CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to discuss the problem identification by describing the background of the issue along with the research question that follows it. This chapter also discusses the theoretical framework which aims to answer the research questions and the estimated hypothesis subsequently. In the first chapter of this undergraduate thesis, it has also been managed in explaining the research method, research purpose, and the writing structure as well.

A. Background of the Problem

One of the main things for the welfare of its citizens, among others, is the existence of protection from the state for its society. Based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, especially in article 28D, the Indonesian government discusses the rights obtained by Indonesian citizen as follows:

- 1. Every person shall have the right of recognition, guarantees, protection and certainty before a just law, and of equal treatment before the law.
- 2. Every person shall have the right to work and to receive fair and proper remuneration and treatment in employment.
- 3. Every citizen shall have the right to obtain equal opportunities in government.
- 4. Every person shall have the right to citizenship status¹

Therefore, in the article of 28D mandates for state administrators to protect all Indonesian citizens, and vice versa that every Indonesian citizen also has the right to get protection from the Indonesian government. Considering that Indonesia has islands that are in direct contact with other countries, including

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed protect/---protrav/--ilo aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms 174556.pdf . Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

¹¹ International Labor Organization, "The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Chapter XA in the Article of 28D".

in the border with Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Papua New Guinea and East Timor.² It raises causes border problems with other countries such as protection, poverty, education and health problems. Therefore, many Indonesian citizens living in border areas experience vulnerability to nationalism. One example is the Indonesian citizens who live in South Mindanao, Philippines. Indonesian citizens living on the island of Mindanao generally come from islands around the Sangihe and Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi. The problem of vulnerability to the sense of nationalism of Indonesian descendants or commonly referred as the "Registered Indonesia Nation's" (RIN) who live in South Mindanao, Philippines is one of the problems experienced by the Indonesian citizens living in the area, especially in the Southern Philippines.³

The South Philippine Region is an accreditation area of the Consulate General Republic of Indonesia, Davao City which consists of Mindanao Island, Sulu Islands, and Tawi-Tawi Islands. Historically, since the 1930s, it was the beginning of the first generation of Indonesian descendants in South Mindanao, Philippines (Davao, 2006). The interaction of Indonesian citizens in Mindanao Island was initially grown due to the economic activity, such as fishermen, becoming laborers on pineapple and coconut plantations on the islands. This activity continues and develops until now, which in turn makes Indonesian citizens lack of knowledge, lack of education and adequate skills, and only prioritizes labor in finding jobs. Therefore, as a result, they can only be fishermen, farmers, and laborers with very low income to afford the daily life of their families.

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² Sawe, Benjamin Elisha, "Which Countries Border Indonesia?". https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-countries-border-indonesia.html. Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

³³ LOPEZ, ARIEL C, "INDONESIA, MINDANAO AND PERSISTENT CONNECTIONS". HTTPS://WWW.RAPPLER.COM/MOVE-PH/BALIKBAYAN/52018-PHILIPPINES-INDONESIA-CONNECTIONS. RETRUEVED ON 27 SEPTEMER 2018.

Thus, the biggest problem faced by Indonesian citizens in Mindanao, Southern Philippines is economic problems. They are in a very low economic condition, even most of them cannot get access to proper education because of the expensive cost factor which will have impacts on their future life. Strict competition in finding jobs today is indeed a burden for those who live in other countries with limited skills and lack of education. This is the responsibility of the Indonesian government in paying attention to its citizens who live in other countries and need help from Indonesian government. The Head of the Foreign Ministry Sub-Directorate of Consular Supervision, Krisna Jaelani said there were five legal bases for the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad, among others:

- 1. The fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution which is "Subsequent thereto, to form a government of the state of Indonesia which shall protect all the people of Indonesia and their entire native land, and in order to improve the public welfare, to advance the intellectual life of the people and to contribute to the establishment of a world order based on freedom, abiding peace and social justice."
- 2. The Vienna 1961 Convention concerning diplomatic relations between countries, one of which regulates the protection of citizens abroad.
- 3. Law Number 37 of 1999 concerning foreign relations, precisely in Chapter V, which regulates the protection of Indonesian citizens by Indonesian representatives abroad.
- 4. Law Number 39 of 2004 regulates the protection of Indonesian Workers abroad.
- 5. Minister of Foreign Affairs Regulation No. 4 of 2008 concerning the service of citizens to Indonesian representatives abroad.⁴

In this paper, some particular terms are used. Those are Constitution, Nationalism, Registered Indonesia Nation's (RIN)

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⁴ Jaelani, K. (2016) "Wawancara Kasubdit Pengawasan Kekonsuleran Kementrian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia." Jakarta: Kementrian Luar Negeri.

and Accreditation area. Constitution is "the basic principles and laws of a nation, state, or social group that determine the powers and duties of the government and guarantee certain rights to the people in it". Meanwhile. *Nationalism* is "lovalty and devotion to a nation especially a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups"6. Then, the Registered *Indonesia Nation's (RIN)* is "native people of Indonesian descent who decide to live in Philippine. People like this are usually called as RIN. The people of Indonesian descents have their own intentions and goals when deciding to live in Philippine, whether it's because they are looking for a more decent life in Philippine, or because they feel that they have a close relationship with Filipinos until they often visit each other which supported by a close enough distance between Indonesia and Philippines to reach. While, Accreditation area is "the territory of the recipient country which constitutes diplomatic jurisdiction for a diplomatic representative of a sending country determined according to the principles of diplomatic law that has been approved by the international community".

B. Research Question

Based on the background mentioned, this thesis has one research question:

"How does the Indonesian government policy in protecting the welfare of Indonesian descendants in Mindanao, Southern Philippines?"

⁵ Merriam Webster (1828). *The Definition of Constitution*. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/constitution. Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

⁶ Merriam Webster (1828). *The Definition of Nationalism*. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism. Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

Karnia Paramestri, "Istikah-istilah Dipomatik". http://repository.unika.ac.id/1738/7/09.20.0029%20Karina%20Paramestri%20LAMPIRAN.pdf. Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

C. Theoretical Framework

In the process of answering the research question, the utilization of theories and concepts are needed. According to Mohtar Mas'oed "theory is a statement that explains the relation of several concepts in which it attempted to explain a phenomenon that occurred" (Mas'oed, 1990). Therefore, the concepts and models below are used:

1. Bilateral Cooperation Theory

In international relations, bilateral cooperation is a mutually cooperation that is generally known as bilateral relations. In connection with the concept of bilateral relations, Didi Krisna in his international political dictionary said that: "Bilateral relations are conditions that describe a mutual and influential relationship or a mutual relationship occurs between two parties or two countries and the state acts as the main actor in the implementation of the bilateral relationship." This bilateral cooperation aims to create peace, accelerate the problem solving process between the two countries involved, and improve mutual prosperity. In this case, it pays more attention to social, political, cultural and economic structures so as to produce a harmonious relationship between the two countries.⁸

In bilateral diplomacy the main concept used is that a country will pursue its national interests in order to obtain maximum benefits and the only way is to make good and prolonged relations between countries.⁹

Basically, the bilateral relationship is a cooperative relationship between countries which is a diverse meeting of international interests from several countries which cannot be fulfilled by their own people. According to Rudy, cooperation was formed from various individual commitments to get collective welfare which is the result of

⁹⁹ Rana, K. S. (2002). *Bilateral Diplomacy*. New Delhi: Manas Publications

⁸ Krisna, D. (1993). Kamus Politik Internasional. Jakarta: Grasindo, page.

the existence of equal interests.¹⁰ The definition of cooperation according to Holsti can be divided into five, among others are:

- a. The view that two or more value interests or goals meet each other and can produce something, promoted or fulfilled by all parties.
- b. Approval of certain problems between two or more countries in order to utilize the conflict of interest equation.
- c. The view or expectation of a country that the policies decided by other countries help the country to achieve its interests and values.
- d. Official or unofficial rules regarding future transactions made to carry out the purpose.
- e. Transactions between countries to fulfill their agreement. 11

In addition, cooperation between the governments of two sovereign countries in the context of seeking a joint solution to a problem involving the two countries through negotiations and agreements is referred as bilateral cooperation. The bilateral cooperation is a part of the reciprocal relationship pattern which includes the following processes:

- a. The actual stimulus or policy of the country that initiated it.
- b. Perception of these stimuli by decision makers in the recipient country.
- c. Response or reciprocal action from the recipient country.
- d. Perception or response by decision makers from the initiating country.¹²

¹¹ Holsti. (1987). *Politik internasional : Kerangka analisa* . Surabaya: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya.

¹² Yani, P. a. (2005). *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. Jakarta Pusat: Remaja Rosdakarya.

Rudy, T. M. (2005). Administrasi dan organisasi internasional. PT. Refika Aditama.

Thus, it can be said that bilateral cooperation is a form of relationship between two countries that mutually influence or the occurrence of reciprocal relationships that are manifested in the form of cooperation. In this bilateral agreement raises agreements covering the aspects of politics, trade economics, culture, education, security, and defense. Therefore, the bilateral relations that exist between the two countries have an important role to play in developing each country and creating many benefits in various negotiations and can create forums to exchange ideas and technology exchanges such as the exchange of facilities owned by the two countries with the agreement of both. ¹³

By using this theory, it is expected that it will be easily done to find out how the Indonesian government attempts to protect its citizens. It is also expected that by applying this theory, this research is able to verify that in order to achieve Indonesia's national interests, which is the welfare of its citizens, the Indonesian government needs to cooperate with the Philippine government to realize its plan. Therefore, the two countries made a bilateral cooperation which aims to achieve the interests of each of the two countries by making agreements agreed by both countries. In the reciprocal relationship between the two countries, the state acts as the main actor in the implementation of the bilateral cooperation.

In this case, the establishment of bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Philippines has led to the creation of a community called as the Indonesia-Southern Philippines Diaspora. Considering that in 2012 the first Indonesian Diaspora Congress was held in Los Angeles, while in 2013 the Congress of the Second Indonesian Diaspora was held again in Jakarta. Exactly, in the second Congress of Indonesian Diaspora, the Indonesia-Southern Philippines Diaspora was chosen to represent Indonesian Diaspora

¹³ Goldstein. (2003). *Economic Interdependence and International Conflic.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Network for the Philippines by the Indonesian Global Diaspora Network. On September 17, 2013, it was agreed that the Indonesia-Southern Philippines Diaspora was under the responsibility of the Consulate General of the Republic Indonesia in Davao city to be part of the Indonesian Diaspora, and then the inauguration of the committee was held on October 28, 2013. Hence, the existence of bilateral cooperation between the Indonesian government and the Philippine government has helped to accelerate the Indonesian government in the process of prospering its citizens, especially those who live in Mindanao, Southern Philippines. 14

2. Role Theory

Coser and Anthony Rosenberg in his book entitled "An Introduction to International Politics" argued about the role theory definition as follows:

As the demands given structurally include norms, expectations, prohibitions, responsibilities wherein there is a series of pressures and conveniences that connect, guide, and support their functions in the organization.¹⁵

Meanwhile, Mochtar Mas'oed argued about the definition of role theory as follows:

The expected behavior will be carried out by a person or government institution who occupies a position". This is the behavior attached to that position, expected to behave in accordance with roles and responsibilities held by political actors. So, that expectation eventually forms a role. ¹⁶

¹⁴ Indonesian Diaspora Network. "*Tentang Indoensian Diaspora Network*". http://www.diasporaindonesia.org/index.php/idn/about. Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

¹⁵ Lewis A. Coser. 1976. "Role Theory". https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/sociology-and-social-reform/sociology-general-terms-and-concepts/role-theory. Retrieved on 27 September 2018.

¹⁶ Mas'oed, M. (1989). Studi Hubungan Internasional, Tingkat Analisi dan Teorisasi, Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Polak argued that a role is a series of activities that stand out by someone or a group of people in encouraging the occurrence of a thing. Thus "the role is a pattern of actions carried out individually or collectively which brings an effect to many people"¹⁷. According to Levinson in Soekanto (1999), the role includes three things, among others are:

- a. The role includes norms that are related to a person's position or place in society. The role in this sense is a series of rules that guide a person in people's lives.
- b. The role is a concept of what individuals can do in society as an organization
- c. The role can also be said to be an important individual behavior for the social structure of society. 18

Therefore, in this case, the government plays a major role in carrying out its functions and objectives in service, development, empowerment, and community regulations. As stated by Soekanto (1984) that the role is a dynamic aspect of position, if someone carries out his rights and obligations according to his position, then he has done a role. ¹⁹

On the other hand, in the discussion of international relations, Mochtar Mas'oed argues that based on principle, the main goal from the perspective of international relationship is to learn about the behavior of actors such as the state or the holders of power of an international organization in the arena of international transactions and such behavior includes war, conflict, and cooperation in international organizations. Mas'oed also explained that there are five influence variables in making foreign political decisions, including idiosyncratic variables or individual variables, role variables, bureaucratic or government

¹⁸ Soekanto, S. (1999). *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.

Polak, J.B.A.F Mayor. 1974. Sosiologi, Suatu Pengantar Ringkas. Jakarta: Ichtiar

¹⁹ Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar, Edisi Baru*, Rajawali Pers Jakarta , 2009.

variables, social variables and systemic influences. ²⁰ Thus, in this context, the variable used refers to the second variable, which is the role variable defined as an illustration of the position of a person or government institution or as a role that is expected for an individual who is competent toward the creation and implementation of foreign policy. Based on Law Number 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations stipulates the mandate provided by the law to provide protection for every Indonesian citizen who lives abroad. As a result, continuous effort is needed in seeking to improve the provision of protection to Indonesian citizens domestically and abroad. ²¹

By using this theory, this research attempts to show that the role of the Indonesian government in collaboration with the Consulate General of the Republic Indonesia, Davao city is very important in striving for the welfare of Indonesian citizens in Mindanao, Southern Philippines. One of the efforts made by the Indonesian government for the welfare of its citizens is by creating a community called the Indonesia-Southern Philippines Diaspora. The Indonesian government wants to provide a platform for Indonesian citizens who live abroad to remain united and solid, and continue to make a positive contribution to Indonesia's development. The Consulate General of the Republic Indonesia, Davao City has a significant role in realizing the Diaspora community. Eventually, the Indonesian-Southern Philippines Diaspora received full support from both countries, which are the Indonesian government and the Philippine government since the presence of the Diaspora's

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²⁰ Soeprapto, R. (1997). *Hubungan Internasional: Sistem, Interaksi, dan Perilaku*. Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada.

²¹ Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. "Perlindungan WNI di Luar Negeri: Upaya Sistemik Pemerintah Yang Berkesinambungan". https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Perlindungan-WNI-di-Luar-Negeri-Upaya-Sistemik-Pemerintah-Yang-Berkesinambungan.aspx. Retrieved on 5 October 2018

community would make it easier for the Indonesian government to control its citizens in Mindanao.

Meanwhile, the Philippine government also felt it was beneficial as they do not need to control Indonesian citizens more intensively because they have received attention from the Indonesian government represented by the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Davao City. Thus, with the existence of the Diaspora community has provided benefits to both countries and the success that they have achieved is from the great role of the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Davao City which participated in each of its activities and always control's any activities carried out in the community. In other words, the Indonesia-Southern Philippines Diaspora is fully under the auspices of the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Davao City.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the background and theories mentioned previously, this thesis main assertion lies on a hypothesis that:

The Indonesian government strives for the welfare of Indonesian citizens in Mindanao, Southern Philippines. To realize these efforts, the Indonesian government needs to consider the followings:

- 1. Multiparty negotiation concerning to the existence of Indonesian people in Mindanao, Southern Philippines.
- 2. Socialization and enhancement of the function of Indonesian representatives to core with the existence of Indonesian people in Mindanao, Southern Philippines.
- 3. Develop cooperation or collaboration with actors of the second track' diplomacy.

E. Purpose of the Research

Given the problematic background and the theory with its hypothesis, this research is expected to that the Indonesian government together with the Consulate General of Republic Indonesia are able to contribute in protecting Indonesian citizens who lived in Mindanao, Southern Philippines in 2018 under Joko Widodo's reign.

F. Method of Research

1. Data Collection Method

The author completed the data by conducting direct field research and using data collection techniques in the form of document studies that had been carried out by collecting secondary data in this case represented by relevant information and literature such as guidebooks, electronic data (internet), and other data and field studies related to the formulation of the problem.

2. Data Processing Methods

The author analyzed the data using the deductive method of proving a theory with its analysis unit is the South Mindanao region. Whereas in terms of approach, this research was conducted using qualitative research method by collecting information from reliable sources and analyzed using the theoretical framework mentioned on the previous part.

G. Research Scope

This research emphasizes on the efforts in planned by the Indonesian government for Indonesian citizens living in Mindanao, southern Philippines starting in 2013.

H. Writing Structure

This research uses the outline as follows:

Chapter I

This chapter describes the background of the issue which is the starting point of this study, then research question, the theoretical framework taken, the hypothesis formulated, the method of research and the outline of the paper.

Chapter II

This chapter explains about the historical origin of Indonesian citizens living in Mindanao, Southern Philippines.

Also, it describes how the life history of Indonesian citizens in the Mindanao region. It also later explains how the bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Philippines have finally formed a community called the Diaspora of Indonesian-South Philippines.

Chapter III

This chapter is specific in explaining about the policies that made by the government to protect Indonesian descendants that live in Mindanao. Also, it describes about the establishment of the Indonesian Diaspora network and the establishment of multiparty negotiations between parties. It also later explains about the development of cooperation between Indonesian representatives in Davao City with second track' diplomacy.

Chapter IV

This chapter wraps up the whole research and explanations that have been analyzed in the previous chapters, which describes the results of the efforts of Indonesian government in protecting Indonesian citizens living in South Mindanao, Philippines.