



## INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN DIGITAL ERA: POLIHEURISTIC THEORY

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### *Abstract*

*This paper aims to analyze the considerations in the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy and diplomacy in the digital era in economic and social fields. This study uses a qualitative paradigm with descriptive analysis type. This research uses a case study method with secondary data collection techniques taken from various relevant references. The results found that Indonesian foreign policy in the digital era through poliheuristic theory. Formulation of foreign policy in the digital era concerns why it is carried out, what is its purpose, who carries it out, where it is carried out and how it is implemented. The analysis finds that the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy and diplomacy has two considerations, namely psychological cognitive and rational calculation. Thus, it can be concluded that Indonesia's interests in the economic and social fields have a great opportunity to make Indonesia a transformed country in the digital era.*

**Keywords:** *digital era, foreign policy, Indonesia, poliheuristic*

### **Abstrak**

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pertimbangan dalam perumusan kebijakan luar negeri dan diplomasi Indonesia di era digital di bidang ekonomi dan sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma kualitatif dengan tipe analisis deskriptif. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi kasus dengan teknik pengumpulan data sekunder yang diambil dari berbagai referensi yang relevan. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia di era digital melalui teori poliheuristik. Kebijakan luar negeri di era digital menyangkut mengapa hal itu dilakukan, apa tujuannya, siapa yang melaksanakannya, di mana dilaksanakan dan bagaimana pelaksanaannya. Analisis menemukan bahwa perumusan kebijakan luar negeri dan diplomasi Indonesia memiliki dua pertimbangan, yaitu psikologis kognitif dan perhitungan rasional. Dengan demikian, dapat disimpulkan bahwa kepentingan Indonesia di bidang ekonomi dan sosial memiliki peluang besar untuk menjadikan Indonesia negara yang bertransformasi di era digital.

**Kata Kunci:** era digital, Indonesia, kebijakan luar negeri, poliheuristik

## Introduction

The formulation of foreign policy in the external environment is currently undergoing significant changes. Countries must be able to adapt to changes in the strategic environment due to the inclusion of information technology in foreign policy formulations. Rosenau said there are four patterns of adaptation: a) preservative adaptation (responsive attitude to demands and changes in the internal and external environment); b) acquiescent adaptation (being concerned about internal and external changes); c) intransigent adaptation (responsive attitude to the internal environment); and d) promotive adaptation (being indifferent to the internal and external environment). The consequence of this adaptation is that the state must innovate (Rosenau, 1971). Stated that in the globalization era, all political decisions are foreign policy in one way or another. Furthermore, they said that foreign policy decisions were a form of high commitment in the form of continuous actions and reactions involving different actors. Foreign policy is the process of investigating, identifying problems, solving problems and forming perceptions to achieve national interests (Hill & Brighi, 2012). Hudson and Day convey that foreign policy researchers will face something complex from micro to macro analysis. Analysts will deal with interdisciplinary disciplines from psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, anthropology and a variety of other disciplines. Foreign policy analysis is an analyst's attempt to explain how the policy was adopted and the reasons for it. The complexity involves culture, identity, experience, cognitive and other factors (Hudson & Day, 2020).

The formulation of Indonesian foreign policy in accordance with the mandate of the Indonesian constitution, Law Number 37/1999 states that as a sovereign state Indonesia strives not to interfere in the affairs of other countries, but still tries to establish cooperative relationships on the principle of togetherness and mutual benefit. Indonesia as a sovereign and independent country strives to participate in world peace and social justice. This is done through foreign relations which are pursued both in cooperation with the state, international organizations and other international legal subjects.

The formulation of this policy is said to be related to Indonesia's foreign policy which is pursued with the principle of free and active to achieve national interests. Indonesian foreign policy is implemented through diplomacy through creative, active, flexible, anticipatory principles, not just a mere formal meeting. The formulation of

Indonesia's foreign policy is pursued through 4 + 1 diplomacy. Quoted from (Augesti, 2019) Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi conveyed Indonesia's foreign policy orientation through 4 + 1 diplomacy. This diplomacy concerns: 1) Strengthening Economic Diplomacy 2) Indonesian diplomacy is directed to protect Indonesian citizens abroad, 3) Sovereignty and Nationality Diplomacy, 4) Increasing Indonesia's Contribution and Leadership in the Region and the World and combined with (+1) namely creating diplomats that are transformative, transparent, and able to innovate with information technology (Fitriani & Vido, 2018). This paper only discusses the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy in protection social and economic field.

Protection diplomacy is a form of Indonesian diplomacy to protect its citizens abroad or protect the country from traditional and nontraditional threats. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' efforts to create a portal to care for Indonesian citizens. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs encourages regular, regular migration based on good governance. Indonesia in various international forums especially in the ASEAN cooperation area. Indonesia has always been active in discussing regular migration based on multi-stakeholder cooperation. This activity is carried out based on systems and innovations to prevent irregularities from occurring in international migration that has the potential for transnational crimes such as human trafficking, illegal workers, and other crimes (Kemlu, 2021).

Economic diplomacy is one of the pillars of Indonesia's foreign policy which is designed through strategic steps. The steps are point 1) strengthening the domestic market as one of the foundations of the national economy. When the economy fluctuates, Indonesia must be able to take advantage of the domestic market with a population of 250 million. Indonesia must maintain market legalization and prevent dumping practices. And the last point is 6) encouraging a creative and innovative Indonesian economy in the 4.0 era. This digitalization is very important because of Indonesia's potential to participate in digital economic contestation (Hasugian, 2019) So, the social and economic fields can be an important part in the implementation of digitizing Indonesia's foreign policy. The protection of citizens abroad and the expansion of the Indonesian economy in digital instruments will strengthen Indonesia's foreign policy transformation.

Why should Indonesia make changes and adaptation of foreign policy in the digital era? That some countries have changed and innovated with their foreign policy

orientation and strategy, such as Switzerland, which has designed its foreign policy strategy since November 2020. Switzerland is at the forefront of foreign policy digitization as evidenced by its participation at the summit. World Summit on the Information Society in 2003. Apart from that, the involvement of Switzerland in leading the Open-Ended Working Group or UN international cyber cooperation. Switzerland is also actively involved in European cyber security cooperation or the Organization for Security and Co-operation Europe and the Internet Governance Forum. There are at least three goals for Switzerland in this foreign policy formulation, namely a) mapping the current situation or understanding the strategic environment, b) formulating best practices or best actions and c) helping developing countries to develop their digital tools. Switzerland feels the benefits of this foreign policy in the world of diplomacy and consular affairs, international communication sees also (Kurbalija & Hone, 2021).

Indonesia as a country that is part of the information society must adapt and innovate its foreign policy, especially the implementation of its foreign policy through diplomacy. Three main areas of the impact of digitization on diplomacy. Why this is important, because digitization as a tool for diplomacy and foreign policy, as a topic for diplomacy and foreign policy, and as something that has an impact on the diplomatic environment (Kurbalija & Hone, 2021) Morin stated that basically foreign policy is a doctrine that is expressed by the political elite as a portfolio and is carried out continuously. Because basically foreign policy is not to formulate and achieve one interest but a combination of various state interests (Morin & Paquin, *Foreign Policy Analysis A Toolbox*, 2018).

Breuning said leaders make the choices they do, but also how and why domestic and international constraints and opportunities influence their choices. After all, leaders do not exist in a vacuum, they are surrounded by advisors and bureaucracies, are influenced by domestic constituencies, and depend on the strength their countries can project on the international arena (Breuning, 2007). See also (Neack, 2019). That is why this paper will explain the formulation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the digital era in the social and economic fields. Significant problem that occurs in the economic field is that the government has not maximally utilized information technology as part of the integration of the digital economy. In addition, the problem in the social sector is the

occurrence of violations and violence of Indonesian citizens abroad which violates human rights.

### **Poliheuristic Theory**

Foreign policy and diplomacy changes due to a) changes in the political, social and economic environment in which diplomacy is carried out (for example, the nature and distribution of power, new types of conflict, and the changing nature of sovereignty and interdependence in international relations), b) The emergence of new policy ISUs in foreign policy such as cyber security, privacy, data governance, e-commerce, and cybercrime and c) the use of digital tools in diplomatic practices such as social media, online conferences, and big data analysis (Kurbalija & Hone, 2021).

Mintz said foreign policy making in general is always based on a rational accumulation and existing factors and analysis using different models. Foreign policy analysis in this case acts as a bridge connecting a concept with an empirical basis that is often used in international relations and in making decisions that can be based on groups and even individuals. The basic assumption of the Rational Choice Theory is that the international environment determines the action of the state as an actor, all former of foreign policy choices are almost the same in prioritizing the policy formation process, each state choice makes the process can be seen as a single actor in making choices, every single actor making a choice rational (Mintz & DeReun, 2010) (Minzt, 2003).

The Poliheuristic concept brought brings and connects cognitive approaches and rational approaches in policy making. Mintz and DeReun explained that when decisions are made, there are two main considerations that play a major role in making these decisions, namely cognitive state and rational choice factors. In its application, it is carried out in two stages, namely a cognitive alternative that considers dimensions such as the political dimension, if it does not fulfill the basis desired by the political elite, it will not pass to the decision stage (Mintz & DeReun, 2010) (Neack, 2019) (Minzt, 2003).

In analyzing foreign policy is divided into the extent to which the influence of structural factors (constraints imposed by the international system) and human agency (the role of individual choice in shaping the international system) and when analyzing foreign policy decisions and the environment of decision making. That is why foreign policy is an ever-changing story of how countries, institutions and people engage in a dynamic international environment (Alden & Amnon, 2017).

## Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative paradigm with case study method. The case study is an intensive and detailed research method about a particular case being observed. Case studies include: a) Conceptual validity; b) Impact heuristic, Identification of causal mechanisms; d) Ability to capture complexity and track processes; e) Calibration; and f) Holistic elaboration (Neuman, 2014). This study uses secondary data and based on primary data with dept interview. The author collects data by visiting the Indonesian government websites from relevant agencies such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, BP2MI and internet data to complete the author's data source. The data analysis technique used is the tracing process model. The tracing process is the researcher's way of analyzing the data obtained in the study.

## Result and Discussion

### Digitalization Economic Sector

Pertiwi (Kompas.com, 2020) that Indonesian startup companies are the dream of investors from the United States. This condition is because the prediction of Indonesia's digital economy is predicted to reach 44 billion USD or equivalent to 624 trillion of Indonesia's GDP based on reports from Google, Termasek, Bain & Company. In November 2020, Bukalapak and Tokopedia companies from two different companies. Reportedly from Bloomberg Bukalapak get funding of around 1.4 trillion or the equivalent of 100 million US dollars. Open a stall to get Microsoft Azure service facilities and merchant training by a Microsoft company. In addition, Tokopedia also received an injection of funds from a Google company, which reportedly owns 1.6 percent of Tokopedia's shares along with Termasek-affiliated Anderson Investment, which owns 3.3 percent of Tokopedia's shares. Likewise, through the Tech crunch Gojek report, it received an injection of funds from Facebook and Pay Pal of around 3 billion USD or the equivalent of 42 trillion. Google and Facebook companies certainly understand that the Indonesian market is very potential because it contributes 18-19 percent of the revenue of the two companies in 2020. Jeffrey Joe Co-Founder and General Partner in JWC Venture Capital stated that the entry of the two American companies was inseparable from the popularity of the Sea Group company. which is listed on the New York Exchange and is the most valuable company in Southeast Asia originating from Singapore. In addition, Boston Consulting in 2019 reported that Indonesia was the fastest

growing country in computing technology development in the Asia Pacific. The calculation is that in 2018 it could reach 0.2 billion USD and become 0.8 billion USD in 2023. This digital economy cooperation is not only in a contest for injecting funds but also in computing, payment, applications etc (Kompas.com, 2020).

The next question is what refers to Indonesia's digital policy regarding the digital economy and PMI protection abroad. The policy formulation to support Indonesia's foreign policy in the digital era, according to the author, is supported by two core policies, namely investment-oriented policies and technical policies. In the Indonesian context, digital policy is supported by the existence of the Job Creation Law or Omnibus Law Number.11 of 2020 as a foundation for economic activity that supports the digitization of economic prospects. Quoted from (ekon.go.id, 2020), this law supports and provides easy access in the development of UMKM and e-commerce. Some of the conveniences include licensing, certification, training, financing, market access, digital infrastructure and e-commerce electronic transactions. Furthermore, the government will also provide assistance, budget assistance, management of resources and facilities and infrastructure to support national economic development. Then, building a digital economy, the government will accelerate the development of broadband infrastructure, both passive and active. For passive infrastructure, the central and local governments will synergize and work together in building telecommunications networks, and an active government infrastructure will share among stakeholders. This is an effort to restore the national economy and digital transformation in the use of information technology. Due to the government's target in 2025, the benefits of Indonesia's digital economy will reach USD 124 billion (Tempo, 2020).

Research conducted by the research team of the Kominfo Human Resources Research and Development Agency provides an overview of the Digital Economy Study in Indonesia as a Driver for the Future Digital Industry. The world economic waves occurred in four waves, namely the agricultural era, the industrial revolutionary era, the oil hunting era and the era of multinational corporations. This study found that there are three transaction models that will change, namely information transactions, financial transactions and goods transactions. These three transaction changes will follow based on the economic pattern with the old model, new model and future model paradigm. And the digital economy is a new model and the future model is the design of the future economy.

Thus, if Indonesia wants to compete in the global digital economy, the market entry strategy must use a combination pattern of exporting, licensing, foreign direct investment, franchising and joint ventures. The digital economy must be based on regulations that are in accordance with consumer protection as stipulated in Law Number.8 of 1999 concerning consumer protection including a) the right to comfort, security and comfort, b) the right to get honest information, c) the right to hear complaints about goods and d) the right to obtain advocacy in the event of a dispute (KOMINFO, 2019).

The question is where in the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy according to its level. According to the author, the most important level of cooperation is the regional or ASEAN level. In the economic field, Indonesia's accelerated digital economic cooperation is still inferior to Singapore's, even though several Indonesian start-ups have shown their role. Indonesia is in the first position for foreign funding and investment. Indonesia competes with Singapore in second place. Indonesia is represented by Gojek as a start-up company that also gets funding from American companies together with Bukalapak. However, this means that Indonesia's contribution is very high in dominating the ASEAN digital economy. according to Rudy that Indonesia received US\$44 billion from digital economic transactions. Even in 2025, Indonesia's digital economy income could reach US\$124 billion. market (Alaydrus, 2020). The author is of the opinion that raising the level of cooperation to the Asia Pacific through the APEC forum, and the global level through the WTO are the next targets for Indonesia. The author is of the opinion that strengthening Indonesia's position in ASEAN and dominating the ASEAN market is a stepping stone to be able to accelerate to a higher level. At the same time, the ASEAN market is a challenge for Indonesia on how strong its digital economy will be and how long can it last.

The author identifies three actors who are most dominant in each field, namely government, companies and society. In the digital economy, the government is very optimistic that it will be able to compete with a number of other countries to become a global digital economy developer. Quoted from (Republika, 2020) based on a statement from the Head of the Financial Sector Policy Center of the Ministry of Finance's Fiscal Policy Agency, Adi Budiarmo, said that the government is encouraging new digital-based economic activities that use logistic platforms, payment systems and data. Government support through policies, regulations, provision of infrastructure, financial support,



digitizing UMKM, consumer protection, and human resource development. From the company side, there are two types, namely digital companies and donor developer companies. Looking at the trend of the digital economy in Indonesia, quoted from (Bisnis, 2020) writing that companies from Indonesia made a profit of 1.3 billion USD and was dominated by Gojek of 1.2 billion USD in 2020. Quoted from (Merdeka, 2020) writes that the trend of Indonesia's digital economy has tripled from USD 40 billion to USD 133 billion, while e-commerce has increased from USD 20 billion to USD 82 billion and travel has increased from USD 2.5 billion to USD 25 billion. Quoted from (Tempo, 2020) wrote that Gojek's profit would increase by 10 percent or get an accumulated transaction of 170 trillion in 2020. In addition, other companies, namely the Soft Bank Group as the shareholder of Tokopedia and Grab, have made a profit. up to 1.17 trillion in 2020 (Bestari, 2021).

Characteristics of people living in the era of 4.0 are 1) internet of think 2) big data 3) artificial intelligence, 4) cloud computing and 5) addictive manufacturing. These five characteristics become the transformation of globalization with significant changes (Rizkinaswara, 2020). According to the author, there are several things that change in society in this era, namely: 1) changes in activity patterns from a structural to cultural approach 2) changes in community characteristics from citizens to netizens, 3) changes in connections from G to G, G to B changes to society contact to society contact and 4) communication environment from the real world to the virtual world 5) support for government policies such as cyber, big data, privacy, etc. and 6) digital media is an instrument of communication and activity and 7) the discussion about digitalization is expanding. For this reason, digital economic changes are mutually exclusive as transformations and innovations in the technological era.

### **Digitalization Social Sector**

The basis of Indonesia's national interests, the social sector in the form of citizen protection is also the mandate of the Indonesian constitution. As has been stated above, PMI data abroad still exist with a number of incidents with a number of existing problems. Policy support as a form of innovation has at least two core regulations, namely Law number 18/2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. The Law states that work is a human right that must be respected, including PMI. The state has an obligation to protect its citizens from violence, slavery and so on. Furthermore, PMI is

every citizen who will, is currently or has received wages outside Indonesia. That is why protection for them is the responsibility of the State which must be collaborated and coordinated. Thus, citizen protection (PMI) is given in three forms, namely before working, during work and after work as stipulated in article 1 points 6-8. Protection of migrants is carried out on the basis of transparency, democracy, justice, non-discrimination, equality of rights and others in accordance with article 2. The goal is to ensure protection of human rights and legal, economic and social protection in accordance with Article 3.

Then in operation to promote Indonesia's national interests in the social sector relevant to the pillars of Indonesia's foreign policy to protect Indonesian citizens and Indonesian legal entities abroad. This context is also in line with the diplomacy of protecting Indonesia as a form of implementation of these pillars. BP2MI released a 2020 PMI placement data report that the number of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) in 2018 was 283,640 consisting of 133,640 or 47% work placements in the formal sector and 150,000 or 53% formal sectors. and the remaining 84,665 or 30% were men. Furthermore, 68,310 are divorced, 100,117 are unmarried and 115,213 are currently married. And in terms of education there are only 21 post-graduates, 1,225 have undergraduate degrees, 3,081 diploma, 80,280 have high school education, 101,824 have junior high school education and 97,209 have elementary school education. Meanwhile, the PMI data for 2019 are 276,553 people who work in the formal sector 133,993 and 142,550 in the informal sector. Furthermore, based on male gender there are 85,166 and 191,237 women with educational differences namely 32 postgraduate, 1,495 undergraduate degrees, 2,463 diploma education, 95,608 high school, 114. 806 junior high school education and 62,149. And PMI data for 2020 is 113,173 with details of working in the formal sector 36,784 and in the informal 76,389 with the sex of 22. 673 men and 90,500 women. Furthermore, based on education level, there are 6 postgraduate, 545 undergraduates, 929 diploma, 39,450 high schools, 44,336 junior high schools and 20,907 elementary schools. From these data, it is clear that Indonesia's duty to promote national interests in the social and humanitarian field is absolute because it has become a constitutional and operational mandate of Law Number.18 of 2017 and Permenlu Number 5 of 2018 (BNP2TKI, 2020).

This policy, there is the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Regulation Number 5 of 2018 as stated in article 1 point 10, which states that the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs carries out consular protection to ensure the interests of Indonesian citizens and point 11 is diplomatic protection, namely the protection of the State towards the State where citizens live. Protection is carried out by the State, the Central Government, Representatives and agencies or institutions that are part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as stipulated in article 3. The form of the scope of protection is contained in article 14 concerning prevention, early detection and quick response. Thus, the protection of citizens including PMI is the absolute right of the State as a constitutional mandate, so that whatever stakeholders do in making policies, the main objective is to protect and promote Indonesia's national interests abroad.

PMI protection are not much different from the economic context. The government and its subdivisions, companies and the public are the dominant actors in the protection of the social sector. In accordance with the mandate of Law Number 18 of 2017, it is stated that those responsible for the protection of PMI are the Central Government, Local Government, Village Government, and Institutions. This responsibility is contained in articles 39-44 of Law Number. 18 of 2017. However, from the other side, according to the author, the responsibility for protecting PMI is the country they work for and their company or other place of work. As stipulated in Law Number 18 of 2017. Article 1 points 9-12 state that company partners, employers and have cooperation agreements, of course, have rights and responsibilities based on their respective roles. The main point is having responsibility for PMI protection where they work. Furthermore, in Permenlu Number 5 of 2018 it is stated in article 3 that PMI protection is carried out by the State and its subdivisions, protection by other institutions that are part of the coordination of the protocol directorate and involve the community. The role of social interest is to control some problems as to violence, harassment, and criminalization often occurs by employers to their assistants. The consequence is that someone dies and is desperate to kill his employer to protect himself.

**Table 1 Data of Complaints of Indonesian Migrant Workers Based on the type of problem Period 2018 to 2020:**

No.	Problems type	2018	2019	2020
1.	PMI wants to be returned	247	374	320
2.	Salaries are not paid	183	660	296
3.	Overstay	42	805	157
4.	Deportation / Repatriation	2.600	4.077	89
5.	Human trafficking	26	54	88

6.	The placement fee exceeds the fee structure	139	161	87
7.	Died in the destination country	183	74	65
8.	Disconnect communication	83	87	59
9.	Pain	16	464	55
10.	Not sent home even though the work contract is over	37	26	50
11.	Work is not in accordance with contract	66	124	49
12.	Retention of passports or other documents by PPTKIS	36	90	43
13.	Job opportunity scams	19	89	41
14.	Termination of employment before the end of the work agreement	22	258	25
15.	PMI failed to leave	120	85	24
16.	Acts of violence from the employer	27	34	23
17.	It is illegal to recruit prospective labor migrant	34	46	20
18.	PMI in detention / process of detention	27	28	20
19.	PMI is sick / hospitalized	97	148	20
20.	Accounts payable between Candidate of PMI and PPTKIS	9	21	16
21.	Salary is below standard	1	29	15
22.	Deductions from wages exceed the provisions	216	349	12
23.	Died	216	349	12
24.	PMI had an accident	8	21	10
25.	Document falsification (ID Card, diploma, age, parental consent)	21	21	9
26.	Others	475	1.217	171
<b>Total</b>		<b>4.779</b>	<b>9.364</b>	<b>1.779</b>

Sources: BP2MI Report 2020

**Table 2 Data of Complaints of Indonesian Migrant Workers At the Crisis Center Based on the Media Period 2018 to 2020**

No.	Media Complaints	2018	2019	2020
1.	Live	2.647	6.897	666
2.	Letter	1.336	1.408	491
3.	Telephone	128	26	421
4.	Social Media	223	226	127
5.	Email	212	308	67
6.	SMS	39	464	4
7.	Ets	173	33	2
8.	e- Complaints /e-Crisis Center	21	2	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>4.779</b>	<b>9.364</b>	<b>1.779</b>

Sources: BP2MI Report 2020

Based on a number of problems above and the method of complaints carried out by PMI abroad, the incidence of protection against PMI is still not optimal because there are still similar cases. In addition, the most important thing is the level of the State where the State should be the main protector in protecting PMI. This can be done through a diplomatic

approach. A number of countries that are often the source of PMI's problems are in Saudi Arabia and Malaysia even though the State has taken a diplomatic approach. The following are a number of countries that are still the destination of Indonesian migrant workers:

**Table 3 Indonesian Migrant Worker Complaints by Country Period 2018 to 2020**

No.	Negara	2018	2019	2020
1.	Saudi Arabia	368	1.372	374
2.	Malaysia	3.460	4.833	353
3.	Taiwan	238	437	176
4.	Hong Kong	163	207	176
5.	China	12	37	121
6.	United Arab Emirates	113	942	102
7.	Singapore	76	133	102
8.	South Korea	49	51	44
9.	Brunei Darussalam	53	60	34
10.	Chile	0	4	23
11.	Kuwait	13	56	22
12.	Algeria	0	0	22
13.	France	1	0	21
14.	Jordanian	33	311	17
15.	Yunani	0	0	17
16.	Italy	0	0	14
17.	Syria	14	234	12
18.	Iraq	9	32	12
19.	Iran	3	0	12
20.	Peru	7	58	11
21.	Oman	7	41	11
22.	Poland	8	11	11
23.	Angola	0	0	10
24.	Bahrain	11	72	9
25.	Fiji Islands	3	25	7
26.	Ets	138	448	66
<b>Total</b>		<b>4.779</b>	<b>9.364</b>	<b>1.779</b>

Sources: BP2MI Report 2020

**Table 4 Indonesian Migrant Worker Complaints At the Crisis Center Based on Status Period 2018 to 2020**

No.	Complaints Status	2018	2019	2020
1.	In process	2.817	5.240	948
2.	Complaint Completed	1.790	4.075	806
3.	New Complaints	107	49	25
4.	Distribution	23	0	0
5.	Validation	22	0	0

6.	Process outside BNP2TKI/VP2MI	14	0	0
7.	Process in the BNP2TKI /BP2MI Work Unit	6	0	0
<b>Total</b>		<b>4.779</b>	<b>9.364</b>	<b>1.779</b>

Sources: BP2MI Report 2020

From the data above, the authors conclude that the problem of PMI abroad is very complex because it involves working places in various countries. In these countries, of course, have different rules for hiring PMI. In addition, protection for PMI has been pursued optimally, but problems still exist. This complexity creates mutual attraction between stakeholders to solve this problem. Why this is important because it has become a pillar of Indonesia's foreign policy and diplomacy to protect its citizens abroad. In fact, it is in accordance with Indonesian constitution as stated in the Constitution, namely protecting the entire Indonesian nation. This problem-solving formulation requires integrated innovation with application-based information technology. The data above also shows that social media-based complaints as a new method of obtaining and providing information have been carried out, but of course it needs to be combined with application-based tools.

The cooperation of ASEAN countries to maximize the performance and protection of citizens, especially migrant workers in 2018, was held in the ASEAN Forum Migrant Labor meeting in Singapore with the theme of digitization and innovation in migrant protection. Erwina Hendarti as head of the cooperation unit at the BNP2TKI Directorate at that time stated that the government had made an innovation by making an application as a means of providing information to migrant workers even though Bank Indonesia had facilitated it via mobile. Michiko Miyamoto as the ILO's director for Indonesia stated that digitalization and online networks can strengthen services and management of migrants. Furthermore, Marja Paavilainen, Senior Staff of Triangle in ASEAN, said that in the Philippines, the protection of migrants based on electronics is called e-cares. This application provides information on assistance, membership, provisioning and training for migrant workers. Even migrant workers can choose the best rate for working as a migrant (ILO, 2018). That is why maximizing information technology through application innovation is important for Indonesia, given the many problems of Indonesian migrants abroad.

## Indonesian Foreign Policy in Digital Era in Poliheuristic Theory

Foreign policy is not just a game of power and strategy, but is infused with ideas, myths, and even religion. The term reorientation refers to the intention of policy makers to restructure their nation's relations with other countries. For most countries, external relations, actions and transactions by government and society with other actors are sometimes randomly directed across national borders (Holsti, 2016).

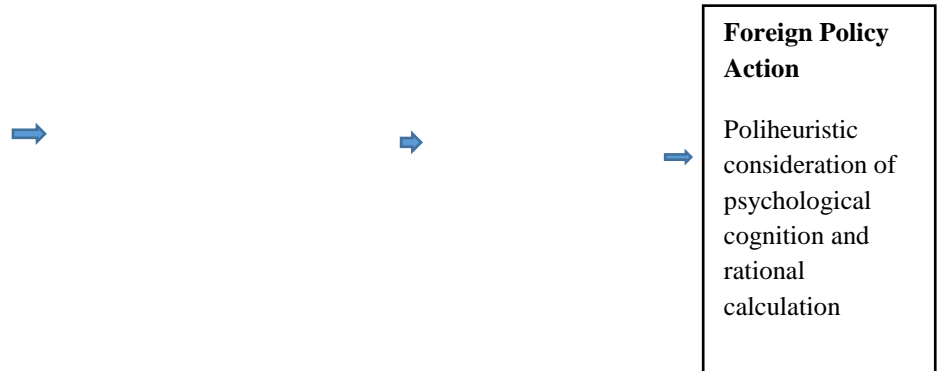
The author defines digitization, citing the writing that digitization is a technical process of changing the information format from analog to digital format. This process results in structural changes in the form of new applications and systems in the fields of economy, social, politics, security, etc. Digitalization is a new space just like land, sea and air. The digital space is a space that provides the interaction of processes and not just devices but actors. Digital space provides a cross-border format (FDFA, 2020). The author borrows a simulation of foreign policy analysis in the digital era. Kurbalija conveying that there are five question variables in the analysis of foreign policy in the digital era, namely a) why, which is oriented towards efforts to promote independent national interests in the digital era, b) what, namely all aspects of problems related to digital policy, c) who, namely the government, technology companies and society, d) where, the meeting place for multilateral and business, new e) how, collaboration between traditional approaches and innovation in diplomatic practice (Kurbalija & Hone, 2021).

The distribution of power between countries and the influence of transnational stakeholders and intergovernmental organizations partially determines foreign policy. Governments that adopt foreign policy policies view the international system through their own filters, which may be cultural, organizational or cognitive. Therefore, in order to understand and explain foreign policy, it is also important to study the domestic dynamics of the state and the decision-making process (Morin & Paquin, 2018) In the context of foreign policy formulation in the digital era, the collaboration between traditional diplomatic practice methods and innovation in the technological era must be combined. That is, if it is adjusted to the Poliheuristic theory which has two domains, namely cognitive psychology and rational profit and loss. In the author's analysis as follows:

### Schema 1 Formulation of Foreign Policy

<p><b>Selection of foreign policy alternatives</b></p> <p>In this section the decision makers are faced with a situation where there are many policy choices. Policy makers</p>	<p><b>Psychological cognition domain</b></p> <p>In this section, through the process of experience and science, awareness, reasoning so that all existing decisions. This</p>	<p>Rational calculation process with considerations of profit and loss. In this section policy makers deal with leadership</p>
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**Table 5** The author uses the table below as a model for foreign policy analysis

Code	Foreign Policy in Digital Era	Consequences
A 1	Continue digitization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Linkage of international relations in security and economics</li> <li>- Train stakeholders to become diplomats in the cyber era</li> <li>- Accelerate access to diplomatic relations and national interests</li> <li>- Policies, strategies and tactics are directed</li> </ul>
A 2	Delay digitization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Left behind in digital-based international relations</li> <li>- Cybersecurity threats</li> <li>- Threat of traditional economic stagnation</li> <li>- diplomats do not synergize with information technology</li> </ul>

**Table 6** Foreign policy dimensions and considerations

Code	Dimensions of Foreign Policy in the digital era	Policy Considerations
B 1	Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-E Commerce and e diplomacy at regional and international levels</li> <li>- Virtual money in international trade</li> <li>- Virtual assets in stock investments</li> </ul>
B 2	Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Protection of data for Indonesian citizens and Indonesian citizens abroad</li> <li>- application-based complaints regarding violations of Indonesian migrant workers abroad</li> <li>-Digital diplomacy diplomatic connection</li> </ul>

The formulation of foreign policy using an innovative approach has been carried out by Indonesia. Especially in the economic sector, it has been supported by a number of procedural and technical regulations as described above. The consequence is that establishing economic digitization is not impossible. The fact is that Indonesia's digital



economy through innovative technology is already involved at the ASEAN level, although it does not leave old economic patterns such as the involvement of Indonesia's economic interests in the WTO and other economic regimes. A number of companies such as Gojek, Tokopedia, Shoppe, Bukalapak and other startup companies also contribute to the Indonesian economy even though they have not been taken into account in the global economy.

Other transformations have also occurred in the social sector, especially in the protection of Indonesian citizens and PMI abroad. The application-based approach as a form of innovation is proof of Indonesia's contribution to creating innovative and efficient services, especially for PMI abroad. This has been proven since 2018 when the Ministry of Manpower released an application to provide information and protection to Indonesian Workers (TKI). At that time, Hanif Dakiri, of course, realized the importance of an integrated application to control citizens as well as migrant workers abroad. The application is called Indonesian Migrant Worker Information System (SIPMI). This application is a communication medium not only between migrants and the Indonesian government, but also as a means of communication between migrants and their families (kumparanbisnis, 2018). The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also launched an application for Indonesian migrant workers in Singapore. The three applications are intended for sailors or ship crew, applications for labor recruitment and applications for labor security. The Indonesian Worker Card Application Seafarers are proof of Indonesia's commitment to protecting Indonesian seafarers who often carry goods and services. This is inseparable from the government's commitment to protect Indonesian seafarers who are often hijacked in the middle of the ocean. The online job order application in collaboration with PJTKI functions to facilitate the availability of documents for TKI when they want to be recruited into labor. Next is the Manpower BPJS as an application to provide occupational health and safety guarantees to migrant workers abroad (detiknews, 2018).

Changes in leadership and the name of the institution also make changes and the mention of names for Indonesian citizens who work abroad. The National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (BNP2TKI) is in accordance with the mandate of Law No.39 / 2004. Then, Law No. 18 of 2017 and Presidential Regulation No. 90 / 2019 emerged concerning the establishment of the Indonesian

Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI). replaces BNP2TKI. So that it also changed the name of the workforce to Indonesian Migrant Workers or PMI To take progressive action, BP2MI even made a special application that provides information specifically for PMI abroad which can be downloaded on Google play and the apps store, namely Sisko-TKLN.

The author is of the opinion that in order to optimize the operationalization of Indonesia's digital-based foreign policy, both in the economic and social fields, the following points must be considered: first, the implementation approach must be multi-stakeholder based, because the importance of cooperation and coordination must be emphasized. Thus, every actor, both at the domestic and regional levels and even internationally, can synergize with each other. For example, at the national level collaboration between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Communications and Informatics, the Ministry of Investment and several other stakeholders. In the social sector such as BP2M, Ministry of Social Affairs, Local Government, channeling agents and other stakeholders. At the regional level, such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area. The results of the interview by Yohanes Lukiman as the Representative of Indonesia in the BAC said that Kadin is the ASEAN BAC (Business Advisory Council) which was formed in Brunei in 2001. Kadin is an organization representing the state in dealing with international trade. Kadin is tasked with giving mandates and directions to heads of state from the perspective of the private sector. Kadin will be an actor who seeks to improve the economy either individually or in groups, to create economic integration and economic resilience. So that UMKM and Start Up are two important things in developing the economy. Kadin is tasked with being an advisor to the Indonesian government and other ASEAN governments that seek to create consultative policies. Collaboration with the private sector, tariff and non-tariff policies Kadin acts as a government advisor and market supporter. Kadin is involved in a meeting of ASEAN countries in the ASEAN Mentor Membership whose task is to provide knowledge and practicality to UMKM who want to go international. The point is that everything is industrial based.

Second, institutional infrastructure must be ready because the digitalization pattern of foreign policy must be supported by institutions capable of transforming and innovating. This can be done by increasing human resources even if it is necessary to form a special institution to take care of digitization. For example, in the field of e-

commerce, Lukiman said that Kadin always encourages the socialization and education of the digital economy. Kadin is not part of the financing, but Kadin has conglomerates and entrepreneurs who can collaborate with MSMEs and start-ups to get funding. For example, the former director of Mandiri who is now the deputy minister of MSMEs is also involved in Kadin in developing a people's digital economy. And the funding mechanism also uses BUMN Bank partners so that they can partner with banks or finance to get involved. The big role of Kadin. The change in the position of the new Kadin board of directors which brought in several big names such as Andrea Sulistio as Director of Go To was appointed as Head of the Digital Economy Development Agency. Then Bambang Brojonegoro who used to be the Minister of Research and Technology Brin as the head of the people's economic development agency. They will collaborate in developing the digital economy and this structure is different from before.

Based on the results of an interview with Berlianto Situngkir, the Director of ASEAN Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that the main tasks of the Directorate are multilateral, different from the Southeast Asia Directorate, which uses the bilateral method. The directorate synergizes with a number of institutions, both units at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or other institutions that share the same task. According to him, the development of the digital economy in ASEAN is going well because ASEAN is a stable market and has a demographic advantage of up to 660 million people. So that it becomes a potential market in the digital economy. And the ASEAN economic community is also mostly an internet literate generation so they can migrate faster with the digital economy. For this reason, Indonesia's economic diplomacy in ASEAN uses a start-up business diplomacy pattern and through government channels to map its business opportunities. Government channels either through the embassy or consulate. Situngkir also said that the benefits of the digital economy could reach USD 250 billion, and Indonesia has the opportunity to gain 354 trillion in 2021. Indonesia's diplomatic method uses collaboration with business people who are members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Indonesia's economic diplomacy. For example, there will be an activity from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for startups and in November 2021 the ASEAN Creative Economic Business forum will be held and there will also be an ASEAN start up challenge in collaboration with the ASEAN Business advisory council. This

diplomacy is very important for Indonesia to be able to increase the digital economy in the ASEAN Region.

In the social field, various applications have been created, such as SIAK application from Dukcapil of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, SIMKIM application from Directorate General of Immigration, Sisko-TKLN application from BNP2TKI. This system of integration will be carried out with more ministries or institutions, for example SIMKAH application from Ministry of Religion and SAKE application from Directorate General. General Law Administration of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. This objective is a system-based and innovation-based protection effort. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs encourages regular, regular migration based on good governance. Indonesia in various international forums especially in the ASEAN cooperation area. Indonesia has always been active in discussing regular migration based on multi-stakeholder cooperation. This activity is carried out based on systems and innovations to prevent irregularities from occurring in international migration that has the potential for transnational crimes such as human trafficking, illegal workers, and other crimes. Some of these incidents are of course through ASEAN regional access. One of the applications for the protection of citizens abroad is "Peduli WNI" and "Safe Travel" by the Directorate General of Protocol and Consular of Ministry of Foreign Affair.

Third, the availability of connections related to the provision of reliable information technology service facilities. So that it can support digital economic activities. And most importantly this development must be evenly distributed on all islands. One of the important points in digitization is the role of big data, the internet and providers. The quality of these three elements will create new communication both in the economic and social fields. Society will shift to digital communication patterns so that the use of applications becomes a must. Changes in the culture of society that must be shifted to a digital society. This is so that the quality of the Indonesian people is not left behind. Through education and outreach would be a great way to help change this culture. Lukiman said that in the field of the digital economy, the challenge was being too confident and comfortable with the power of the domestic market. The business must have a change in market acceleration. And the issue of language is an important factor because most of our entrepreneurs are unable to compete because of the poor quality of the language. Adaptation and motivation in building communication.

On the other hand, in the social field, people with low education make migrant workers abroad to get non-formal jobs. In fact, most of the jobs they get are domestic workers. This condition cannot be separated from the factor of adequate social education. The consequence is that violence against migrant workers is common. And the reporting used is still traditional because they still don't understand the world of applications as part of government integration in the digital era in protecting their citizens abroad. Only a small proportion use digital applications to report human rights violations that occur abroad. Even though the government has provided many platforms.

Fourth, the participation of relevant actors in bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation forums based on discussions on technology integration in the international world such as the World Summit Information Society, International Technology Unit, International Governance Forum and so on. Government involvement in such forums can be the main track in digital economy diplomacy and government protection diplomacy. Because meeting in one negotiation room has the potential to discuss many issues that are also of Indonesia's national interest abroad.

## **Conclusion**

The author concludes that the formulation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the digital era is a poliheuristic process. This means that the policy formulation process is made based on two considerations, namely rational calculative considerations and cognitive psychology. These two factors affect the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy, especially in the digital economy and social humanity. This paper claims to be the first article to examine Indonesia's foreign policy in the digital era associated with poliheuristic theory. Thus, this paper contributes theoretical analysis and case analysis of foreign policy formulation in the digital era. Theoretical benefits are obtained by readers that poliheuristic theory provides good analytical variables for researchers in international relations in the field of foreign policy. Theoretically, this theory is able to examine the considerations of foreign policy makers in every issue that is the target of national interest. The practical benefits of this study can be used as a draft consideration for policy makers to complement and accelerate a more comprehensive Indonesian foreign policy in facing the digital era.

This study has limitations because it is only a theoretical study, while in terms of empirical facts there are no specific pillars related to the orientation of Indonesia's foreign

policy. Indonesia's foreign policy has not included the digital pillar as an important part of foreign policy. So that access to foreign policy is only the adjustment of issues, not the level of preparation for action and reaction. Therefore, with this paper, the author hopes that the digital era can be an opportunity as well as a challenge in foreign policy. For this reason, foreign policy formulations must be made based on scientific considerations or academic studies so that they can be more scientific. Because the formulation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the digital era must consider why it should be made, who should make it, how, when it should be made, what are the factors to consider, where it should be implemented. A number of these questions must be analyzed properly because foreign policy must be explained by scientific methods and empirical analysis. So, do not fail and prematurely respond to changes. Because the situation, motivation and perception are always changing in achieving the national interest.

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