INDONESIAN POLICY IN RATIFYING THE 2015 PARIS AGREEMENT

Haekal Siraj
International Relations Department of Universitas Andalas
Email: heklnst@gmail.com

Abstract
The 2015 Paris Agreement requires all participating countries to reduce emissions level. Indonesia as a Developing Country accepted the norms of the 2015 Paris Agreement by ratifying these agreement. Meanwhile, Indonesia’s emissions level continued to increase due to the rate of deforestation and forest degradation in Indonesia which ranked highest in the world. This study aims to analyze Indonesian policy in ratifying the agreement by using the Constructivism Perspective in explaining the International Regime and the Concept of Norm Influence by Finnemore and Sikkink. The study uses qualitative methods with explanatory designs. Data collection techniques are sourced from secondary sources as well as data analysis techniques carried out by reduction, presentation, and drawing conclusions as well as verification. This study found that the United States as a hegemonic state acting as the norm entrepreneurs by granting climate change financial assistance of $500 million through the GCF for Indonesia as a developing country was a condition affecting Indonesia in ratifying the agreement.

Keywords:
norm, Indonesia, ratify, the 2015 Paris Agreement, climate change
INTRODUCTION

Kyoto Protocol is an international regime which handling issues related to climate change formed by the United Nations under UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) and is legally binding to all its participating countries. This regime started from 2005 until 2020. When the period of the regime will end in 2020, the world attempted to build a new legally binding institution on climate change (The Guardian, 2012).

The effort was later seen at the UNFCCC COP-17 (Conference on Parties) taking place in Durban, South Africa. The results of the conference stated that the world needed to immediately adopt a new legally binding of international climate change regime, before 2015 ended.

To address climate change, the role emphasizes in the 2015 Paris Agreement is the role of Developed Countries. Meanwhile, the role of Developing Countries is flexible. This is in accordance with article 4 paragraph 4 of the agreement (p.4), "Developed country Parties should continue taking the lead by undertaking economy-wide absolute emission reduction targets."

Noted that 170 out of the 195 UNFCCC participating countries had accepted the norm of 2015 Paris Agreement by ratifying it (UNFCCC Sites and Platform, 2016). Unlike the Kyoto Protocol where there were several Developed Countries that did not ratify, in the 2015 Paris Agreement, these countries eventually ratified. These countries are U.S. (United States) (The White House, 2015) and Canada (Government of Canada, 2015). Not only that, U.S. and the largest emitter in the world, China, also issued a joint statement to the world that the two countries would ratify the 2015 Paris Agreement (The New York Times, 2016).

Indonesia had accepted the norm of the 2015 Paris Agreement by adopting, signing, and ratifying the agreement. Indonesia agreed to adopt the agreement at 12 December 2015 (Ditjen PPI, 2015). Indonesia then signed this agreement at April 22, 2016 (UNFCCC Sites and Platform, 2016). Furthermore, Indonesia ratified the 2015 Paris Agreement at October 31, 2016 through the Law No. 16 of 2016 on the Ratification of the Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC. This Law came into force at November 30, 2016 (PPID, 2016).

Indonesia's position in the climate change issue was significant because according to the Ministry of Forestry (Apriwan and Sinulingga: 2015, p. 650), Indonesia had the third largest tropical rainforest in the world having a very important role in handling
climate change. But at the same time, according to FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) quoted by detikNews (2015), the rate of deforestation and forest degradation placed Indonesia in the world's first rank.

Indonesia ratified the 2015 Paris Agreement even though it was a country with an ever-increasing level of emissions from year to year. In 2011, Indonesia's emissions level was 511 million tons of CO$_2$$e$ and 679 million tons of CO$_2$$e$ in 2015 (World Resources Institute, 2016). The high level of emissions was caused by deforestation with a contribution rate of 65% of total emissions (IEA Statistics, 2014).

Departing from the importance of Indonesia's position on the issue of climate change and the actions of Indonesia ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement even though categorized as a Developing Country, and the Indonesia’s government practice that was not in accordance with the agreement, this paper then analyzes Indonesia's policy in ratifying the agreement.

The literature review shows that research analyzing Indonesian policy in ratifying the agreement has never been done. Rizqie (2013, p.75-95) measures the effectiveness of REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) in Indonesia as a mechanism produced by the UNFCCC climate change regime. Apriwan (2014, p.25-31) describes the relationship between international and local aspects in the UNFCCC-REDD mechanism. Enrici and Hubacek (2018, p. 1-14) look for the causes of the failure of the REDD+ mechanism produced by the UNFCCC climate change regime to minimize deforestation and forest degradation in Indonesia by using 5 indicators. Wicaksana (2015, p.216-218) analyzes the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy on climate change. Zuhir, et.al. (2017, p.231-246) discusses Indonesia's commitment, implications and constraints that can hinder Indonesia from achieving the 2015 Paris Agreement target. Meanwhile, research that analyzing Indonesian policy in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement has not been carried out. Therefore, this study answers the question, “Why did Indonesia ratify the 2015 Paris Agreement?”.

**ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

**International Regime in Constructivism Perspective**

Krasner in Brahm (2005) defines an international regime as an implicit or explicit principle, norms, rules and decision-making procedures containing the expectations of actors in a field of international relations. According to Keeley in Hennida (2015, p.113-114), the principle in the international regime is seen based on existing facts and then the
principle becomes a benchmark and grip at all times that must exist in every actor's behavior. Norms is related to the rights and obligations of each actor involved in the international regime. The regulation serves as a guideline for countries to act in accordance with what is expected or become the goal of an international regime. While the decision-making procedures is defined as the practice of making and implementing what is considered a shared-goodness.

Schaber and Ulbert in Hennida (2015, p.111-116) state that processes influencing state involvement in an international regime are affected by normative beliefs and the beliefs of policy makers. Therefore, when there is a change in the belief system there will be a change in policy. Constructivists also believe that normative discourse is an important aspect of the life of institutions where norms are debated, formed and disseminated by international institutions. Constructivists also hold that the state as a social entity is influenced by the understanding of intersubjectivity. The influence appears more at the international level. Actors at the system level are proactive where the identification and definition of policy choices is influenced by actors at the international level. The state adopts policy not as a response to the individualistic character of the state, but as a response to the construction of social norms at the international level.

Norms
According to Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, p.905-907), norms are standard of actions for actors with given identities. Whether the norms take effect or not so that a country will accept it, are determined by three conditions:

1. Legitimation. Finnemore and Sikkink state that a country domestically accepts certain international norms due to international legitimacy motives. According to Ikenberry and Kupchan (1990, p.284-291), the motives of international legitimacy can arise due to the presence of domestic turmoil in form of public opinion threatening the reputation of the elite. As a result of this public opinion, the state will then accept an international norms to save the reputation of these elites. In addition, there is also the potential for disunity in the coalition political parties supporting the government due to an issue which can also cause the state to accept the norms related to the issue;

2. Prominence. According to Florini in Finnemore and Sikkink's, the norms can be accepted by a country if there is any high-quality norm entrepreneurs promoting the norm. Norm entrepreneurs is an agent trying to convince the masses in large numbers to accept new norms. The high-quality norm entrepreneurs according to Ikenberry and
Kupchan in Elster in Finnemore and Sikkink's writing described as a hegemon states. Hegemon state is a state having a major influence in the military, economic and cultural sector. When the hegemon state becomes a norm entrepreneurs, the state will use material incentives or sanctions to attract the target country to involve in a new international regime. This material incentives or sanctions are the cause the other country will accept a new norm;

3. Intrinsic Characteristics of the Norm. Finnemore and Sikkink also state that the intrinsic quality of norms determine the magnitude of the influence of the norms itself. Norms having high intrinsic quality can be analyzed through; (a) Formulation of the Norm. According to Legro (1997, p. 34-35), specific and unambiguous norms, have existed for a long time that have passed various challenges (endurance), and the amount of acceptance internationally (concordance) will be more easily accepted by a country. Specific norms will make a country understand the prohibitions so that the country will avoid the existing sanctions. Then, norms having high endurance will be viewed by the state as a norms that can exist for a long time, if the country accepts it. Meanwhile, if a new norms has a high concordance, then the norms will be viewed by a country as a norms that will have a high prospect of existence; (b) Content of the Norm. Institutionalism sociologists state norms containing capitalism and liberalism will be more influential. Capitalism and liberalism which are meant by Boli and Thomas in Finnemore and Sikkink are norms containing the principles of universalism, individualism, rational voluntaristic authority, rationalizing human progress (human purpose), and world citizenship. According to Boli and Thomas in Wiseman and Davidson (2018, p.108-109), universalism is related to the content of norms discussing global issues. Norms containing global issues can make a country quickly exist in the international arena. Meanwhile, individualism is related to whether a norms is democratic or not, especially in the making process of norms, each member state supposedly has one voting right. When a country has the same number of voting rights as other countries, the state will accept the norms because the national interest of the country can also be fought for in the norm-making process (Robertson and White, 2003, p.30). Afterward, according to Wiseman and Davidson (2018, p.108-109), the rational voluntaristic authority relates whether a norms in the making process does not require the presence of external parties as a condition of the legitimacy of a country. In the absence of this, a state on the authority of the state itself can rationalize whether the norms is fair, proportionate and efficient or not so that a country will voluntarily
accept the norms. Then, rationalizing human progress (human purpose), is related to whether the problems behind the formation of this norms can also be felt domestically by countries that will accept the norm. So, by accepting the norms, these domestic problems can be solved. Finally, world citizenship means whether norms make every member have the same egalitarian rights and obligations. With equal rights and obligations, the state will then accept the norms because differences in capability between countries are still valued in achieving the objectives of the norms.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses qualitative research methods with explanatory research design. According to Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p.3), qualitative research method is a type of study that emphasizes the depth of the data. Meanwhile, an explanatory research according to Wyk (2009, p.10) is a research design that is used to identify causal relation between factors or variables that is related to the research question. In this study, the depth of the data that is being analyzed is Indonesia’s policy in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement. Meanwhile, the causal relations between variable that is being centered on, is the relation between the influence of the 2015 Paris Agreement norms with Indonesia’s policy ratifying the agreement.

The data collection technique of this study comes from secondary data. According to Harnovinsah (p.1), secondary data is data obtained from previous studies. In this study, secondary data were obtained from official KLHK (Ministry of Environment and Forestry) documents and Bappenas (Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency), as well as books, articles in scientific journals, newspapers, sites, and research reports related to Indonesia and the 2015 Paris Agreement.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994, p.18), there are 3 stages in data analysis techniques. First, data reduction, that is organizing and categorizing data based on concepts arranged systematically. Second, the data presentation, the process of connecting data with the conceptual framework. Third, drawing conclusions and verification. In this study, data reduction was done by organizing and categorizing data based on relevant key words such as the "Paris Agreement 2015" and "Indonesia and Paris Agreement 2015". At data presentation stage, all data obtained were then sorted and linked based on 3 conditions, namely Indonesian Legitimation towards the 2015 Paris Agreement, the Prominence of the 2015 Paris Agreement and the Intrinsic Characteristics...
of the 2015 Paris Agreement. At the stage of drawing conclusions and verification, a
generalization was drawn on which condition of legitimation, prominence and intrinsic
characteristics of norms influencing Indonesia in ratifying the agreement. The
generalization was then evaluated whether by analyzing these 3 conditions, was able to
answer the research question.

**DISCUSSION**

This section analyzes Indonesian policies in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement using the
concept of Norm Influence. The three conditions analyzed in the concept are Indonesian
Legitimacy towards the 2015 Paris Agreement, the Prominence of the 2015 Paris
Agreement and the Intrinsic Characteristics of the 2015 Paris Agreement Norms.

**INDONESIAN LEGITIMATION TOWARDS THE 2015 PARIS AGREEMENT**

In this condition, this research analyzes domestic turmoil related to the 2015 Paris
Agreement. The domestic turmoil analyzed are in the form of Indonesian public opinion
and the coalition government on the agreement that could threaten the reputation of the
government so that the government then ratifies the agreement to save its reputation.

**Indonesian Public Opinion on the 2015 Paris Agreement**

Indonesian public needed the government to overcome climate change. This could be
seen from data of Lois Barber and Ron Israel (2017, p.16), as many as 83% of the people
needed the government to overcome this problem. This was because the majority of
people do not have sufficient resources, have other priorities, do not know how to cope,
and do not have access to information. The percentage of reasons people need the
government to deal with climate change can be seen on the data below:
Meanwhile, related to the actors playing the role in overcoming climate change, according to Lois Barber and Ron Israel (2017, p.16), the public were more convinced that the social neighborhood plays a role in overcoming climate change, compared to local governments, provincial governments and national governments. The percentage showed that 88% of the public believed that the surrounding environment has more role in overcoming climate change, 75% of the public believed in the local government, 65% of the provincial government, and 63% of the national government, as shown in the following bar chart:

Source: Climate Asia in Climate Scorecard, 2017.

Image 1. Percentage of Indonesian Barriers to Respond Climate Change in 2012

Source: Climate Asia in Climate Scorecard, 2017.

Image 2. Percentage of Indonesian Confidence on Levels of Government in Overcoming Climate Change in 2012
In 2015, according to Stroke, Wike, and Carle, (2015, p.1), indeed only a few Indonesian publics considered climate change to be a very serious threat, namely only 41%. However, the majority of Indonesian, as many as 63% supported the government to limit GHG (Greenhouse Gas) emissions as part of an international agreement:

Image 3. The 2015 Percentage of Concern and Action on Climate Change in Indonesia

In particular, related to the 2015 Paris Agreement, Strokes, Wike, and Carle (2015, p.2) also conducted another survey of Indonesian. This survey asked Indonesian that in December 2015 the Indonesian government would meet the other governments of other countries in Paris, France. The meeting would discuss an agreement limiting GHG emissions from various sources of emissions, from coal, gas and gasoline. The public opinion then showed that the majority of the public (63%) supported it as part of the 2015 Paris Agreement and the Indonesian Government must be involved in the agreement. The public opinion data can be seen in the following bar diagram:


From the various public opinions above, it appeared that the Indonesian society did indeed need the role of the government because the public does not have sufficient
resources and has other priorities besides climate change. However, the majority of the Indonesian society also felt that so far, both the surrounding environment, local government, provincial government, and the national government have played a role in overcoming climate change.

The majority of Indonesian then also supported the government to limit GHG emissions as part of an international agreements. The form of the international agreement was then the 2015 Paris Agreement which was later also supported by the majority of the public to be accepted in Indonesia.

From the data above, it appeared that there was no domestic turmoil in the form of Indonesian public opinion regarding the 2015 Paris Agreement threatening the reputation of the Indonesian Government. This was because the majority of the Indonesian public showed that both local governments, provincial governments and even national governments have played a role in overcoming climate change. Thus, domestic turmoil in the form of public opinion was not a condition influencing Indonesia in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement.

*The Attitude of Coalition Government on the 2015 Paris Agreement*

The coalition government when Indonesia ratified the 2015 Paris Agreement was called "*KIH* (Great Indonesian Coalition)". The coalition consists of 7 out of 10 political parties winning the 2014 General Elections. The seven political parties are *PDIP* (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), *Golkar* Party (Working Group), *PKB* (National Awakening Party), *PAN* (National Mandate Party), *NasDem* Party (National Democrats), *PPP* (United Development Party), and *Hanura* Party (People's Conscience Party) (Retaduari, 2018). The seven parties then dominated *DPR* (House of Representatives) by owning 68.9% of the seats in a total of 560 seats. The highest percentage of seats is held by *PDIP* with 19.4% of seats and the least percentage held by *Hanura* with 2.9% of seats in the *DPR*. Meanwhile, *Golkar* Party has 16.20% seats, *PKB* 8.4%, *PAN* 8.6%, *NasDem* Party 6.4%, and *PPP* 7%, as shown in the following table (Prabowo, 2017):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party’s Name</th>
<th>Chair’s Acquisition (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>PDIP</em></td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Golkar Party</em></td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>PKB</em></td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NasDem Party</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanura Party</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>68.9%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Of these seven political parties, according to Supratiwi (2011, p.112), Golkar Party made climate change issue a priority. This is because the issue is included in the party's platform, as stated in the vision of the Golkar Party, "The realization of an Indonesian society that is ... conscious of ... environment ..." (Dewan Pertimbangan Pusat Partai Golkar, 2016).

Regarding Indonesia's domestic political turmoil, before Indonesia ratified the 2015 Paris Agreement, Golkar as a party placing climate change as the priority did not indicate to exit from the coalition if the Indonesian Government did not ratify the 2015 Paris Agreement. On the contrary, Golkar Party is a new member of the ruling KIH (Asril, 2016).

Initially, when it was formed in 2014, KIH only consisted of 5 parties, namely PDIP, PKB, NasDem Party, PPP, and Hanura Party (BBC, 2014). However, in January 2016, Golkar Party officially declared joining KIH, after PAN first joined in September 2015 (Sofwan, 2016).

From the data, it could be concluded that Golkar Party as a political party placing climate change as a priority issue in KIH did not create domestic political turmoil by trying to get out of the coalition government. On the contrary, Golkar and PAN parties which were previously outside the government coalition then joined KIH. This indicated that KIH was increasingly solid and there was no coalition division threatening the reputation of the government so that this condition was not the cause of Indonesia ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement.

THE PROMINENCE OF THE 2015 PARIS AGREEMENT

The novelty of this writings is this research analyzing U.S. in the context of the 2015 Paris Agreement. This is because according to Chiang (2015, p.1) U.S. is a hegemon state. As a hegemon state, the role of U.S. as the norm entrepreneurs of the 2015 Paris Agreement
would be analyzed. This is based on the statement of Jayaraman (2015, p.49) stating that the commitment of key countries in climate change begins to weaken, except the U.S.

As a hegemon state acting as a norm entrepreneurs of the 2015 Paris Agreement, the country's role could be seen when the U.S. negotiated climate change with China. At June 8, 2013, President Obama and President Xi as quoted by The White House (2013) stated that the two countries would promote multilateral cooperation in climate change. U.S. also stated that no country in the world can cope with climate change without the help of other countries.

Then, at November 11, 2014, according to Echeverría and Gass (2014, p.2), U.S. and China announced the signing of the "Bilateral Agreement to Cooperate on Clean Energy Development and Mitigate GHG Emissions". Through this agreement, U.S. announced to the world its ambition to reduce emissions by (26-28)% by 2025. U.S. Secretary of State also invited all countries in the world to immediately determine their respective emission reduction ambitions. Echeverría and Gass later stated that the announcement of the signing of the bilateral agreement was instrumental in shaping the confidence of all countries in the world to work together in tackling climate change.

Furthermore, at September 25, 2014, as quoted by The White House (2015), U.S. and China issued a "Joint Presidential Statement on Climate Change". The statement contained the recognition that climate change is one of the biggest threats in the world and U.S. and China were key countries in overcoming this threat. In addition, the two countries also supported the formation of an international climate change regime when COP-21 would take place.

Not only that, the two countries also agreed to help Developing Countries in dealing with climate change in the principles of CBDR & RC (Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respected Capabilities), including plans to provide climate change material incentives in the form of $3 billion as climate change financial assistance. The first realization was scheduled to be fulfilled in 2016. At March 8, 2016, as published by The Guardian (2016), U.S. then realized the first climate change incentive material. The realization was $500 million. The material incentive was then given by U.S. for developing countries through GCF (Green Climate Fund).²

As a developing country, material incentives for climate change were also an interest that Indonesia strived to be one of the contents of the 2015 Paris Agreement. This could be seen at COP-17 when the Chairperson of the DNPI (National Council on Climate Change) quoted by ANTARA (2011) said that 2 of 4 Indonesian interests in negotiations
on the establishment of a new international climate change regime were the operationalization of funding and accelerating the disbursement of adaptation funds for vulnerable areas.

Not only that, when COP-19, Secretary of the DNPI Funding Working Group, covered by ANTARA (2013), also urged developed countries to provide funding for developing countries. The amount of funds that must be given is $100 billion per year until 2020. Then, at COP-20, the Chair of the Indonesian Delegation, cited by BERITA SATU (2014), also stated that funding was one of the five important things that Indonesia wanted during the conference.

At COP-21 President Jokowi, as quoted by Tempo (2015), also emphasized the importance of climate change financial incentives. President Jokowi stressed the funding mobilization of $100 billion by 2020 and that amount must continue to increase in each period. President Jokowi stated that the funds would be used to transfer technology in climate change adaptation and mitigation.

Data above shows that U.S. as a hegemon state played a role as a norm entrepreneurs of the 2015 Paris Agreement. To convince Indonesia in ratifying the agreement, the United States provides material incentives in the form of climate change financial assistance for developing countries through GCF. Indonesia itself seeked to obtain material incentives at COP-17, COP-19, COP-20 and COP-21. Thus, this material incentives for Indonesia provided by the U.S. as a hegemon state acting as the norm entrepreneurs of the agreement was the cause of Indonesia to ratify the agreement.

**INTRINSIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 2015 PARIS AGREEMENT**

In the condition of the intrinsic characteristics of the norm, to analyze Indonesian policy in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement, there are two matters to be analyzed. They are the formulation and content of the agreement.

1. **2015 Paris Agreement Formulation**

   In this indicator, Indonesian policy in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement are analyzed through the specificity, durability, and norm concordance.

   1.1. **Specificity of the 2015 Paris Agreement**

   This sub-indicator analyzes the specificity of the 2015 Paris Agreement. An analysis is carried out to explain whether the norm is specific or not. Specific norms will cause
Indonesia to ratify the 2015 Paris Agreement because of sufficient knowledge to avoid violations of the norm.

According to Streck, Keenlyside and Unger (2016, p.6), the 2015 Paris Agreement as a norm has high specificity on the principle of the agreement. The principle of this agreement is CBDR & RC. The principle is then devoted to the addition of clauses, "... in the light of different national circumstances.". This then makes it clear that this principle requires all countries to implement the agreement to tackle climate change. The implementation is based on the ability of each participating country, whether the country belongs to Developed or Developing Countries.

Meanwhile, according to Smith (2016), the 2015 Paris Agreement has specifically determined the purpose of adaptation, that articulates through, "strengthening [global] the response to climate change, in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty." In addition to determining the adaptation goals, this agreement has also specifically provided guidelines that must be carried out by each participating country in the adaptation to climate change. These guidelines are stated in the loss and damage mechanism found in 14 paragraphs in article 7 of the agreement. However, this agreement then becomes less specific when the forms of adaptation that can be carried out by each participating country based on these guidelines are returned to the capabilities of each country itself. Although these forms of adaptation in determining are the domestic authority of the participating countries, this agreement then specifically states that supervision is still carried out internationally. Then, in terms of financial assistance for climate change adaptation, this agreement has also specifically acknowledged that, "... greater adaptation needs can involve greater adaptation costs." To realize the financial assistance, this agreement has also specifically appointed Developed Countries to provide assistance for Developing Countries. However, according to Streck, Keenlyside and Unger (2016, p.6), the agreement is not specific in determining the amount of financial assistance that must be channeled and which agency will manage the assistance. Therefore, the 2015 Paris Agreement could be categorized as having moderate specificity in adaptation terms.

In terms of mitigation, according to Streck, Keenlyside and Unger (2016, p.6), this agreement specifically specifies mitigation objectives as stated in article 2 paragraph 1 (a), namely to prevent the increase in earth temperature, "well below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 °C ". However, related to when that goal must be realized, this agreement has not specifically
determined it. As stated in article 41, this agreement only includes words, "as soon as possible". So, in the mitigation section, this agreement also has moderate specificity.

From the data above, it can be concluded that the 2015 Paris Agreement has moderate specificity. This is indicated by the fact that the agreement principle has high specificity, but has a moderate specificity in terms of adaptation and mitigation. The moderate specificity then means that Indonesia still does not have sufficient knowledge to avoid violations that might be done by Indonesia, especially in the adaptation and mitigation terms. Thus, this condition was not a condition influencing Indonesia in ratifying the agreement.

1.2. Durability of the 2015 Paris Agreement
This section explains the various challenges that the 2015 Paris Agreement has successfully passed since it became effective. The challenge is in giving sanctions for participating countries that are not obedient to the agreement. Such action is taken in order to maintain the existence of the agreement. If the norm succeeds in passing through these challenges, Indonesia will regard Paris Agreement 2015 as a norm that can exist for a long time so that Indonesia then ratifies the agreement.

The 2015 Paris Agreement has entered into force since 4 November 2016 (UNFCCC Sites and Platform, 2016). However, this agreement has only been effective in 2020. This is because the validity period of INDC (Intended Nationally Determined Contribution) for each participating country starts in 2020 (OJK, 2015). Thus, various challenges that had been successfully passed by the agreement cannot be analyzed. So that, sanctions for violating countries had not yet been carried out. This is because as stated in article 14 paragraph 2 of the agreement, compliance reports for each new participating country will be released in 2023 and every 5 years thereafter (United Nations, 19).

From these facts, it can be seen that the durability of the 2015 Paris Agreement could not yet be analyzed so that these conditions were not things affecting Indonesia in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement.

1.3. Concordance of the 2015 Paris Agreement
Concordance explains how much the norms of the 2015 Paris Agreement were accepted internationally. A high concordance indicates that the norm has a high prospect of existence in the future so that Indonesia ratifies the agreement.
The acceptance of these norms internationally could be seen from the negotiation stage at each COP. At COP-17, according to Roberts (2016, p.1), at this conference, all countries agreed to form a new international climate change regime before the end of 2015 and could immediately effective in 2020.

Meanwhile, at COP-18, there was no decision related to the 2015 Paris Agreement. This is because according to EPRS (European Parliamentary Research Service) (2015, p.14), the conference only discussed the amendments on the validity period of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol marked by the resulting Doha Amendment. Thus, the acceptance of the norms of the agreement internationally cannot be analyzed at this conference.

International acceptance of the 2015 Paris Agreement could then be seen at COP-19. EPRS (2015, p.14) said that at this conference, all countries again expressed their support for the formation of a new international climate change regime to replace the 1997 Kyoto Protocol.

At COP-20, the acceptance of the norms of the 2015 Paris Agreement internationally could be seen in important decisions that became the forerunner of the agreement called "Lima Call for Climate Action". The world agreed that every country must support low emission development, commitment in reducing emission levels must be monitored and strengthened as well as every country must adapt to climate change. All participating countries also agreed to deliver the INDC in March 2015 by including the GHG producing sectors and the types of GHGs that they want to reduce as well as the calculation methodology used. However, a forum for each participating country to present and discuss INDC failed to be agreed. Then, all these countries also agreed to provide climate change financial assistance to countries that are vulnerable to climate change. The conference also recognized adaptation as a term that must be stated in the INDC. In addition, the conference also acknowledged that the international climate change regime that was formed would have to be able to reduce emissions quickly which involved the private sector, pension funding institutions, cities, and indigenous peoples. At this conference, the international community also agreed on forest restoration with the need to establish forest monitoring and carbon mapping through satellites in collaboration with Global Forest Watch and OSINFOR (Agency for the Supervision of Forest and Wildlife Resources) in sharing data. Although there was one decision that had not yet been agreed upon at this conference, there were still a majority of decisions that had been agreed upon.
at the conference (Morgan et al., 2014). This still showed that the acceptance of the agreement remained large at this conference.

When COP-21 took place, the 2015 Paris Agreement was approved by 165 countries (The Guardian, 2015). After COP-21 took place, 171 countries also signed the agreement (PPID, 2016).

Then, based on data from the United Nations Treaty Collection (2016), out of a total of 198 participating countries of the UNFCCC (UNFCCC Sites and Platform, 2016) there were 43.94% of countries that had ratified the agreement, before Indonesia ratified it (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2016).

From the explanations above, it can be seen that the 2015 Paris Agreement received high acceptance internationally at the negotiation stage, namely COP-17 and COP-19. During the negotiation stage at COP-20, the norm had also been accepted internationally, although there was still one decision related to the foundation of the formation of the agreement that had not been agreed. Meanwhile, during the approval stage to adopt, the agreement could be accepted internationally which was marked by all UNFCCC participating countries agreeing to adopt the international climate change regime. The amount of acceptance of norms internationally also occurred when all UNFCCC participating countries sign the agreement. However, before Indonesia ratified it, the agreement had not been accepted internationally. This was indicated by the fact that there were least countries that had ratified the agreement, before Indonesia ratified it. Thus, the prospect of the existence of the 2015 Paris Agreement was still moderate so that this was not a condition influencing Indonesia in ratifying the agreement.

2. Contents of the 2015 Paris Agreement
This indicator explains the causes of Indonesia ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement by analyzing whether the agreement adheres to the principles of liberalism and capitalism or not. These principles are universalism, individualism, rational voluntaristic authority, rationalizing human progress (human purpose), and world citizenship.

2.1. Universalism Principle of the 2015 Paris Agreement
According to Hussein (2015), climate change is a global issue. This is due to climate change is one of the global sustainable development agendas. The global sustainable development agenda is an agenda addressing basic human needs in the form of clean
water, food security and energy. Meanwhile, climate change can affect the quality and quantity of these basic needs.

In 2015, the international community then made the issue of climate change as the number 13 of global sustainable development agenda (SDGs/Sustainable Development Goals) called "Climate Action". This development agenda contains the international commitments to protect the earth from environmental degradation and the commitment to take action as soon as possible to tackle climate change (Hussein, 2015).

In Indonesia, the sustainable development agenda has also been included as one of the national development missions of the Bappenas (Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency). The mission is "Towards a beautiful and sustainable Indonesia". This mission is valid from 2005 to 2025 (Deputy for Natural Resources and Environment, 2013, p.2).

Given the facts above, it can be seen that the 2015 Paris Agreement contains the principle of universalism. This can then cause Indonesia to quickly exist at the international level, especially on the global sustainable development agenda that has been proclaimed nationally from 2005-2025, if Indonesia ratifies the agreement.

2.2. Individualism Principle of the 2015 Paris Agreement

The 2015 Paris Agreement was established from the COP, specifically COP-17 to COP-21 (Kementerian Luar Negeri, 2015). During these conferences, under Article 12 Paragraph 41 (a) of the UNFCCC (1996, p. 12), each country has 1 vote. Each regional economic cooperation organization also has a number of voting rights equal to the number of member countries of the regional organization. If one of the participating countries of the regional organization wishes to exercise voting rights not in the name of a regional economic cooperation organization, the regional organization has lost voting rights. Conversely, if all member countries of the regional organization agree to use voting rights in the name of their regional cooperation organization, each member country of the regional cooperation has lost voting rights on behalf of each country.

From the mechanism of decision making, it could be seen that COP-17 to COP-21 contain the principle of individualism. This is indicated by each participating country having 1 equal voting right. The democratic nature then made Indonesia had the opportunity to fight for its national interests at these conferences.

At COP-17, Indonesia had the opportunity to fight for 4 national interests as stated by DNPI Daily Chairperson, in ANTARA (2011), which were the operationalization of
funding, the formation of the GCF, accelerating disbursement of adaptation funds for vulnerable areas, and technology transfer. Meanwhile, at COP-18, the Chair of the DNPI in the UNFCCC Sites and Platform (2012, p.4) had the opportunity to fight for two Indonesian national interests, namely the adoption of the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol and obtaining an explanation of the ADP (The Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action) work plan at the upcoming conference.

During the COP-19, three national interests of Indonesia could also be brought when the conference was announced which was issued from IESR (Institute for Essential Services Reform) Indonesia (2013) and ANTARA (2013), were the written commitments of developed countries for GHG replacement, loss and damage, and financial incentives for change climate. At COP-20, as requested by the Chair of the Indonesian Delegation in the BERIT ASATU (2014), Indonesia's national interests that could be fought for were adaptation, mitigation, technology transfer, capacity building and funding. Then, at COP-21, in a speech by the President Jokowi cited by Tempo (2015), with one equal vote to the other participating countries of the conference, Indonesia then voted to approve the adoption of the 2015 Paris Agreement. Therefore, these conditions made it possible for Indonesia to fight for its national interests from COP-17 to COP-21 which ultimately influenced Indonesia in ratifying the agreement.

2.3. Rational Voluntaristic Authority Principle of The 2015 Paris Agreement
This section explains whether the 2015 Paris Agreement required the presence of external parties as a condition of Indonesia's legitimacy or not. In the absence of this, Indonesia in its own authority can rationalize the norms so that Indonesia would then ratify the agreement.

The 2015 Paris Agreement does not require the presence of external authorities as a legitimate condition for Indonesia. This can be seen in the absence of a written clause in the agreement requiring this term (United Nations, p.1-24).

In addition, this term could also be seen since the process of making the agreement. From COP-17 to COP-20, all delegates representing Indonesia in the negotiation process for the establishment of the 2015 Paris Agreement were not required to involve external parties. As quoted by ANTARA (2011 and 2013), UNFCCC Sites and Platform (2012, p.1) IESR Indonesia (2013) and BERITA SATU (2014), from COP-17 to COP-20, the Chair of the DNPI acted directly as chairman of the delegation Indonesia at
these conferences. Then, when Indonesia agreed to adopt the regime at COP-21, the Indonesian delegation was directly chaired by President Jokowi (2015). Furthermore, when Indonesia signed the climate change regime, Indonesia was also directly chaired by the Minister of LHK (Ministry of Environment and Forestry), Siti Nurbaya (Murdaningsih, 2016).

From the explanation above, the 2015 Paris Agreement contains the principle of rational voluntaristic authority because this agreement does not require the presence of external parties as a condition of Indonesia's legitimacy. This was indicated by the absence of a written clause in the agreement requiring the term. In addition, throughout COP-17 to COP-21, there were no external parties acting as an Indonesian delegation. Thus, Indonesia could then get the Indonesian authority itself to rationalize the norm. This condition then made Indonesia ratify the agreement.

2.4. Rationalizing Human Progress (Human Purpose) Principle of the 2015 Paris Agreement.

This section analyzes whether the effects of climate change discussed in these norms occurs domestically in Indonesia. If these conditions occur, Indonesia then ratified the agreement so that the domestic impacts of climate change could be overcome.

Knowledge Center Perubahan Iklim (Knowledge Center for Climate Change) in 2013 stated that climate change had impacted on aspects of water, habitat, forests, health, agriculture, and coastal areas in Indonesia. From the aspect of water, according to KLHK quoted by Gerintya (2018), the status of river water quality in Indonesia throughout 2011-2016 continued to deteriorate. To measure river water quality, KLHK divided into 10 categories. From the best quality category to the worst in a row were Fulfilling, Fulfilling Mild-Pollution, Fulfilling Moderate Pollution, Fulfilling Severe Pollution, Mild Pollution, Mild-Moderate Pollution, Mild-Severe Pollution, Moderate Pollution, Moderate-Severe Pollution, and Severe Pollution.

In 2011, the status of 56.25% river water quality was in the category of Fulfilling Mild Pollution. In the following year, water quality decreased by 4 levels and was 40% in the Mild-Moderate Pollution. In 2013, the water quality had improved marked by 39.39% in the category of Fulfilling Mild-Pollution. However, in 2014, the water quality dropped dramatically marked 58.06% in the lowest category, namely Severe Pollution. In the following year, water quality remained in the category of Severe Pollution, although the percentage improved slightly by 15.64%. In 2016, water quality remained in the same
category, but with a deteriorating percentage of 13.46%. The status of river water quality in Indonesia in full from 2011-2016 was shown in the following bar diagram:

![Bar Diagram of River Water Quality in Indonesia, 2011-2016](Source: KLHK, in tirto.id., 2018.)

**Image 4.9. Percentage of Indonesia’s River Water Quality**

In addition, based on data from *BPS* (Statistics Indonesia) and the Directorate General of Natural Resources of the Ministry of Public Works in the SMI Insight (2017, p.1-3), in 2015, the quantity of water in Indonesia continued to decrease. In 2015, the quantity of water in Indonesia was 236,335.25 m³/capita. However, it is estimated that the quantity will continue to decline until 2035 only to 181,498 m³/capita, as shown in the following line diagram:

![Line Diagram of Indonesia Water Quantity, 2015-2035](Source: BPS and Directorate General of Natural Resources of the Ministry of Public Works in Insight SMI, 2017.)

**Image 4.10. Indonesia Water Quantity for 2015-2035 (m³/capita)**

The next aspect is the habitat. According to *KLHK* (2014, p.14), climate change had resulted in changes in habitat, especially forest habitat in Indonesia. From 2000 to 2009, prolonged heat waves reduced the area of dry primary forest from 42,255,832.09
hectare to 32,185,720.41 hectare. Secondary swamp forest could no longer be found in Indonesia.

Climate change also threatened the extinction of species in Indonesia. According to WWF (World Wildlife Fund) Indonesia (2016), Indonesia was home to 10% of flowering plants, 12% of mammals, 16% of reptiles and amphibians, 17% of birds, and 25% of fish species. Due to climate change, 9 species were threatened with extinction in Indonesia. The nine species were Javan Rhinos, Sumatran Rhinos, Sumatran Elephants, Borneo Elephants, Sumatran Tigers, Tree Kangaroos, Bornean Orangutans, and Turtles.

In the aspect of forests, as explained in the aspect of habitat, the quantity of forests in Indonesia was decreasing (KLHK, 2014, p.14). In addition, according to Forest Watch Indonesia (2014, p.79), the quality of Indonesia's forests continued to decline throughout 2009-2013. This was indicated by the extent of open access, unmanaged and untreated forests.

Climate change also had a negative impact on public health in Indonesia. Starting from July 1 to October 23, 2015, climate change causing forest fires in Indonesia has resulted 503,884 Indonesian people suffering from ARI (Acute Respiratory Tract Infection) (KOMPAS, 2018).

In the context of agricultural, according to the KP3I (Research Consortium and Development of Climate Change) of the IARD (Indonesian Agency for Agricultural Research and Development) in Nurdin (2011, p.25), climate change increased the threat of decreasing national rice productivity from (2.45-5.0)% in normal conditions to more than 10%.

The last significant aspect was coastal areas. According to BIG (Geospatial Information Agency) and RESELECASEA (Research Project Reconstruction of Sea Level Change in South Asia Using Satellite Altimetry and Tide Gauge Data), quoted by BERITASATU (2012), Indonesia's sea levels continue to rise 2-8 mm per year due to climate change.

The explanations above were evidences that 2015 Paris Agreement containing the principle of rationalizing human progress. In Indonesia, these were the impacts of the climate change that had taken place. These impacts reduced the quality and quantity of air, habitat changes, endangered species, declining quality and quantity of forests, increased threat of decreasing areas of agricultural productivity, as well as increased sea levels. These conditions then made Indonesia ratify the 2015 Paris Agreement so that those problems could be solved.
This was in accordance with President Jokowi's speech at COP-21, quoted by Mahbub (2015), stating that Indonesia needs to approve the adoption of the agreement because climate change impacts on coastal areas and forestry aspects in Indonesia. Meanwhile, when Indonesia signed the 2015 Paris Agreement, the Minister of LHK as quoted by Murdaningsih (2016), stated that climate change had an impact on habitat aspects in Indonesia.

2.5. World Citizenship Principle on The 2015 Paris Agreement

This section explains whether the 2015 Paris Agreement contained equal rights and obligations for each participating countries in the climate change regime. The distribution of equal rights and obligations will ensure that Indonesia can overcome climate change even though Indonesia's capabilities with other participating countries are different so that Indonesia then ratifies the agreement.

The rights of each participating country in the 2015 Paris Agreement is found in the opening section of the agreement. These rights are in the form of "... human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous people, local communities, migrants, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations and the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity." (United Nations, 2015, p.2).

Meanwhile, according to Falkner (2016, p.3), the obligation of each participating country in the climate change regime is to mitigate by reducing emission levels. The level of emissions that is reduced every 5 years periodically must continue to increase. In addition, each participating country is also obliged to adapt to overcome the slow onset and rapid onset due to climate change. All of these obligations must also be included in the INDC. These obligations then become equal due to the principle of CBDR & RC. With the CBDR & RC principle, Developing Countries will be assisted by Developed Countries in carrying out all of these obligations. The assistance provided is in the form of climate change financial incentives and also technology transfer.

From the explanation of the rights and obligations of the participating countries in the 2015 Paris Agreement, it could be seen that the 2015 Paris Agreement contains the principle of world citizenship because Indonesia's rights are equal to those of other participating countries. Not only that, the obligations carried out by Indonesia are equivalent to other participating countries. In fact, Indonesia's obligation as a Developing Country with the obligations of Developed Countries is also equal in the field of
mitigation and adaptation due to the principle of CBDR & RC. This indicates that the 2015 Paris Agreement guarantees Indonesia as a Developing Country to be able to overcome the effects of climate change through financial assistance and technology transfer from developed countries. This condition then affected Indonesia in ratifying the agreement.

The analysis of using the concept of Norms Influence shows that the Indonesian legitimation towards the 2015 Paris Agreement was not the cause influencing Indonesia in ratifying the agreement. It was because Indonesian public opinion had been confident that local, provincial and national governments already played a role in climate change.

Meanwhile, the prominence of the 2015 Paris Agreement was a condition influencing Indonesia in ratifying the agreement. This was because there were hegemon states, that was U.S. becoming the norm entrepreneurs by providing climate change material incentives of $500 million through GCF for Developing Countries, including Indonesia, at March 8, 2016.

Then, in the Intrinsic Characteristics of Norms, the Indicator of the Content of the Paris Agreement 2015 had been fulfilled. However, the Intrinsic Characteristics of the 2015 Paris Agreement was not the cause of Indonesia ratified the agreement. It was because the 2015 Paris Agreement Formulation Indicator did not meet the requirements.

CONCLUSION
This study analyzes Indonesian policy in ratifying the 2015 Paris Agreement. The results of the analysis found that U.S. as a hegemon state acting as a norm entrepreneur by providing climate change financial assistance to Indonesia as a developing country through GCF of $ 00 million was a condition influencing Indonesia to ratify the agreement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Miles, Matthew B. dan A. Michael Huberman. Qualitative Data Analysis (Sage Publication, 1994).


UNFCCC Sites and Platform. (2012). Statement by H.E. Mr. Rachmat Witoelar, Minister and President’s Special Envoy for Climate Change, Head of the Indonesian Delegation At The High Level Segment of COP 18/CMP 8 UNFCCC. UN Climate Change.


NOTES:

1 Developed countries and developing countries experiencing rapid economic growth (India and China).
2 A financial mechanism under the UNFCCC helping fund climate finance investment.
3 The post-2020 voluntary national climate targets.
4 Example, increasing temperatures, desertification, loss of biodiversity, etc.
5 Example, cyclone.