that are commonly carried out in the military and in the country's national security strategy are to increase the capability of the offense. OCC itself is defined as a capability designed to achieve some achievements or goals related to a country's offensive actions against its targets (Smeets & Lin, 2018:57). In addition, another form of offensive action is in the form of cyber deterrence by punishment as described previously.

Cyber defence refers to a state's efforts to improve its national defence by improving its cyber-defence system, upgrading the software system, finding faults, and repairing the damage to the system. Cyber defensive action focuses on prevention, detection, and rapid response to attacks or threats so that critical infrastructure and information security can be fully protected. In general, there are two forms of cyber defence. The first one is to implement cyber operations and improve the resilience system so that cyber defence stability can be maintained. The second is cyber defence by exchanging information and strengthening relations with the private sector, the state, international organizations.

Critical Infrastructure Protection

Since the 1990s, critical infrastructure has been the main object of reference in the cybersecurity debate. According to Presidential Policy Directive 21 (PPD-21), 16 main State Infrastructure sectors that must be protected are the Chemical Sector, Communications Sector, Dams Sector, Emergency Services Sector, Financial Services Sector, Government Facilities Sector, Information Technology Sector, Transportation Systems Sector, Water and Waste System Sectors, Nuclear Materials and Reactor Sector, Healthcare Sector, Food, and Agriculture Sector, Energy Sector, defence Industrial Base Sector, Manufacturing Sector, and Commercial Facilities Sector (Department of Homeland Security, 2019).

The main challenges in protecting critical infrastructure come from the privatization and deregulation of large parts of the public sector in the 1980s and the globalization process in the 1990s. There is a lot of the transfer of critical infrastructure into private hands. Therefore, the principles in protecting important infrastructure are the existence of Public-Private Partnerships and Information Sharing (Cavelty, 2012:19).

Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) are a form of cooperation between the state and the private sector in protecting the important infrastructure. The form of collaboration was to facilitate the exchange of information between companies and the government specifically for security. The existence of mutual benefit between the exchange of information was reflected in the benefits of the private sector in obtaining information by the state intelligence service and from the state sector obtaining more advanced technological knowledge.

Cyber Norm Construction

The design of defensive capabilities and the design of laws are undeniable (Cavelty, 2012:19). Many countries, international organizations, and other international communities are raising awareness by conducting international cooperation and agreeing on mutually agreed rules and norms. After the Stuxnet case, countries have begun to seek to control the exploitation of computer systems used for military purposes through arms control or the establishment of multilateral norms and international agreements (Cavelty, 2012:17). The formation of norms is intended to protect human rights and state sovereignty so that with these norms the state will be aware that the state must have limits in carrying out activities in cyberspace.

According to Finnemore, if strong norms processes, as done by constructing, promoting, and institutionalizing are an integral part of good cyber norms, then cyber norm advocates should devote as much attention to the process as they would have to negotiate in terms of achieving the desired goals (Finnermore & Hollis, 2016:460). Based on this explanation, the concept of cybersecurity is summarized in the following chart 1.1

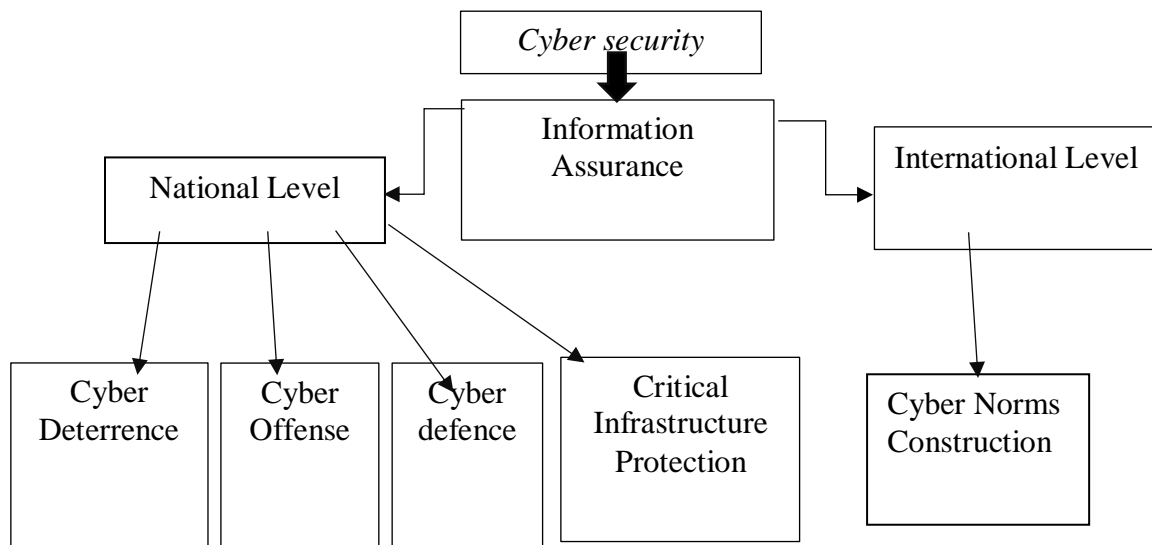


Chart 1. Conceptual Framework
Source: Myriam Dunn Cavelty, 2015

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Information Assurance

This indicator used as the main indicator in analysing the assurance of information protection in cybersecurity. According to Myriam Dunn Cavelty, in her article entitled cybersecurity, information security is a top priority (Cavelty, 2012:17). The assurance of information owned by a country is seen from country's strategies and efforts in keeping their important information secret, both at the national and international levels. This is important because the information is a milestone in cybersecurity. If the enemies or hackers could break into state secret information, whether in the political, economic, military fields, or data in critical infrastructure, then a country's information system network becomes very vulnerable. In addition, this disrupts the stability of a country's cyber national security (Cavelty, 2012:118).

National Level

In this condition, the researcher analyses domestic strategies related to cybersecurity and sees whether there is a link between these strategies and the cybersecurity cooperation of the United States and China which was marked by the establishment of a cyber agreement in 2015.

Cyber Deterrence United States

The United States reported their investigation of the Chinese Government and suspected irresponsible *quasi-affiliated* (combination between public and private organization) entities of accessing the United States Government and Private Sector databases for the purpose of economic espionage. Then in 2014, the United States Department of Justice indicted five hackers and was also a member of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) with charges of computer hacking and economic espionage perpetrated against six American entities in the United States nuclear power, metals, and solar industries (Saalman, 2017:5). Regarding the case, China responded by suspending the activities of the China Cyber Working Group (The U.S.-China Cyber Working Group) which was formed in 2013 and threatening to suspend cooperation – other existing cooperation with the United States (Saalman, 2017:5).

This case indicates that the two countries use cyber deterrence by punishment strategies to respond to phenomena that occur between the two countries. Before the United States proposed cyber cooperation with China, President Barack Obama stated that all aggressive actions needed to be stopped and warned that the United States Government was preparing some countermeasures (Stevens, 2012:151).

According to Timothy M. McKenzie (2017:10-11), in his writing entitled "Is Cyber Deterrence Possible", the strategy in cyber defence to avoid enemies which are sponsored by the State, is not to use offensive strategies. Defensive strategies can be used to avoid war and if the attacked country has a large enough influence, then imposing sanctions in the form of economic sanctions and diplomatic channels is also a pretty good option.

From those facts, it can be concluded that the United States finally cooperated with China because the United States began to implement a cyber deterrence strategy against China. The United States did not take offensive action due to China's immediate response to suspending cooperation and took a more subtle approach but insisted that it would impose sanctions and threats if China violated the agreement.

The United States Cyber Offense

Improving the capability of offense is important in military operations related to national security. This also applies to the capability of cyber offense / Offensive Cyber Capabilities (OCC) (Smeets & Lin, 2018:57).

The term "Offensive Cyber Capabilities" itself has many meanings. OCC can be defined as a capability designed to access a computer system or network to harm an enemy or to obtain some achievement or goal related to the action (Smeets & Lin, 2018:57-58). The OCC has a very broad form including cyber espionage, information warfare, and information operations.

Operation Shot giant is a cyber-attack operation carried out by the United States, precisely by the National Security Agency against China, which started from 2009 to 2013. United States NSA agents carried out cyber-attacks in the form of espionage against Chinese politicians and companies. One of the main targets in this operation is Huawei, a smartphone and tablet company that is also the second-largest supplier of network equipment such as WLAN routers and fiber optic cables in the world (Spiegel, 2014). This operation was revealed to the public after Edward Snowden, who is a former NSA, issued statements and reports related to cyber activities carried out by America, one of which was against China (Price, 2014). The targets of the United States itself include Former Chinese President Hu Jintao, China's Ministry of Commerce, Banks, and Telecommunications Companies including Huawei (Sanger & Perlroth, 2014).

A special unit within the US intelligence agency managed to infiltrate Huawei's network and copy over 1,400 customer lists and internal documents. NSA workers also managed to access not only archived e-mails but also the confidential source code of individual Huawei products (Segal, 2016:8). In addition, the United States also hacked into Huawei's headquarters network where all mail traffic from employees and even the CEO of the Company can be accessed there so that the NSA can read most of the E-mails sent by company workers since 2009 (Segal, 2016:8).

One of the objectives of this operation was to find links between Huawei and the People's Liberation Army. In addition, another objective is that the operation seeks to exploit Huawei technology. It is reported that the NSA aims to conduct surveillance over the computer network of telephones sold by Huawei Company to other countries (Sanger & Perlroth, 2014). American officials themselves deny that the United States and the NSA are spying on foreign companies, including Huawei, to help American companies gain a competitive advantage (Bortz, 2014:1). The United States side confirmed that the activity is a data collection activity in preparation for imposing economic sanctions if the target is proven to have committed a crime or violator or takes the foreign policy of another country as a reference for taking action (Bortz, 2014:1). Even so, China condemned this operation and it made relations between the two countries even worse.

Although the OCC has a goal not only as deterrence or an attack on the enemy but as a form of defence for a country, the United States Cyber Offense against China

does not indicate the United States motivation in conducting cyber cooperation with China because the form of this offensive itself is a form of conflict while Cooperation is the opposite of conflict.

United States Cyber defence

United States cyber defence can be seen from the strategies and initiatives issued by the Department of defence Strategy for Operating in Cyberspace. In 2011, the department issued five strategic initiatives (Five Strategic Initiatives), and related to this research, only Strategic Initiative 5 will be explained in more detail (U.S. Department of Defense, 2011:6).

Strategic Initiative 5

The Department of defence will build and strengthen relationships and alliances with the United States and international partners to strengthen collective cybersecurity. Regarding the involvement of the Department of defence in the international system, the Department of defence also supports the United States' policy regarding cyberspace, namely The U.S. International Strategy for Cyberspace. In addition, the Department of defence also supports the president's commitment to freedom, privacy, and free flow of information. In addition, the Department of defence also assists the efforts of the United States government in advancing development and promoting cyber-related norms and principles that generally include the promotion of openness, resilience, security, and reliability (U.S. Department of Defense, 2011:7).

Then in 2015, related to cybersecurity defence, with the aim of protecting the State and the interests of the United States from attacks including cyber-attacks, the Department of defence then formed "The DoD Cyber Strategy". Related to this research, what will be explained in more detail is strategic goal V which will be explained in more detail as follows.

Strategic Goal V

The fifth strategy is to build and maintain international alliances and partners to be able to identify common threats and enhance international security and stability. The mission of the Department of defence requires close collaboration with allies and international partners. The height of the threat, as well as the breadth of networks and systems, compel the Department of defence to make options and focus its partnership capacity initiatives in areas that are crucial to the interests and security of the United States (Department of Defense, 2015:17).

The United States cybersecurity defence strategy was issued by the United States Department of defence in 2011 and 2015. In both strategies issued, the Department of defence generally issued five initiatives and objectives in cyber defence strategy. Based on the explanations above, the United States' cyber defence strategy does not only focus on domestic affairs but also the initiation of strategies in the form of development and strengthening of international cooperation related to cybersecurity.

In addition, strategy goal number five in the United States cyber defence strategy in 2015 states that the United States focuses on international involvement in the Middle East, Asia Pacific, and Important Allies in NATO (Department of Defense, 2015). Based on this statement, China is one of the countries from these regions which is the focus of the United States in international engagement. This is because China is one of the countries in the Asia Pacific region, and in the same year the United States and China agreed to cooperate on cyber.

The United States and China initiated cybersecurity cooperation and produced an agreement called the U.S.-China cyber agreement in 2015. In the agreement, the two countries agreed not to carry out or support espionage activities, especially in terms of economic espionage. In addition, there are seven points of cyber cooperation between the two countries.

Against cyber-attacks that occurred from 2003 to 2014, the United States used a defensive strategy with a more subtle approach to the enemy. After the cyber cooperation agreement between the United States and China in 2015, cases of cyber-attacks in the United States decreased by 90% and the two countries also agreed to continue to hold meetings every six months (Louie, 2017).

Based on these data, it is indicated that related to the vulnerability of the United States information system which is characterized by many cyber-attack operations that attack and target important United States information, information risk management in information assurance at the national level, the United States prefers a defensive strategy by cooperating rather than strategic offensive. The offensive actions taken by the United States previously had a bad effect on bilateral relations between the two countries. On the other hand, with cooperation, cyberattacks against the United States decreased by 90% after the cooperation and this also affects the role of the two countries in terms of realizing international cybersecurity.

Critical Infrastructure Protection

In 2013, President Obama issued "executive order 13636" which contains the government's efforts to direct cybersecurity regulations throughout the public and private sectors to improve cybersecurity defence capabilities that are stronger (Fisher et. al., 2013:5-6). The main objective of Executive Order 13636 (EO 13636) is to improve cybersecurity in critical infrastructure, due to the increasing number of cyber threats and attacks that threaten national security (Fisher et. al., 2013:1).

In addition to EO 13636, The Presidential Policy Directive-21 (PPD-21) document was also released in 2013 and has the same goal of protecting critical infrastructure from cyber threats and attacks. Similar to the requirements in EO13636, PPD-21 also requires collaboration between the government and the private sector engaged in the security of critical infrastructure, to manage risk and improve defence in the face of all threats (The White House, 2019). PPD-21 also establishes and identifies 16 separate critical infrastructure sectors including the financial services sector. The difference between EO 13636 and PPD-21 is, EO 13636 focuses exclusively on cyber-related threats, while PPD-21 focuses on identifying all threats and hazards to the security and resilience of critical infrastructure which then forms the National Infrastructure Protection Plan (NIPP) (The White House, 2019).

DHS describes collaboration between the public and private sectors as a condition in which government agencies interact directly with private companies. The relationship between the two includes the exchange of information about resources, risks, losses, and service offerings. In the era of globalization where the development of advanced technological innovation today, not only results in competition in increasing technological innovation both between countries and between the state and the private sector but also the existence of interdependence.

This interdependence is based on the existence of various attacks and threats, especially cyber-attacks and threats which of course require the development of qualified technology to be able to maintain security, especially in the security of information and important infrastructure. However, in relation to this indicator, there is no indication that the motivation of the United States to conduct cybersecurity cooperation with China is based on strengthening cooperation between the public and private sectors, because the United States is associated with strengthening partners with the private sector more inclined to private parties originating from America. Union. This is because the main goal in establishing partners with the private sector is to protect the country's important infrastructure and avoid threats from within and from outside.

International Level

Cyber Norm Construction

On the indicators of the formation of cyber norms, to determine the influence of the formation of cyber norms as a motivation for the United States to carry out cyber cooperation with China. Norms, in International Relations, are shared expectations, values, and principles about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in the international community.

The United States and China have different perspectives in defining the cyber world. In general, the United States holds the view that every citizen has the right to be in the cyber world and carry out any activities, and the United States has the principle of "Open, Safe, and Secure" in relation to the cyber world. Meanwhile, China believes that the state has an obligation to control traffic and everything in the cyber world (Harold et. al., 2016:2).

In Finnemore's thesis, *Constructing Norms for Global Cybersecurity*, it is stated that the success of bilateral cyber norms can result in "copying", especially when the country involved has a high status. In addition, bilateral cyber norms can also affect multinational institutions, especially in the cyber field, and further strengthen the influence of a country in the international system (Finnemore & Hollis, 2016:460).

Regarding the cyber confrontation between the United States and China, the United States then took the path of cooperation and turned to cyber norms to overcome the discomfort in the cyber world and overcome the cyberattacks that continue to occur, especially those allegedly originating from China (Hollis, 2016). In relation to these cyber norms, the United States has set important goals (Hollis, 2016:3).

- a. Reducing the theft of important data and information belonging to the United States through cyber means
- b. Reducing the risk of unintentional and unwanted armed conflict due to expectations that are not aligned with phenomena in the cyber world.

Bilateral cyber norms set by the two countries, namely the United States and China through the 2015 cyber agreement regarding norms that prohibit commercial cyber espionage, give mimicry effects to other countries as evidenced by the similar cyber cooperation between Britain and China, and Germany and China in October 2015, exactly one month after the cyber agreement between the United States and China (Finnemore & Hollis, 2016:465).

Regarding the formation of international cyber norms, in 2013 there was an initiation at the United Nations session by Russia which sponsored a resolution to establish The Working Group of the General Assembly which was open to studying the norms contained in the reports of the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts (The United Nations Group of Governmental Experts). UN GGE) earlier, identified new norms, and studied the possibility of “building regular institutional dialogue under the auspices of the UN” (Maurer & Taylor, 2018). Another resolution by the United States, sponsoring the resolution, is to establish The New of Governmental Experts to study information security and how international law applies to state actions in cyberspace and identify ways to promote compliance with cyber norms (Maurer & Taylor, 2018).

Then in December 2015, The UN General Assembly agreed to adopt a resolution proposed by the United States regarding the formation of a New Group of Governmental Experts to study information security with a view to promoting norms, rules, and principles of responsible behaviour by states (Nicola, 2015). In addition, the G20 countries also agreed to apply the norms of criticism against commercial cyber espionage.

Previously, UN GGE itself was a government expert group under the auspices of the United Nations which was formed in 2004 which focused on development in the field of information and telecommunications in the context of international security. Two major achievements of the UN GGE that must continue to be fulfilled are outlines the global cybersecurity agenda and introduces the principle that international law applies to the digital space (Digital Watch, 2019).

In accordance with the US cyber defence strategy and international policies related to cybersecurity, the United States is more focused on strengthening international cooperation by establishing common norms related to international cybersecurity. After the cyber cooperation between the United States and China in 2015, it gave a positive signal at the international level. The reason is, this proves that diplomatic solutions can be used to solve cybersecurity issues¹. This agreement between the United States and China can be considered as the first step towards the internationalization of cybersecurity norms and provides a domino effect for other countries that initially engage in confrontation and then turn to cooperation related to cybersecurity.

In addition, based on the explanation above, another reason for the United States to conduct cybersecurity cooperation with China at the international level is so that

¹ Marie Baezner, “Cybersecurity in Sino-American Relations”, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No.224, 2018

the resolutions proposed by the United States and bilateral cyber norms between the United States and China can be accepted and affect the international system so that the United States' role in cybersecurity international is getting stronger.

CONCLUSION

The results of the analysis found that at the national level, the United States' cyber defense strategy affected cybersecurity cooperation with China after the offensive strategy was less effective for bilateral relations between the two countries. This is evidenced by the significant reduction in cyberattacks in the United States, reaching 90% after the cyber agreement between the two countries in 2015. Meanwhile, at the international level, the construction of bilateral norms between the United States and China regarding cyber espionage affects the international system and other countries have also begun to apply normative and diplomatic approaches to cybersecurity issues. This is in line with the United States' foreign policy goals related to cybersecurity.

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