

# Susi Pudjiastuti's Rationality in Financing SKPT: A JICA Grant Program Perspective

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## Abstract

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*Susi  
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*The exploitation of natural sources in Indonesian waters by foreign-flagged vessels and lacking attention to fishermen communities were two main problems that had to be solved by Susi Pudjiastuti during her service as the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of Indonesia. Various policies, such as sinking vessels and distributing the subsidy to the public need, had already been undertaken. However, these types of policies will be potentially revised along with the regime change. The Integrated Center of Marine and Fisheries or Sentra Kelautan dan Perikanan Terpadu (SKPT) built in several outer islands of Indonesia became an alternative solution for maximizing the supervision and development of the national fishery. On the other hand, this project needs a large amount of budget. Therefore, Susi Pudjiastuti selected foreign aid as an alternative option in realizing the idea, which became the research main topic. Through Rational Choice Theory by Stephen Waltz, this research explains that foreign aid for SKPT had been resulted from Susi's decisions as a rational actor. Several potential actors had been chosen as lobbying targets. Based on various considerations and complexity in Susi's interactions with these actors, Japan was finally considered the most prospective entity. Various approaches later were conducted by MMAF to Japan. As a result, Japan through the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) had agreed to assign a grant program to SKPT, and It had been recorded as the foreign aid with the greatest value along the the history of Japan's aid to Indonesia.*

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

This study explains Susi Pudjiastuti's efforts as Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (MMAF) for the 2014-2019 period in overcoming problems in the fisheries sector by constructing strategic facilities in the outer islands of Indonesia. In this case, fish piracy by foreign-flagged vessels or IUU (Illegal, Unreported, Unregulated) fishing is one of the critical problems for the fisheries sector in Indonesia. In 2018, Indonesia ranked second in fisheries volume after China, which was around 7.2 million tons.<sup>1</sup> However, this large volume is much smaller if it is compared to the value of Indonesia's fisheries exports which in the same year was only worth approximately USD 6 billion. This value is below the value of exports gained by Vietnam and China which was valued at around USD 10 billion and USD 25 billion. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (MMAF) estimates that every year Indonesia suffers a loss of USD 672 million to USD 25 billion due to illegal fishing in Indonesian waters. This was obviously economically a loss for Indonesia because perceived fishery resources were perceived by the countries of origin of foreign-flagged vessels. In addition, IUU generally use fishing gear that enables them to capture fishes on a large scale. The impact of overfishing is a threat to biodiversity in Indonesian waters because 37 percent of the world's marine species are living in these areas.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, apart from causing economic losses, IUU also threatens the sustainability of Indonesian fisheries.

There are several factors behind the rise of IUU in Indonesia. One of these factors is the lack of supervision by the relevant authorities. Several agencies are in charge of supervising Indonesian waters such as the Water Police, National Army, Customs, MMAF, Indonesia Maritime Security Agency or BAKAMLA, and Immigration Agency. On the other hand, each institution has overlapping functions causing supervision of IUU to be non-optimal.<sup>3</sup> This, coupled with supporting infrastructure for supervision in the outer islands, has not become a development priority. At the early period of President Joko Widodo's administration, he claimed that Indonesia's development would be more equitable. In contrast, the implementation of the national government seemed inconsistent. This is evidenced by several national strategic project developments still

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<sup>1</sup> Merk, Juli. 10 January 2022. "Can Fishing in Indonesia Be Sustainable?". <https://www.dw.com/en/sustainable-fishing-by-2025-what-is-the-current-situation-in-indonesia/a-60134067/> (accessed 14 November 2022).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Afrida, Nani. 3 February 2015. "Bamkala Trapped in Overlapping Agencies". <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/02/03/bakamla-trapped-overlapping-agencies.html/> (accessed 1 November 2022).

centered on Java Island.<sup>4</sup> Development frameworks are still pragmatic and need not pay attention to the outer islands of Indonesia. As a result, illegal fishing still occurs in Indonesian waters and has been becoming detrimental to local fishermen.

In this case, Susi Pudjiastuti issued an aggressive policy regarding law enforcement for IUU perpetrators. Aggressive policies but had a significant impact, including the sinking of foreign vessels. During her term of office, MMAF reported that Susi Pudjiastuti had given instructions to sink more than 500 foreign vessels, which generally came from Thailand, Vietnam and China.<sup>5</sup> This aggressive policy resulted in IUU experiencing a large reduction of 90 percent.<sup>6</sup> Another policy issued by MMAF during Susi Pudjiastuti's leadership was a ban on fishing gear that could potentially damage marine ecosystems. One of the most widely used illegal fishing gear is cantrang or trawl. Cantrang is dangerous for the environment because the use of nets touches the seabed and is then pulled by vessels, resulting in large fish catching and damage to coral reefs. Using this kind of fishing gear can certainly be detrimental to local fishermen who still use fishing gear with the probability of the results being in the middle to lower scale.

The policies explained above have been well formulated and implemented by Susi Pudjiastuti as Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. Nevertheless, these policies are not long-term and sustainable because the regulations and the implementation can change with the changing regimes and politically influencing the stakeholders. This claim was evidenced by several MMAF regulations in President Joko Widodo's second period, which contradicted the regulations in his first period. The regulation, which states explicitly that illegal foreign vessels must be sunk, has changed its status as a regulation that must be reviewed. This also applies to the prohibition of trawling by fishing vessels. This regulation, which was previously expressly prohibited, has been reviewed, leading to being allowed to return to Joko Widodo's second term. Noticing this fact would happen, since her tenure, Susi Pudjiastuti has also developed a policy concept to encourage the Indonesian marine and fisheries sector which is long-term and sustainable. Susi Pudjiastuti's policy which is later discussed by this thesis was Integrated Center of Marine and Fisheries or *Sentra Kelautan dan Perikanan Terpadu* (SKPT) Project.

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<sup>4</sup> Citradi, Tirta. 27 November 2027. "Proyek Strategis 2021 Jokowi, Kok Masih Jawa Sentris?". <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20201127143721-4-205199/proyek-strategis-2021-jokowi-kok-masih-jawasentris/> (accessed 14 November 2022).

<sup>5</sup> Ancient, David Oliver. 7 September 2019. "This is the number of vessels sunk by the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries." <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/10/07/06122911/ini-nomor-kapal-yang-ditenggelamkan-susi-selama-menjuang-menteri-kelautan?page=all/> (accessed November 14, 2022).

<sup>6</sup> Cabral, Reniel B.; Mayorga, Juan; Clemence, Michaela; Lynham, John; Koeshndrajana, Sonny; Muawanah, Umi; Nugrho, Duto. 2018. "Rapid and Lasting Gains from Solving Illegal Fishing." *Nature Ecology & Evolution* Vol. 2, No. 4: 653.

Compounded the problem by budget cuts by the national government in 2016, Susi Pudjiastuti was then faced with several preferences regarding alternative funding for the SKPT project.<sup>7</sup>

Several countries have the potential to be targeted for lobbying to assist this project. These countries generally have bilateral relations with Indonesia in the Maritime sector consisting of the United States, China and Japan. Lobbying these countries is not without its challenges. These countries have different interests in Indonesia's marine sector. This causes the prospects shown by these countries to also vary. For example, Susi has a complicated relationship with China because of the KKP's anti-IUU policies. The United States also has little interest in developing Indonesia's fisheries sector. Susi Pudjiastuti's rational choice then leads to focus on lobbying Japan. Japan is considered by Susi Pudjiastuti as an actor with the most positive prospects. This had an impact on the realization of foreign aid by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). JICA itself is a governmental institution of Japan which has a mandate for distributing foreign aid to recipient countries to support the development economy in these areas. Foreign aid is a good transfer in the form of funds, goods, or service from country to country or other non-governmental organizations, and 25 percent of that transfers are formed as grants or voluntary gifts. Based on the previous explanation, this research presents the comprehensive explanation about how the rationality of Susi Pudjiastuti as Minister of MMAF influences Japanese foreign policy in the context of transfers grant by JICA using some research details which are explained in the following sub-chapters.

## **II. METHODOLOGY**

This research applied qualitative research methods in its preparation. This research method is defined by Creswell as a means to know and understand the meaning of individuals or groups that are described to social problems or individual actors.<sup>8</sup> This method is a research procedure which in the process of observation uses some descriptive data in the form of statements or the behavior of actors who are in this thesis related to Japanese foreign aid. The qualitative method in this study is used to analyze social phenomena in the form of JICA relation with Susi Pudjiastuti as the Ministry of MMAF in the context of foreign aid or the perceptions of related entities regarding the issues that are discussed in this thesis.

## **III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

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<sup>7</sup> Ambari, M. August 11, 2017. "It's been Two Years, Why is SKPT Development Going So Slow?". <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2017/08/11/Jadi-dua-tahun-kenapa-pembelian-skpt-berjalan-very-lamban/> (accessed November 14, 2022).

<sup>8</sup> Creswell, John W. 2009. *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches 3rd Edition*. (California: Sage Publications): 4.

Susi Pudjiastuti's preferences were formed by several factors, both from within the domestic and foreign spheres. Susi's firm decisions while serving as a minister has shaped the MMAF's relations with other actors. The relations between these actors then formed a pattern that showed how potential these actors are to fund SKPT based on their prospects. As a result, actors who were considered to have the most potential candidates were selected based on Susi's rationality and continue to design strategic approaches to these actors. The following detail is explained by the following paragraphs to provide readers a more comprehensive understanding of how Susi's preferences were formed and how decisions were made.

### **3.1. Central Government Inconsistency in Financing SKPT**

The emergence of Susi Pudjiastuti's preference was heavily influenced by domestic conditions related to fisheries and maritime affairs. As explained in the previous chapter, the SKPT was part of President Joko Widodo's implementation of the World Maritime Axis Doctrine in his first term. The World Maritime Axis itself was also one of his campaign materials during the 2014 presidential election.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the idea of the World Maritime Axis Doctrine was officially presented at the presidential inauguration ceremony on October 20, 2014 at the MPR RI Building. President Joko Widodo stated that stakeholders and other actors must encourage and restore Indonesian maritime culture.<sup>10</sup> Apart from being presented at national forums, Joko Widodo also presented the World Maritime Axis Doctrine in multilateral forums to be precise at the ASEAN-US Summit in Myanmar in November 2014. In his speech, Joko Widodo stated that the sea has an important role in the 21st century. At the forum, Joko Widodo claimed that Indonesia has an essential role in global politics because geographically, Indonesia is flanked by the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. The government also claims to build maritime facilities from the outskirts referring to one of the points in the Nawacita Working Cabinet or President Joko Widodo's first term.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Connelly, Aaron L. 2014. *Indonesian Foreign Policy under President Jokowi*. (Sydney: Lowi Institute for International Policy): 6.

<sup>10</sup> Humas Setkab RI. 20 October 2014. "Pidato Presiden Joko Widodo pada Pelantikan Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia, di Gedung MPR, Senayan, Jakarta, 20 October 2014" <https://setkab.go.id/pidato-presiden-joko-widodo-pada-pelantikan-presiden-dan-wakil-presiden-republik-indonesia-di-gedung-mpr-senayan-jakarta-20-October-2014/> (accessed December 19, 2022).

<sup>11</sup> Wedhaswary, Inggried D. 21 May 2014. "Nawa Cita, 9 Agenda Prioritas Jokowi-JK". <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/21/0754454/.Nawa.Cita.9.Agenda.Prioritas.Jokowi-JK/> (accessed December 18, 2022).

SKPT later became the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries' flagship project for implementing the World Maritime Axis. However, this program experienced budget cuts in 2017. This budget cut was the impact of the central government's policy to save more on state spending under the pretext of maintaining national economic stability.<sup>12</sup> In the middle of his first term administration, the central government issued *the money follow program principle* in the national budgeting process.<sup>13</sup> The national government claimed that 'the money follows program principle' focused on providing a budget for programs that were aligned with national priorities with the assumption that it had a significant impact on public needs.<sup>14</sup> Through this policy, Joko Widodo had commanded all ministries, including the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, to cut their budgets and only focus them on national priority programs.<sup>15</sup> This kind of policy certainly hinders industrialization efforts in Indonesia periphery areas. This is because development would then be focused on areas that had dominant market segments and populations. This is also an obstacle to the even distribution of development which became the initial discourse of the Working Cabinet and Joko Widodo's campaign materials.

Procurement of facilities, such as Fish Processing Units, vessels for fishery cooperatives, and construction of ports in several points of SKPT, was also hampered as a result of this budget cut. Infrastructure development, which initially claimed to be focused on peripheral areas, has actually been hampered due to a reorientation of the budget which emphasizes need-based development for accelerating the economy. The type of development was decided based on the total population of a region. It has resulted in development being focused on areas with dense population conditions such as the

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<sup>12</sup> Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia. 3 August 2016. "Presiden Jokowi: APBN 2017 Harus Sesuai Ekonomi Indonesia dan Global". <https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/presiden-jokowi-apbn-2017-harus-juang-ekonomi-indonesia-dan-global/> (accessed January 14, 2023).

<sup>13</sup> Retnowati, Esti. 14 July 2020. "Irjen Kemenkeu: Konsep Money Follow Program dalam Penganggaran, Wujudkan Indonesia yang Maju dan Berdaulat". <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/berita/baca/21247/Irjen-Kemenkeu-Konsep-Money-Follow-Program-dalam-Penganggaran-Wujudkan-Indonesia-yang-Maju-dan-Sovereign.html/> (accessed January 14, 2023).

<sup>14</sup> KEMENPANRB RI. 29 December 2021. "Askolani, Dongkrak Optimalisasi APBN melalui Reformasi Penganggaran" 29 December 2021" <https://menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/askolani-dongkrak-optimalisasi-apbn-melalui-reformasi-penganggaran#> (accessed January 14, 2023).

<sup>15</sup> Pranasari, Melati A.; Fitri, Suci E. "The Implementation of Restructuring Program and Activities Based On The Money Follow Program In Regions." *Jurnal Tata Kelola dan Akuntabilitas Keuangan Negara* Vol. 6, No. 2 (2020): 164.

islands of Java and Sumatra. This condition was certainly contrary to the claims of the *Kabinet Kerja*, which at the beginning of the administration had committed not to be Java-centric in terms of development. The development would be easy if it is prioritized on the periphery. In fact, in 2017, the national budget cuts for SKPT due to this policy were quite large, amounting to 41.8%.<sup>16</sup> After trimming, the national government budget for SKPT Rp. 657.8 billion. This figure is lower than the beginning of the year which amounted to Rp. 771.8 billion. Even in 2018, the budget from the state budget is only Rp. 275.7 billion.<sup>17</sup> The budget for infrastructure development was drastically boosted in 2017. This was in line with planning for mega projects such as airports and toll roads, which started to be realized in the same year. However, the acceleration of infrastructure development has been hampering development in the outer regions of Indonesia. The budget is focused on the infrastructure that is considered to have more potential to boost the national economy in a relatively fast time, such as highways, airports, dams, and commercial ship ports. These mega projects caused major constraints for the fisheries and marine sectors. Although SKPT is projected as a long-term and sustainable program, the benefits from this facility are not generated in the short term because it was oriented towards the small-scale fisheries industry.

In difficult financial conditions, the SKPT program was continued by MMAF and there were even additional location points in several areas. However, this increase in number was accompanied by a diminishing budget. Some important facilities such as ICS and clean water supply require expensive funds. Based on this fact, an SKPT with a significant need for funds certainly cannot depend on the budget from the national government. This condition then formed Susi Pudjiastuti's preference as the initiator of SKPT in funding this project. The MPA cannot depend on the central government and efforts must be made to find other possible alternatives. This alternative funding can come from domestic or foreign entities. Funding from domestic actors themselves could not be separated from several obstacles.

### **3.2. Susi Pudjiastuti's Preferences Through Foreign Cooperation**

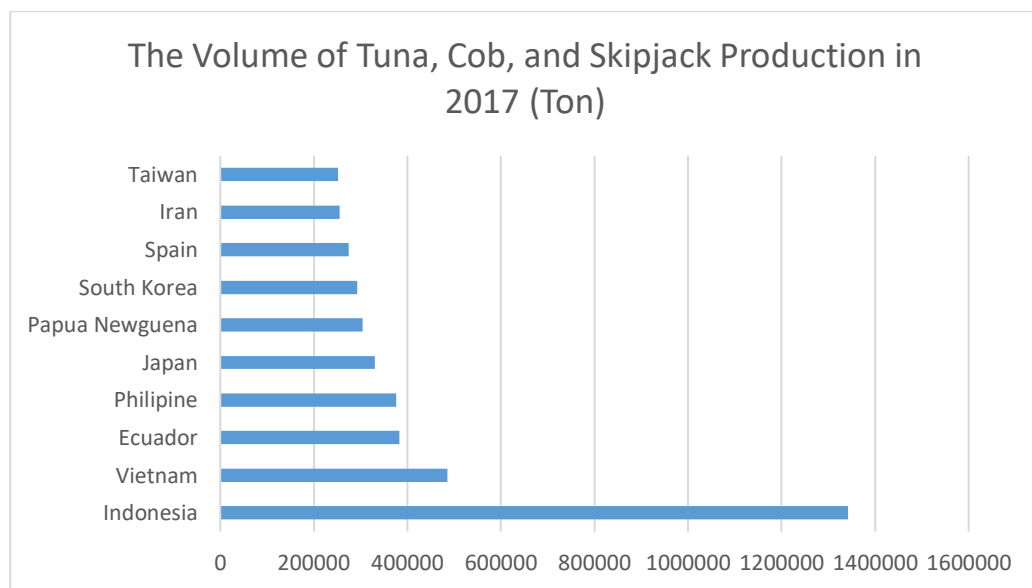
The fact that Indonesia is one of the leading suppliers of fishery commodities for several countries in Asia and outside the region is an added value in the approach activities by MMAF. The quality and quantity of fishery resources in Indonesia can

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<sup>16</sup> Maritime News. "DFW-Indonesia Kritisi Penurunan Alokasi Anggaran SKPT ". 20 February 2023. <http://maritimnews.com/2018/02/dfw-indonesia-kritisi-penurunan-allocation-anggaran-skpt/> (accessed January 14, 2023).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

compete with products from Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam and Thailand. The main types of fish caught in Indonesia and in great demand abroad include tuna, cob, and skipjack. Production in Indonesia had been the highest compared to other countries in 2017. The following is the data for tuna, cob, and skipjack supply countries in the world in 2017:<sup>18</sup>

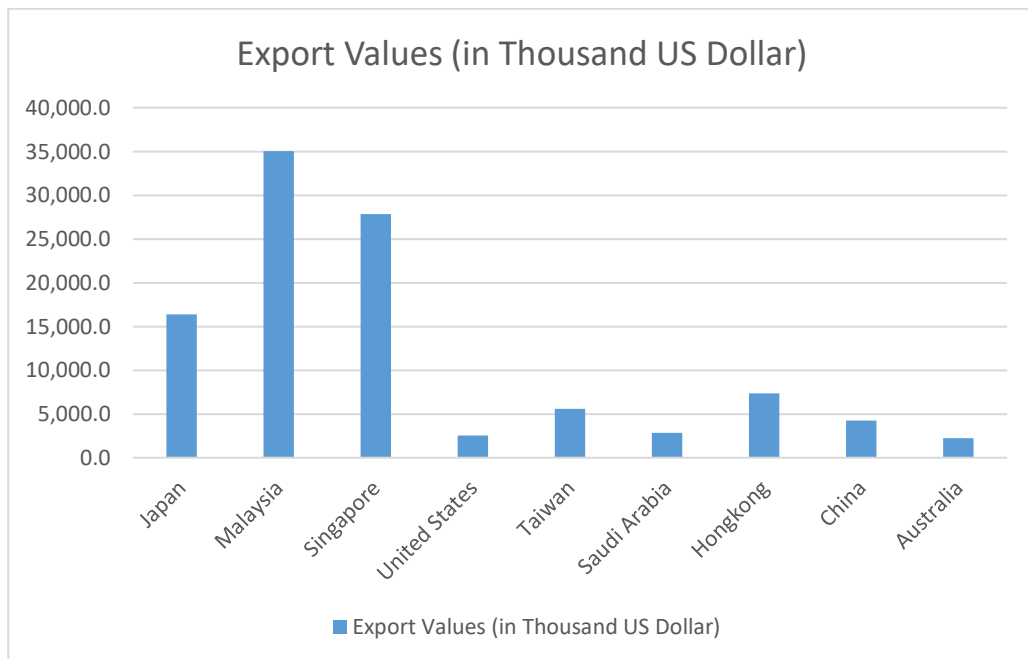


This fact should be sufficient to be a supporting material in approach activities related to fish exports and their supportive facilities. Commodities exported are in the form of processed products and fresh caught fish. The value of exports by Indonesia has also increased along with the action to eradicate IUU in domestic waters. These export destination countries then became Susi's preference in obtaining foreign aid for the SKPT project. The following is data on export destination countries for captured fish commodities during 2018.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Jayani, Dwi Hadya. September 10, 2019. "2017 Tuna, Cob, Cakalang (TTC) Production Volume". <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2019/09/10/production-tuna-tongkol-dan-cakalang-indonesia-terbesar-di-dunia/> (28 January 2023).

<sup>19</sup> BPS. 2 July 2022. "Export of Fresh/Cold Fish caught by Main Destination Countries, 2012-2021". <https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2019/02/25/2024/ekspor-ikan-segar-dinding-hasil-tangkap-menurut-negara-juang-utama-2012-2021.html/> (accessed 17 January 2023).





The data above shows that the majority of catches are exported to several countries in Asia and even to outside regions such as the United States. Therefore, this data shaped Susi’s preferences in building a cooperation framework. However, these countries had advantages and disadvantages when cooperating with Indonesia and this is Susi Pudjiastuti's preference in issuing policies. This would be explained further as follows.

### 3.2.1. United States of America

The United States is a strategic candidate as Indonesia's partner in realizing SKPT. The US has an interest in suppressing China's dominance, including in the region of Southeast Asia. Establishing a partnership with Indonesia in the maritime field would undoubtedly be a strategic step for the US in realizing its goals.<sup>20</sup> The Indo-Pacific region has been a concern of the US since the 2000’s and the US has taken various approaches to strengthen ties with allies and countries with which it has bilateral relations.<sup>21</sup> In the previous period, the US approached in order that Indonesia would be willing, which included cooperation in the field of maritime security from the threat of terrorism and

<sup>20</sup> Laksmiana, Evan A. 2021. "A Fragile Fulcrum: Indonesia-US Military Relations in the Age of Great-power Competition." *Asia Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 4: 106.

<sup>21</sup> Kelton, Maryanne; Wouldis, David. 2019. "A US-Australia-Indonesia Trilateral Security? Conditions for Cooperation ". *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 1.

piracy. However, Indonesia's response could have been more positive regarding this offer. Indonesia agreed to several programs and rejected programs initiated by the US.<sup>22</sup> The agreement is approved depending on how much Indonesia would obtain the prospect of profit. However, Indonesia has responded positively to US support for eradicating IUU, especially MMAF. The US entered into an MoU with the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries regarding eradicating IUU in the second year of Susi Pudjiastuti's administration.<sup>23</sup> This situation has made the US a strategic partner to support the MPA program.

Even though the US during the administration of President Barack Obama began to have an interest in the Indo-Pacific region, conditions in other areas are still an obstacle for the US in maximizing its diplomatic potential in the Indo-Pacific. The US is still stuck in foreign policy for the Middle East region which demands huge costs for the US.<sup>24</sup> At this time, the US had to deal with the prolonged impact of the offensive policies aimed at Iraq during the administration of President George W. Bush. The US also has to deal with the escalation of increasingly widespread conflicts experienced by other Middle Eastern countries such as Syria and Libya. The efforts to securitize terrorist networks in Afghanistan and Pakistan are quite a concern for the US.<sup>25</sup> Apart from being preoccupied with affairs in the Middle East and South Asia, the US is also focusing on the Latin American region. The US made various efforts as a step to normalize relations with Cuba, which had never improved since the Cold War.<sup>26</sup> This further disrupts the US focus on Southeast Asia. The situation has not changed much during the presidential period after Barack Obama, namely Donald Trump, who had served since 2016 and is supported by the Republican Party. In fact, the issue of strengthening cooperation in Southeast Asia was less discussed compared to the administration of Barack Obama.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Febrica, Senia. 2015. "Why Cooperate? Indonesia and Anti-Maritime Terrorism Cooperation". *Asian Politics & Policy*, Vol. 7 No. 1: 125.

<sup>23</sup> Yomkondo Elizabeth Katharine; Rachmat, Rachmaniar. 2020. "Indonesia-USA Cooperation to Combat Illegal Fishing: Impact or Less Impact?". *Indonesia's Path toward Middle Powership*. (Surabaya: Airlangga University Press): 105.

<sup>24</sup> Unger, David. 2016. "The Foreign Policy Legacy of Barack Obama" . *The International Spectator*, Vol. 51, no. 4:16.

<sup>25</sup> Singh, Robert. 2012. *Barack Obama's Post-American Foreign Policy: the Limits of Engagement* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic): 86.

<sup>26</sup> Leogrande, W. M. 2015. "Normalizing US-Cuba Relations: Escaping the Shackles of the Past". *International Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 3: 486.

<sup>27</sup> Dalpino, Catharine. 2017. "US Security Relations with Southeast Asia in The Trump Administration". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol. 39, No. 1: 3.

Additionally, *America First* became the main slogan in Donald Trump's presidential campaign.<sup>28</sup> This shows US policy which is more inclined to domestic politics and is inversely proportional to the previous president who was more busy dealing with foreign affairs.

On the other hand, Indonesia is an essential partner for USAID (The United States Agency for International Development). USAID is an agency under the United States government that is responsible for providing assistance and foreign assistance.<sup>29</sup> USAID distributes aid to Indonesia in various fields such as education, health, and the economy. In terms of education, for example, USAID provides assistance to increase youth literacy and improve education.<sup>30</sup> USAID Indonesia has *the Indonesian Sustainable Ecosystem Advanced project* or also known as USAID SEA.<sup>31</sup> This project is intended to increase small and medium-scale fishing and support research related to MPA (Marine Protected Area) or marine protected areas.<sup>32</sup> Based on the projects implemented by USAID for fisheries and marine affairs in Indonesia, it can be concluded that they are only focused on conservation aspects and not on efforts to improve the economy of grassroots communities. Based on these facts, the approach toward USAID needs to look more prospective. And this argument was strengthened by the style of US foreign policy at that time which was pragmatic and did not pay much attention to the Southeast Asian region.

### **3.2.2. China**

The primary export destinations for Indonesian fishery commodities are China and its two autonomous countries namely Taiwan and Hong Kong. China is also the goal of Indonesia's approach to implementing the doctrine of the World Maritime Axis. Many parties view cooperation with China as important for realizing this doctrine because both

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<sup>28</sup> Wright, Thomas. 2016. *The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Crisis of US Foreign Policy*. (Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy): 3.

<sup>29</sup> USAID. 18 February 2023. "Mission, Vision and Values". <https://www.usaid.gov/about-us/mission-vision-values/> (accessed 29 January 2023).

<sup>30</sup> Lopus, Jane S.; Amidjono, Dwi Sulistyorini; Grimes, Paul W. 2019. "Improving Financial Literacy of the Poor and Vulnerable in Indonesia: An Empirical Analysis." *International Review of Economics Education* No. 32: 12.

<sup>31</sup> Sari, Irna; Ichsan, Muhammad; White, Alan; Raup, Syahril A.; Wisudo, Sugeng H. 2021. "Monitoring Small-Scale Fisheries Catches in Indonesia through a Fishing Logbook System: Challenges and Strategies." *Marine Policy* Vol. 134: 3.

<sup>32</sup> Catharina, Celly. 2016. *Indonesia Sustainable Ecosystem Advanced (SEA) Project*. (USAID Indonesia): 10.

have aligned interests in the maritime sector.<sup>33</sup> China is interested in realizing the BRI (Belt and Road Initiative). BRI aims to secure its trade routes via sea by connecting several ports and waters in sub-regions in Africa, Asia, and Europe.<sup>34</sup> China has even stated that it would support the Sea Highway project which is Joko Widodo's flagship program in supporting both domestic and global supply chains.<sup>35</sup> Although China has invested in several marine facilities in Indonesia, the relations between Susi Pudjiastuti and China were quite complicated. At the beginning of her term in office, Susi Pudjiastuti thwarted the realization of MMAF MoU with China in terms of procuring fishing vessels by China for Indonesia. This MoU was canceled based on the argument that this collaboration need to be not in line with the sustainable vision and mission of MMAF.<sup>36</sup> In the MoU document, China plans to operate 1,000 large-scale purse-seine fishing vessels to operate in Indonesia. This collaboration was thwarted through Minister of Maritime Affairs Regulations No. 56 of 2014 and No. 57 of 2014 which emphasized the capacity limit for fishing vessels and the prohibition of foreign fishing vessels in Indonesian waters. In addition, this MoU was signed two weeks before Susi Pudjiastuti was sworn in as Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries.

In addition, Chinese-flagged fishing vessels have had many violations of fishing zones or fish theft in several areas, one of which is Natuna waters.<sup>37</sup> According to international law, this certainly violates Indonesian sovereignty. Susi Pudjiastuti in several cases criticized the central government's indecisive response in this matter both during and after taking office. This unresponsive attitude is based on China's large investment in Indonesia. China indeed invested a lot in Indonesia in the first period of President Joko Widodo's administration. This issue is the subject of academic debate

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<sup>33</sup> Amalia, Risky. 2018. "Indonesia-China Maritime Cooperation Towards of Indonesia Vision as a World Maritime Axis". *E-Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 3: 1271.

<sup>34</sup> Huang, Yiping. 2016. "Understanding China's Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment." *China Economic Review* 40: 314.

<sup>35</sup> Nainggolan, Poltak Partogi. 2015. "Maritime Ais Policy and Its International Implications". *Politica* Vol. 6 No. 2: 175.

<sup>36</sup> MMAF. "Alasan Kerjasama 1000 Kapal Super Purse Seine Cina Dibatalkan". <https://MMAF.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Alasan-Kerjasama-1000-Kapal-Super-Purse-Seine-Cina-Dibatalkan.pdf/> (accessed 15 January 2023).

<sup>37</sup> BBC News Indonesia. 30 December 2019. "Foreign Fishing Vessels Enter Natuna: Indonesia Protests Strongly to Beijing and Vietnamese vessels Had Just Been Arrested". <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-50925653/> (accessed 6 January 2023).

regarding its impact on Indonesian sovereignty.<sup>38</sup> This investment becomes China's soft power in IUU actions. This is proven by the fact that only three Chinese-flagged vessels were blown up based on a court decision during the administration of Susi Pudjiastuti.<sup>39</sup> Legal action is straight of foreign vessels, but China has experienced a softer attitude.<sup>40</sup> There was a case where a Chinese-flagged ship escaped after being sentenced to sink. Even so, the sinking of the Chinese ship by Susi Pudjiastuti elicited a strong response from China.<sup>41</sup> This event sufficiently illustrates how complicated the relations between Susi Pudjiastuti and China were. As a result, the approach to China for cooperation in realizing SKPT would not provide positive prospects.

### 3.2.3. Japan

Apart from being one of the leading markets for fisheries exports from Indonesia, Japan is also interested in Indonesian waters both in terms of security and economy. Bilateral relations between Indonesia and Japan have started since 1958. Since that year, Japan has been active in channeling foreign aid to Indonesia for various sectors such as the economy, health, and education.<sup>42</sup> Japan even became one of the countries that signed the establishment of an organization called OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) which is engaged in the distribution of foreign aid.<sup>43</sup> Japan then became an important member that is active in channeling foreign aid to

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<sup>38</sup> Tan, Huileng. 15 April 2019. "The Specter of Chinese Investment Looms over Of Indonesia Election". <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/04/16/indonesia-elections-jokowi-prabowo-and-the-topic-of-china.html/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>39</sup> Idris, Muhammad. 6 January 2020. "Selama Jadi Menteri, Berapa Kapal China Ditenggelamkan Susi?" <https://money.kompas.com/read/2020/01/06/160600226/selama-jadi-menteri-berapa-kapal-china-ditenggelamkan-susi?page=all/> (accessed February 6, 2023).

<sup>40</sup> Connelly, Aaron L. 2016. *Indonesia in the South China Sea: Going It Alone*. (Sydney: Lowi Institute for International Policy): 8.

<sup>41</sup> Ancient, Cornelius. 4 October 2017. "Commentary : Susi: Rebuked by China, Cherished (Wrongly) by Indonesians". <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/10/04/commentary-susi-rebuked-by-china-cherished-wrongly-by-indonesians.html/> (accessed February 6, 2023).

<sup>42</sup> Wanandi, Yusuf. March 24, 2008. "Japan-Indonesia Relations: A 50 Year Journey". <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/03/23/japanindonesia-relations-a-50-year-journey.html> (accessed 16 January 2023).

<sup>43</sup> OECD. "Japan and the OECD". <https://www.oecd.org/japan/japanandtheoecd.htm#:~:text=Japan%20signed%20the%20Convention%20founding,achieving%20the%20Organisation's%20fundamental%20aims.> (accessed 16 January 2023).

recipient countries. This became one of Susi Pudjiastuti's considerations in lobbying Japan. In addition to these historical facts, there are other Japanese interests in Indonesia

Historically, Indonesia's geographical conditions and natural sources had been the main attraction for Japan since the Pacific War.<sup>44</sup> Since the 1970's, Japan had attempted various non-militaristic approaches to strengthen relations between this country and ASEAN members.<sup>45</sup> Japan had also been the target of lobbying by Indonesia in realizing the World Maritime Axis. This is because Japan has several interests in the Indonesian maritime areas. Regarding security, the Malacca Strait had been the main trade route of Japan for decades. This line is a vital role in Japan's supply chain with other regions, especially the US as Japan's main alliance after the Pacific War. One of the threats faced by Japanese vessels is pirate's activity.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, the rise of domination by China in this region had been considered by Japan. China, in this case, was a rival for both the US and Japan.<sup>47</sup> Because these areas were outside of Japan's jurisdiction, it seemed crucial to cooperate intensely with countries in Southeast Asia. During the administration of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan held several bilateral meetings and discussed strengthening maritime cooperation with Indonesia, both in the form of investment and training related to territorial waters surveillance activities.<sup>48</sup>

Apart from interests related to security, other factors influence Japan's preferences in this maritime cooperation. This is the potential for natural resources in the form of Indonesian marine commodities. Culinary, based on seafood, is a part of Japanese culture. This fact has made Japan a country with high consumption of seafood.<sup>49</sup> Per year, it is estimated that the Japanese population consumes as much as 8.5 million tons

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<sup>44</sup> Bahri, M. Mossadeq. 2004. "International Aid for Development? An Overview of Japanese ODA to Indonesia." *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia* Vol. 8, No. 1: 43.

<sup>45</sup> Pressello, Andrea. 2014. "The Fukuda Doctrine and Japan's Role in Shaping Post-Vietnam War Southeast Asia." *Japanese Studies* Vol. 34, No. 1: 37.

<sup>46</sup> Rosenberg, David; Chung, Christopher. "Maritime Security in the South China Sea: Coordinating Coastal and User State Priorities" . *Ocean Development & International Law* Vol. 39, No. 1 (2008): 56 .

<sup>47</sup> Storey, Ian. 2013. "Japan's Maritime Security Interest in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea Dispute". *Political Science* Vol. 65, No. 2: 135.

<sup>48</sup> Dw.com. 17 January 2017. "Indonesia and Japan Strengthen Maritime Cooperation". <https://www.dw.com/id/indonesia-dan-jepang-akan-perkuat-kerjasama-keamanan-maritim/a-37145910/> (accessed 12 February 2023).

<sup>49</sup> Pramod, Ganapathiraju; Pitcher, Tony J.; Mantha, Gopikrishna. 2017. "Estimates of Illegal and Unreported Seafood Imports to Japan." *Marine Policy* Vol. 84: 42.

of protein produced by marine food products.<sup>50</sup> In addition, FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) in the fisheries sector in Indonesia, among others, is dominated by companies from Japan. In this case, Japan occupies the third position as *the home country* for FDI in the fisheries sector which includes processing to export to Japan.<sup>51</sup> Among the commodities from Indonesia, popular in Japan is tuna.<sup>52</sup> The fact that one of SKPT's projections is to increase tuna exports can strengthen Susi Pudjiastuti's position in lobbying activities with Japan.

However, Japan's relationship with the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries during the reign of Susi Pudjiastuti was not without dynamics. It is not uncommon for Japan and Susi to have disagreements in several agreements, especially those related to capture fisheries business activities. An example is the detention of 12 fishing vessels from Japan carried out by MMAF authorities.<sup>53</sup> In addition, these Japanese-flagged vessels also generated trawl which MMAF had strictly prohibited. There has been some lobbying conducted by the Japanese government to release their vessels. Among the things offered were converting of fishing vessels into fish processing vessels and exempting tuna export tariffs in Japan. However, this offer was firmly rejected by Susi Pudjiastuti because she considered that this offer was irrelevant to the mission of expanding access to the Indonesian fisheries market to Japan. Foreign companies were only allowed to invest in processing fishery products, not in fishing activities. Even so, Susi's decision did not have a fatal impact on Japan-Indonesia relations in the maritime aspect.

Relations between Indonesia and Japan were relatively good during Joko Widodo's first term as president. Lobbying that could have been more successful regarding the release of Japanese-flagged vessels to MMAF did not necessarily worsen Japan's relations with this ministry. Precisely worsening ties with the MMAF would result in ineffective conditions for Japan in achieving its interests in Indonesia. Therefore,

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<sup>50</sup> Megumi, Fukumitsu. "Seafood from the World to Tables in Japan". 15 June 2002. <https://web-japan.org/nipponia/nipponia21/en/feature/feature03.html/> (accessed 9 February 2023).

<sup>51</sup> The Jakarta Post. February 14, 2019. "Indonesia Invites Japanese Firms to Invest in Fish Shipments". <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/02/14/indonesia-invites-japanese-firms-to-invest-in-fish-shipment.html/> (accessed 13 February 2023).

<sup>52</sup> Kartiko, Tofan Dwi; Mursitama, Tirta Nugraha. 2022. "Making Global Maritime Fulcrum Relevant: Efforts to Increase Indonesian Tuna Exports to Japan". *Proceedings of the International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management*: 3976.

<sup>53</sup> Pablo, Samuel. 11 April 2019. "Demi Tuna, Ini Cerita Susi Tolak Beri Izin Kapal Jepang." <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190411160059-4-66088/demi-tuna-ini-cerita-susi-tolak-beri-izin-kapal-jepang/> (accessed January 14, 2023).

it would be more profitable for Japan to maintain good ties with the MMAF regardless of disputes. The issue of Japanese vessels being detained by MMAF did not become an issue that Japan exaggerated. Japan is increasingly showing interest in further building cooperation with MMAF. The absence of the US presence as a significant ally in Southeast Asia due to its focus on other regions gives Japan more responsibility in embracing Indonesia which at the same time has considerable influence in the area. Based on the facts showing that the dynamics of Indonesia-Japan relations tend to be stable in the maritime aspect and this country has interests in Indonesian waters, the approach to Japan is then considered to have the most prospective value for the project of SKPT compared to other countries. Therefore, there were several strategies in approaching Japan which will be explained in more detail as follows:

### **3.3. Susi Pudjiastuti's Approach to Japan in Realizing SKPT**

Based on Japan's most prospective position to be invited to cooperate in realizing the SKPT, Susi Pudjiastuti made several strategies as an approach. This approach is not only carried out through direct two-way dialogue between the MMAF and Japan, and is also assisted by other actors concerned with Indonesia-Japan relations. This aims to provide more knowledge to Japan about the importance of this infrastructure, not only for Indonesia but also for Japan. These actors convinced Japan that the two countries had aligned interests in Indonesian waters, especially in the fishing industry. As a result, these approaches were made to further convince Japan to fund this facility. These approaches would be explained in the following sub-chapters:

#### **3.3.1. Direct Approach to Stakeholders**

This approach is carried out with actors who had authority in Japan's foreign affairs. The actor targeted at the start was Tanizaki Yasuaki as the Japanese ambassador to Indonesia at that time.<sup>54</sup> Previously, it was Taniaki Yasuaki who first lobbied Susi Pudjiastuti in 2015 to lift the ban on foreign investment in fishing vessels, even though Tanizaki's goal was never realized.<sup>55</sup> In the following year, the situation reversed where Susi lobbied Tanizaki Yasuaki. The issue, they discussed, was the potential for the tuna

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<sup>54</sup> Simanjuntak, Damiana. 12 December 2016. "Japan Keen on Investing in Tuna Processing Facilities in Indonesia". <https://jakartaglobe.id/business/japan-keen-investing-tuna-processing-facilities-indonesia/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>55</sup> Embassy of Japan in Indonesia. 13 March 2015. "Ambassador Tanizaki Yasuaki's Honorary Visit to Ms. Susi Pudjiastuti, Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia". [https://www.id.emb-japan.go.jp/news15\\_22.html/](https://www.id.emb-japan.go.jp/news15_22.html/) (accessed February 14, 2023).



industry in Indonesia. Susi through Yasuaki Tanizaki invited Japan to invest in tuna packaging and processing considering the great potential in Indonesia and stable demand by Japan. Susi claims that the assistance for this unit would benefit not only Indonesia domestically but also Japanese entrepreneurs who had undertaken economic activities in the fisheries sector. This active approach then continues down to the ministry level. Susi held meetings with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan several times to discuss cooperation and understanding in the marine and fisheries sector.

The issue that was actively discussed in Susi Pudjiastuti's approach to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan was the liberation of tariff barriers on fishery commodities from Indonesia.<sup>56</sup> Fishery commodities from Indonesia were still burdened with a tariff barrier of 7 percent and according to Susi Pudjiastuti, this figure is very large when converted to nominal rupiah currency. During Susi Pudjiastuti's tenure, the special right of tariff-free ownership in Southeast Asia was felt by Thailand and Vietnam, even though Indonesia was more committed to implementing anti-IUU policies.<sup>57</sup> Although the above issues were the main topics during the discussion, Susi never forgot to mention the SKPT facilities in the outer islands of Indonesia and the importance of Japan's presence in realizing this strategic program. The SKPT then became a topic between MMAF and Japan and other relevant state agencies that established relations with Japan.

### **3.3.2. Approach through Intermediaries Other Related Institutions**

The state institution that became the central intermediary for the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in lobbying for Japan was the MoFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs constitutionally holds authority in the formulation and execution of foreign policies.<sup>58</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has more access to the lobbying process both in a bilateral, regional, and global scope. In the case of Japan, the two countries had a special cooperation framework, namely IJEPA (Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement) which

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<sup>56</sup> Pablo, Samuel. 29 January 2019. "Ini Alasan Susi Ngotot Minta Jepang Hapus Bea Masuk Tuna RI." <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190129161403-4-52896/ini-alasan-susi-ngotot-minta-jepang-hapus-bea-Masuk-tuna-ri/> (accessed 15 January 2023).

<sup>57</sup> MMAF. 31 May 2018. "Bertemu Menlu Jepang, Menteri Susi Kembali Upayakan Pembebasan Tarif Bea Masuk Produk Perikanan Indonesia". <https://news.kkp.go.id/index.php/bertemu-menlu-jepang-menteri-susi-kembali-usahakan-pembebasan-tarif-bea-entry-product-perikanan-indonesia/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>58</sup> Maulina, Joanita, and Yova Ruldeviyani. 2019. "Data Governance and Data Architecture for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia." *2019 International Conference on Information Management and Technology*, 410.

covers investment and trade activities between the two countries.<sup>59</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had actively conducted various dialogues with Japan through this special platform. Based on this opportunity, there were several points ordered by MMAF to participate in discussions with Japan, one of which was the SKPT program. Retno Marsudi as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia conveyed this point in a bilateral forum with Japan.<sup>60</sup> While the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is actively exercising its authority, Susi has also approached other ministers to lobby with Japan. This actor is Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan as the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment.

Apart from being a Minister, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan was and at the same time was an actor who had a strong influence on foreign policy formation during the administration of President Joko Widodo.<sup>61</sup> In addition, the position held by Luhut Binsar has more authority in matters of coordination and synchronization of investments and other issues related to maritime affairs.<sup>62</sup> Susi herself has a complicated relationship with Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan. Luhut has a close connection with Chinese investors who at the time protested against Susi Pudjiastuti's anti-IUU policy. Luhut invited China to invest in Indonesian fishing even though foreign investment practices were expressly prohibited by Susi Pudjiastuti.<sup>63</sup> This connection was built when Luhut served as Indonesian ambassador to Singapore during the administration of President

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<sup>59</sup> Effendi, Ferry; Mackey, Timothy Ken; Huang, May Chih; Chen, ChingMin. 2017. "IJEPA: Gray Area for Health Policy and International Nurse Migration". *Nursing Ethics* Vol. 24 No.3: 314.

<sup>60</sup> Adiyudha, Rizkyan. 26 June 2018. "Japan Strengthens Maritime Cooperation with Indonesia". <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/pawmiv377/jepang-perkuat-kerja-sama-maritim-dengan-ri/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>61</sup> Weatherbee, Donald E. 2017. "Of Indonesia Foreign Policy in 2016: Garuda Hovering." *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 165.

<sup>62</sup> Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment. November 12, 2020. "Organization and Work Procedure of the Coordinating Ministry for Investment". <https://jdih.maritim.go.id/organization-dan-tata-kerja-kemenko-marves#:~:text=Kemenko%20Marves%20mempunyai%20task%20organizes,in%20field%20maritime%20and%20investment./> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>63</sup> Antara News. 4 September 2019. "Indonesia Offers Sea Territory for Investment to China". <https://bali.antaranews.com/en/berita/95347/indonesia-offers-sea-territory-for-investment-to-china/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

Abdurrahman Wahid in 1999-2000.<sup>64</sup> Luhut was once an intermediary for China to lobby Susi to stop anti-IUU policies and instead they would invest in SKPT programs.<sup>65</sup>

Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan later suggested that Susi should focus more on the aquaculture industry to boost export volumes rather than just caring for foreign-flagged fishing vessels and refocus on foreign investment. Susi Pudjiastuti flatly rejected it without any compromise. On the other hand, Luhut is still considered an important part of realizing the MMAF program through foreign cooperation because he has more authority. Luhut has an important role within the cooperation framework of the Indonesia-Japan Maritime Forum (IJMF), which was initiated in 2015.<sup>66</sup> Susi lobbied Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan to include MMAF programs in discussions with Japan in this forum. Apart from discussing investment for land transportation infrastructure, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan also then offered investment to Japan for the outer islands of Indonesia consisting of Sabang, Natuna, and Morotai at the first IJMF meeting in 2016. As a result, there were further discussions between Japan and Indonesia to hold assistance and assistance related to the fisheries sector for several of these regions.<sup>67</sup>

However the assistance was distributed by Japan, the six SKPT locations that received the assistance mentioned above were determined by MMAF.<sup>68</sup> This determination is based on several considerations both in terms of natural potential and geographical location. Geographically, the six SKPTs are on the northside of Indonesia or in the South China Sea. Therefore, the SKPT receiving grants from JICA is projected to support fisheries exports for countries on the northern side of Indonesia such as China, Japan, and Malaysia. The assistance provided by JICA for the project of SKPT was not only in the form of financial assistance but also an improvement in human capital. Inadequate Human Resources is indeed a challenge for the project of SKPT. This is due

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<sup>64</sup> Saat, Norshahril Saat; Country, Siwage Dharma. 2019. *Jokowi's Second-Term Priorities and Challenges: An Interview with Luhut B. Pandjaitan*. (Singapore: Yushof Ishak Institute): 2.

<sup>65</sup> Scarpello, Fabio. "Susi Versus the Rest: the Political Economy of the Fisheries Industry in Indonesia during Jokowi's First Term."..... : 10.

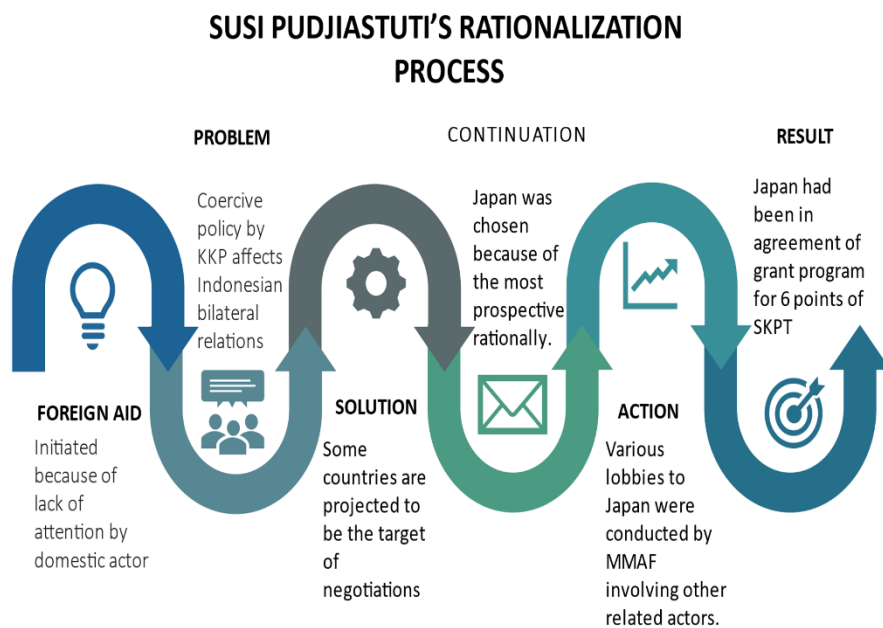
<sup>66</sup> Parameswaran, Prashanth. 24 March 2014. "Japan and Indonesia: A New Maritime Forum?". <https://thediplomat.com/2015/03/japan-and-indonesia-a-new-maritime-forum/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>67</sup> tempo.co. 22 December 2016. "Indonesia, Japan Established Maritime Forum". <https://en.tempo.co/read/829693/indonesia-japan-establish-maritime-forum/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

<sup>68</sup> Tempo.co. 1 January 2017. "Indonesia, Japan Establish Maritime Forum". <https://en.tempo.co/read/829693/indonesia-japan-establish-maritime-forum> (accessed 19 December 2022).

to the remote and outermost areas resulting in a lack of ability of the local population to access adequate education. Therefore it is also necessary to empower the community through the provision of training needed as an effort to support the SKPT project. For clarity, this chapter includes the following infographics:

Based on the infographic listed above, it can be understood that the realization of the grant program from JICA was resulted from the rationality of Susi Pudjiastuti as the decision maker in MMAF. Susi Pudjiastuti, as the first female Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, played a very important role, like her institution's relations with other related actors. But not only as the first female minister, she is also known by both academics and the general public as a figure who is firm and creates many new innovations for the survival and sustainability of the Indonesian fisheries sector which favors the lower middle class.



#### IV. CONCLUSION

The findings from this research illustrate that the foreign aid, assisted by Japan through JICA to the six SKPTs, was shaped by Susi Pudjiastuti's rationality in securitizing and improving the fisheries sector in Indonesia. There need to be more consistency shown by the national government in developing the outer islands and the

lack of synergy between other national institutions in encouraging public living standards through the realization of the SKPT. This fact has driven Susi Pudjiastuti to prefer foreign aid as an alternative option. However, the fact that Susi's leadership style is firm towards violations committed by foreign-flagged vessels had shaped complexity in the relations of this institution with other entities. The relations between actors discussed in this research is seen as a causal impact of the policies, both lenient and firm, issued by the MMAF during Susi Pudjiastuti's administration. This non-intervention decision, regarding eradicating IUU and increasing fisheries commodities, had shaped the pattern and dynamics of relations faced by Indonesia with several countries which had intense reciprocal communication on maritime and fisheries issues.

This pattern that has Susi Pudjiastuti's rationality been formed, had been formulated to be the basis for Susi Pudjiastuti in formulating prospective options for the SKPT project through foreign assistance. Lobbying to China and Southeast Asian Countries, such as Vietnam and Thailand, had not seemed prospective because all of these actors potentially applied the termination of anti-IUU policies as their bargaining chip. Meanwhile, the United States is not the target of lobbying because this country has been preoccupied with other regions that are quite draining on their national budget, such as in West Asia and South America. In the case of Australia, this country still emphasizes protectionism for food commodities in order that lobbying with this country was considered not prospective. All these facts were not uncovered in Japan-Indonesia relations. Japan tends to seek a secure position with countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, in order that Japan does not overreact to Susi Pudjiastuti's policies. Rationally, Japan would not utilize the termination of the anti-IUU policy as a bargaining chip, however their business in fisheries had suffered losses before. Through Susi Pudjiastuti's rationalization process, Japan was considered as the most potential entity to assist MMAF in realizing its strategic program. As a result, Indonesia managed several negotiations with Japan to sign an MoU regarding the distribution of aid for the SKPT facility. Japan's assistance then has been for SKPT and other corporations such as aquaculture and surveillance of territorial waters.

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