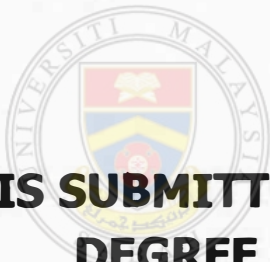


JAKARTA-ROTTERDAM
SISTER CITY COOPERATION:
A STUDY OF PARADIPLOMACY IN PRACTICE

IKA FRISTYAWATI



PERKUSANTANAN
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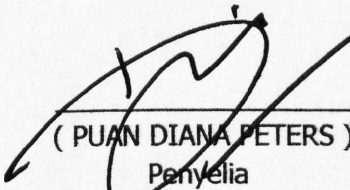
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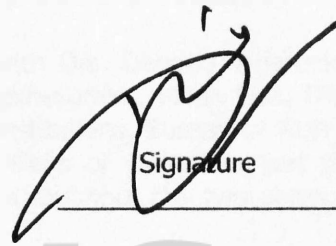
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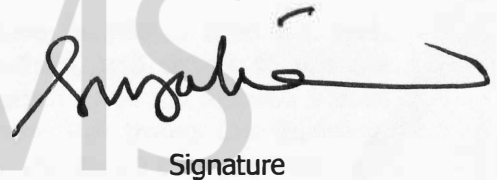
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ABSTRACT

The trends of a large-scale international engagement by non-central governments has recently took place in international system; a phenomenon know as "paradiplomacy". In Indonesia, the democratization process has been rolling since 1998 with a decentralization of authority as one of its main core. This process allows regional autonomy to take shape in the form of autonomy of sub-national government to initiate foreign cooperation. Several authorities and jurisdictions held by the central government were delegated to local governments. One example of a decentralized authority is an international engagement and cooperation between local government and international entities, such as Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City Cooperation. The concept of Sister Cities or Twin Cities is about coupling two cities in different location with different political administration to build cultural relationships and social contact. Paradiplomacy approach will be used to discuss Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City cooperation in the field of water management. The main objectives of this research are to examine factors that initiate Jakarta in engaging Sister City cooperation with Rotterdam; its implementation as well as to understand the impacts of Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City cooperation (paradiplomacy) on the bilateral relation between Indonesia and Netherlands. This paper adopts qualitative analysis of primary and secondary data. The findings show that paradiplomacy activity in the form of Sister City relationship provides more benefits, especially in enhancing the bilateral relation of Indonesia and Netherlands. This study suggests that the Indonesian Government should improve the effectiveness and efficiency of Sister City cooperation for a better performance in diplomacy.



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ABSTRAK

KERJASAMA SISTER CITY JAKARTA-ROTTERDAM: SATU KAJIAN PRAKTIS PARADIPLOMASI

Interaksi antarabangsa oleh kerajaan dalam skala yang besar yang dilakukan oleh pihak kerajaan tempatan telah mengambil aspek yang lebih besar dalam konteks demokrasi pada sistem antarabangsa, yang juga dikenali sebagai paradiplomacy. Demokrasi Indonesia telah berjalan semenjak tahun 1998 dengan pembahagian kuasa sebagai salah satu mata pentingnya. Dengan tajuk autonomi daerah, beberapa kuasa yang semula dipegang kerajaan pusat pun diberikan kepada kerajaan tempatan. Salah satu kuasa tersebut adalah peluang untuk melakukan kerjasama antarabangsa, seperti kerjasama Sister City. Konsep Sister City/ Bandar Kembar adalah konsep pergandingan dua bandar yang berbeza lokasi dan pentadbiran politik dengan tujuan menjalin hubungan budaya dan hubungan sosial. Dalam tesis ini, penyelidik membincangkan kerjasama Sister City yang dilakukan Jakarta dengan Rotterdam dalam pengurusan air dengan menggunakan pendekatan paradiplomacy. Tujuan utama kajian ini adalah untuk mengkaji lebih jauh mengenai factor-faktor yang melatar belakangi terbentuknya kerjasama Sister City antara Jakarta dan Rotterdam; untuk menganalisis pelaksanaan kerjasama Sister City Jakarta-Rotterdam dalam bidang pengurusan air; serta untuk lebih memahami kesan yang diberikan kerjasama Sister City (paradiplomacy) terhadap hubungan Indonesia dan Belanda (macro-diplomacy). Kajian ini menggunakan analisis kualitatif di mana data dikumpulkan melalui data primer dan sekunder. Penemuan menunjukkan bahawa kerjasama Sister City (paradiplomacy aktiviti) memberikan manfaat terutama dalam menyokong hubungan dua hala Indonesia dan Belanda. Dengan adanya kajian ini diharapkan Pemerintah Indonesia dapat lebih meningkatkan pelaksanaan kerjasama Sister City sehingga dapat menghasilkan prestasi diplomasi yang lebih baik.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

Bureau of KDH & KLN	<i>Biro Kepala Daerah dan Kerja Sama Luar Negeri</i> (Bureau for Gubernatorial Affairs and International Cooperation Jakarta Capital City Government)
Bappenas	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional</i> (National Development Planning Board)
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> (Statistics Centre of Indonesia)
CEMR	Council of European Municipalities and Regions
DKI Jakarta	<i>Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta</i> (Special Territory of Greater Jakarta)
DPU-DKI	<i>Dinas Pekerjaan Umum – Daerah Khusus Ibukota</i> (Public Works Agency of Jakarta Capital City Government)
DPRD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i> (Regional House of Representatives)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
FISIP UI	<i>Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Indonesia</i>
JCDS	Jakarta Coastal Defense Strategy
KAKDA	<i>Biro Kerjasama Antar Kota dan Daerah</i> (Bureau for Inter Municipal Cooperation)
KLH	<i>Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup</i>
KNIL	<i>Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger</i>
LoI	Letter of Intent
MIC	Municipal International Cooperation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NIT	<i>Negara Indonesia Timur</i> (the Eastern Indonesia State)
NGO	Non-Government Organizations
PDP	Pilot Dredging Project
RCP	Rotterdam Climate Proof
RIS	<i>Republik Indonesia Serikat</i> (the United States of Indonesia)
RMS	<i>Republik Maluku Selatan</i> (Republic of South Maluku)
SCI	Sister Cities International
UPT	<i>Unit Pelaksana Teknis</i> (technical unit)
VOC	<i>Vereenidge Oostindische Compagnie</i>

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

An interesting phenomenon that is increasingly developing in international relations circles is the relation between cities or federal states. Traditionally, a nation acts as the sole actor in international relations. Since the end of World War II, interactions between cities have increased and have also become stronger. Approximately 70% of world cities have been involved in various forms of international cooperation, including Sister City and Friendship City and 68% of these linkages have been part of international associations.¹

Ivo Duchacek (1990) examined the increasing role played by sub-national actors (provincial or city government) in international relations, which he terms as paradiplomacy. One form of paradiplomacy by sub-national governments is Sister City cooperation. The concept of "Sister City" or "Twin City" is understood as pairing of two cities in different locations with different political administrations that aim to enhance cultural ties and social contact between their residents. Sister City is usually geographically and demographically similar and also shares the same aspirations and goals. The Sister City concept can be compared to pen pals between two cities. Such relationship brings many benefits such as science and technology development, cultural relations, and trade cooperation. It could also reduce the international problems that were unsolved through diplomacy at the national level. It could enhance the bilateral relation between two countries.²

¹ See R. Gilbert, D. Steven, H. Girardet, & S. Richard, *Making cities work: the role of local authorities in the urban environment*, UK: Earthscan Publications Ltd, in B.I. Tjandradewi et al, *Evaluating city-to-city cooperation: a case study of the Penang and Yokohama experience*, Habitat International 30, 2006, p. 357-376.

²Sister Cities International (SCI), *What Are Sister Cities? Information for U.S. and International Communities*, Washington DC, 2010, available online at www.sister-cities.org.

In Indonesia, Sister City cooperation has developed rapidly since the enactment of Law No. 22 of 1999³ on Regional Autonomy that allows local governments to engage in international agreement with foreign partners. Through this policy, local governments (cities and provinces) in Indonesia have the freedom to enter into international cooperation with foreign cities. The Sister City cooperation gains bigger support through several policies from central government, bringing positive impact on Indonesia diplomacy.

One example of paradiplomacy in Indonesia is the Sister City cooperation between the Jakarta Capital City Government (Indonesia) and the City of Rotterdam (Netherlands). The Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City cooperation has been long established and is classified as an active one because it has programs implemented from year to year. This thesis will focus on the Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City cooperation in general and in the area of water management in particular, between the periods of 2008-2010 that aims to reduce flooding in Jakarta City.

1.2 Problem Statement

The diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands is still experiencing ups and downs. Historically, the Dutch colonized Indonesia for 350 years. This is the underlying factor that becomes a barrier for the relationship between the two countries. Besides that, since independence there have been many problems which have further strained the relations between the two countries. The Dutch government did not recognize the Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945. The Dutch states that they ceded sovereignty to Indonesia based on the results of the Round Table Conference, on December 27, 1949. This position on the part of the Dutch brought a strain on Indonesian-Netherlands relations after independence. In addition, the existence of the "Republic of South Maluku (RMS)" in the Netherlands and the "Free Papua Movement" has aggravated the diplomatic relation between the two countries. Despite, the power of RMS being weak, they are often exploited by certain parties in the Netherlands to discredit Indonesia.

³Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Autonomy, accessed through official website, available online <http://www.depdaagri.go.id/> on 23 February 2012.

Although the diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Netherlands still have many problems, the two countries keep trying to improve their relationship. They have agreed to improve and expand the benefits of effective cooperation in the future. In addition, they have tried to achieve this through the Sister City cooperation between Jakarta and Rotterdam. It is expected that this would have a positive impact on Indonesia-Netherlands relations.

Sister City arrangement of Rotterdam and Jakarta was started in 1986. As of today, various activities have been undertaken through this cooperation, such as: urban development training, port analysis model study, long term display of the original collection of *Wayang Revolusi*, financial and medical aid for flood victims in 2002, city administration and management services (2005-2007), and water management (2008-2010).⁴ The thesis will focus on water and flood management. Flooding in Jakarta is a serious problem that needs special attention. Having seen the expertise and experience of Rotterdam in protecting its town from floods, Jakarta renewed its Sister City cooperation with Rotterdam for the period 2008-2010 in the area of water management.

Based on the above explanation, I believe the research would present interesting findings about the increasing role of sub-national actors in international relations. I will generate a discussion on the Sister City cooperation between Jakarta and Rotterdam using the paradiplomacy approach. The research will focus on water management in 2008-2010. In addition to solving urban problems, such cooperation could also strengthen the bilateral relation between Indonesia and Netherlands.

Against this background, I wish to raise the following issues:

1. What are the factors that prompted Jakarta to engage in the Sister City cooperation with Rotterdam?
2. How Sister City cooperation in the field of water management between Jakarta and Rotterdam has been implemented?
3. What is the impact of Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City (paradiplomacy) on the bilateral relation between Indonesia and Netherlands (macro-diplomacy)?

⁴Bureau for Gubernatorial Affairs and International Cooperation Jakarta Capital City Government (Bureau of KDH & KLN), *Dokumentasi Pelaksanaan Kerjasama Luar Negeri Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta Tahun 2009*, Jakarta: Biro KDH dan KLN, 2009.

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To further examine the factors that prompted Jakarta into engaging in the Sister City cooperation with Rotterdam.
2. To explain the implementation of Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City cooperation in the field of water management.
3. To better understand the impact of Jakarta-Rotterdam Sister City (paradiplomacy) on the bilateral relation between Indonesia and Netherlands (macrodiplomacy).

1.4 Research Purpose

1. This study will provide a deeper insight into the benefits of inter-city partnership (Sister City), and also show how this partnership can strengthen bilateral relations between countries as well as solving urban problems.
2. For central government: This study would attempt to make some recommendations on sustainable support for international cooperation conducted by local governments (provinces/cities).
3. For local governments (provinces/cities): The results of this study can be used as a point of reference to:
 - a. Increase efficiency and effectiveness of Sister City cooperation now and in the future.
 - b. Expand vision because Sister City cooperation is an alternative or at least as a trigger for city development effort.
4. For scientific development: The results of this study can be used to enrich international relations study with the hope that other countries within the region would find it useful in their quest for new alternatives in the form of Sister City cooperation as a means to solve urban problems and better diplomacy in the future.
5. For communities: This study would help improve community understanding, to make cities partnership successful, in order to facilitate urban development.

1.5 Research Scope

To keep the study discussion focused, I will limit myself to the Jakarta – Rotterdam Sister City cooperation project. In this regard, the scope of the research would rely on various data relating to cooperation such as influencing factors that prompted Jakarta to engage in Sister City cooperation with Rotterdam, the implementation of water management

cooperation, and also the impact of Sister City cooperation (paradiplomacy) on the bilateral relation between two countries (macrodiplomacy). Research would be conducted for the period 2008-2010 because that was when the cooperation in the field of water management took place.

1.6 Literature Review

The scope of international relations has expanded dramatically as global interdependence increases. It is therefore not surprising that sub-national actors at the provincial and municipal levels have become increasingly involved in international activities. There have been many studies about the emergence of new actors in the international arena. In the context of development in diplomacy practice, according to Baylis and Smith (1998) the characteristics of traditional diplomacy is more focused on the activities of the state and make the state the main actor because the diplomatic process only describes a form of communication between countries. Modern diplomacy based on the history of international relations began after World War I. It started the emergence of ideas to change the concept and practice of diplomacy which is closed and bilateral. Because the state has not felt quite able to handle all aspects, it appears many other actors are also involved in diplomatic action, ranging from intergovernmental organizations to non-governmental organizations.⁵

Hans J. Morgenthau gave the meaning of diplomacy as the formation and execution of foreign policy on all levels, the highest as well as the sub-ordinate (from central to regions). He was right to say that international politics is not solely about rules and legal institutions. More so, international politics is about the pursuit of power. All nation-states own their sovereignty, but many of them cannot freely pursue their political interests. On the contrary, there are several non-state actors without sovereignty; many are free and have power that significantly affects people in different regions of the world.⁶ Although Morgenthau's opinion is not fully approved yet, we acknowledge that we are interested with the actors involved in the international relations because of their ability to make decisions and policies that may affect other parties.

⁵ Baylis, John & Smith, Steve, *The Globalization of World Politics: An 2. Introduction to International Relation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

⁶ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 3rd ed, Alfrd A. Knopf, New York, 1961.

It is important to note that traditionally, a nation acts as the main actor in international relations and hence, the arena of international relations was dominated by the central government (national government). Nowadays, the tendency has emerged for sub-national governments (local or federal governments) to appear more vocal in international relations. Andre Lecours and Luis Moreno (2001) in their article "Paradiplomacy and stateless nations: a reference to the Basque Country" stated that there are three elements of domestic structural context that are particularly important in shaping local government conduct in international relations, one of them is the level of autonomy enjoyed by a local government.⁷ Foreign policy autonomy provides opportunities for local governments to make direct contact with other local governments across national boundaries as opposed to contact with foreign entities mediated at the national level. Local governments increasingly have the legal power and autonomy to establish different kinds of cooperation with other local governments, without mediation from their central government.

Political scientists often use such terms as "paradiplomacy" to distinguish these international activities of sub national governments from the more traditional nation-state diplomacy. Ivo Duchacek and Soldatos were among the first scholars that examined the increasing role played by sub-national actors in international relations, which is known as paradiplomacy.⁸ Since the enactment of Law No.22 of 1999 on regional autonomy, engagement in foreign relations by local governments in Indonesia in the form of Sister City cooperation can be explained through the paradiplomacy approach. The definition given by Duchacek and Soldatos explicitly explains two possibilities that can occur in the relationship between the macro-diplomacy (national government) and paradiplomacy (subnational government). It can result in a harmonious relationship or a conflicting one. In this case, Soldatos gives two main scenarios. First, paradiplomacy and macro-diplomacy are cooperatively associated. It means that paradiplomacy is supporting macro-diplomacy. Second, paradiplomacy runs parallel with macro-diplomacy. It means that paradiplomacy is substitutive or supplementary to macro-diplomacy. On the other

⁷ Andre Lecours and Luis Moreno, *Paradiplomacy and stateless nations: a reference to the Basque Country*, paper presented at the Institutional Accommodation of Diversity Conference, Saint-Marc-sur-le-Richelieu, Quebec, September 20-22, 2001, Concordia University and Spanish national Research Council (CSIC), p.1-6.

⁸ Chen Zhimin, *Coastal Provinces and China's Foreign policy-making*, Fudan University, p. 4.

hand, the substitutive relationship implies two possibilities which are in harmony or disharmony which eventually leads to fragmentation.⁹

Hans Peter Schneider (2011) in his article "Paradiplomacy: advantages and disadvantages of foreign policy by subnational units" stated that paradiplomacy is the umbrella term for all foreign policies or activities of sub-national units (provinces, regions, states, Lander) in countries with multi-level governments. It is not new, but a fast growing phenomenon in the more and more globalized world. People feel often lost under the conditions of globalization and develop a strong tendency to find safe anchors in their neighborhood that means in their communities, municipalities or even in the sub-national entities.¹⁰

The notion of paradiplomacy is still debated, because it is considered as too vague or it is seen as too much as imitating the traditional diplomacy or foreign relation, when many times the question really is of totally different kind of handling of international relations. This term has thus been controversial and it has been proposed other synonyms such as the politics of the micro-level.¹¹ Paradiplomacy is a conceptually and practically challenging development-conceptually because the discipline of international relations; and practically because states' claim to external sovereignty, their unique right to engage with other players in the international arena, is, in a sense, hollowed out and perhaps fatally undermined if they have to share this essential prerogative of stateness. Contradict with the opinion expressed by Stefan Wolff in his article "Paradiplomacy: Scope, Opportunities and Challenges", the overall argument of his article is that rather than seeing paradiplomacy as a threat, it should be embraced as a necessity and opportunity in the process of managing and ultimately resolving what might otherwise be protracted self-determination conflicts. He argued that autonomous entities participation in the international arena in most cases does not contravene

⁹ Hans J. Michelman and Panayotis Soldatos (ed), "Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units" in Theodore H. Cohn and Patrick J. Smith, *Subnational Governments as International Actors*, BC Studies, no. 110, Summer 1996, p. 32.

¹⁰ Hans Peter Schneider, *Paradiplomacy: advantages and disadvantages of foreign policy by subnational units*, presented at the International Conference "Diplomacy of Unification", Turin, May 25, 2011.

¹¹ Naim Dedushaj, *"Paradiplomatic" relation between the United States and Kosovo: A friendship between an elephant and a mouse*, A dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts in the University of Malta for the degree of Master of Arts in Contemporary Diplomacy, 2006, p.10.

national foreign policy objectives; in fact, it often complements them and benefits from them.¹²

Hocking (1999) suggested that the concept of multi-layered diplomacy can replace the concept of paradiplomacy, to avoid a strict division between the national level and subnational level. In a later publication, Hocking suggested that a clear understanding of the motivation for specific modes of NGO (Non Central Government) international activity needs to relate domestic to international forces and the interaction between the two. Aldecoa in the same volume defined paradiplomacy as pluri-national diplomacy to denote a typical type of multi-layered diplomacy and to describe how regions get involved in EU politics. Again, he made no attempt to build an explanatory framework.¹³

In a recent volume, Lachapelle (2004) finally took up the explanatory challenge and address the question of why regions are engaged in international relations. They point to three macro-level explanatory variable: nation-state crisis and globalization, nationalism, and internationalization. However, he also stopped short of stepping down to a more micro-level, hence from theorizing about the mechanism that causes paradiplomacy activities. Likewise Paquin, in a monograph that explicitly address the question of why subnational entities engage in international relations, points to explanatory variables but does not embed these variables in an elaborated theoretical framework.¹⁴

One of supportive paradiplomacy activity engaged by subnational entities is Sister City cooperation. Such relation gives the benefits for national government. As discussed by Robert P. Silalahi (1997) in his thesis "*Dampak Kerjasama Sister City Terhadap Pelayanan Perkotaan*" stated that the implementation of paradiplomacy activity in this case of Sister City cooperation between Jakarta and Rotterdam in the field of waste management gives positive impact on the cleanliness management of Jakarta. This

¹² Stefan Wolff, *Paradiplomacy: Scope, Opportunities and Challenges*, University of Nottingham.

¹³ Brian Hocking, Foreign Relations and Federal States in Peter Bursens and Jana Deforche, *Going Beyond Paradiplomacy? Adding Historical Institutionalism to Account for Regional Foreign Policy Competences*, The Hague of Diplomacy 5, 2010, pp. 151-171 at p.156

¹⁴ Paquin and Lachapelle, *Why Do Sub-states and Region Practice International Relations?* p.77-89.

proves that the Sister City cooperation provide benefits to the improvement of urban services.¹⁵ In his thesis, Robert examined the effects of Sister City cooperation on urban services by using the public administration approach. This thesis will be discussing about Sister City cooperation by using the paradiplomacy approach, a new phenomenon of the emergence of sub-national actors in the international relations to see its impact on the bilateral relation at the national level (macro-diplomacy).

Orrada Sinurat (2002) suggested that the national government should enhance and improve the Sister City cooperation. Jakarta-Tokyo Sister City cooperation in the field of worker training programs has yielded concrete and measurable results, not merely ceremonial but is substantive (from ceremony to substantive), so that this cooperation was considered as the success one. Such collaboration gives the positive impact on social development in Jakarta, especially the human resources development (workers). It also brings the implications not only to the obligations and responsibilities of Jakarta City Government, but also to the concerned parties (companies and workers) towards the outcome of training program.¹⁶

Bernadia Irawati Tjandradewi (2006) in her article "Evaluating city to city cooperation: a case study of the Penang and Yokohama experience", she argued that foreign relation between cities is the beneficial cooperation because through this activity the technology and knowledge transfer will flow from both cities. It will be very helpful in urban development.¹⁷ Rapidly growing cities in the developing world are in need of help and are actively seeking it. The typically limited capacity of local governments in developing countries has hindered their ability to properly plan or control urban growth. In an attempt to overcome these limitations and provide a better quality of life for their citizenry, many local governments have sought partnership arrangements with counterparts in developed countries with the hope of science and technology transfer. As in the case of Jakarta and Rotterdam Sister City cooperation in water management which will be discussed in this thesis. Jakarta City as state capital can never be separated from

¹⁵ Robert P. Silalahi, *Dampak Kerjasama Sister City Terhadap Pelayanan Perkotaan*, M.A Thesis, Jakarta: University of Indonesia, 1997, p. 194.

¹⁶ Orrada Sinurat, *Manfaat Kerjasama Sister City Terhadap Pembangunan Nasional*, M.A Thesis, Jakarta: University of Indonesia, 2002, p. 130.

¹⁷ B.I. Tjandradewi et al, *Evaluating city-to-city cooperation: a case study of the Penang and Yokohama experience*, Habitat International 30, 2006, p. 357-376.