



**JOURNAL OF
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**
<http://e-journal.uum.edu.my/index.php/jis>

How to cite this article:

Zon, F., & Andika, M. T. (2021). Indonesian leadership in the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) and its impact on the institutionalization of open parliament in Indonesia. *Journal of International Studies*, 17, 81-100. <https://doi.org/10.32890/jis2021.17.4>

INDONESIAN LEADERSHIP IN THE GLOBAL ORGANIZATION OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AGAINST CORRUPTION (GOPAC) AND ITS IMPACT ON THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF OPEN PARLIAMENT IN INDONESIA

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Received: 18/11/2020 Revised: 5/2/2021 Accepted: 3/3/2021 Published: 30/12/2021

ABSTRACT

The Open Parliament Indonesia (OPI) declaration in 2018 was a pivotal moment in the democratization of the Indonesian parliament. The OPI declaration marked a strategic achievement of Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy. At a time when the public trust towards the Indonesian parliament was low, the OPI declaration opened a new chapter for the Indonesian parliament to revitalize its commitment toward increasing public trust. It is worth noting that the decision of the Indonesian parliament to join the open parliament initiative began with its leadership in the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC). This article has addressed the key question of how the Indonesian parliament's leadership in GOPAC contributed to the establishment of Open Parliament Indonesia and further argued

that Indonesia's leadership in international organizations such as GOPAC has influenced Indonesian parliamentary behaviour. This has been achieved by creating room and access for the parliament to intensely engage with issues of open parliament in the international fora. It marked the compliance of the Indonesian parliament with international norms, demonstrating its commitment to adhere to the global democratic principles of transparency, openness and accountability. International norms prompted by GOPAC's open parliament advocacy has affected Indonesia's parliament's policy choice as regards the open parliament agenda. Indonesia's leadership in GOPAC, represented by the Deputy Speaker in Politics, Law and Security as GOPAC president, accelerated the institutionalization of the OPI.

Keywords: Open parliament, Indonesian parliament, Indonesia.

BACKGROUND

The Indonesian parliament has been playing an important role in the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), which was prompted by the fact that its Deputy Speaker in Politics, Law and Security served twice as the GOPAC president. Established in 2002, GOPAC is an international inter-parliamentary organization that focuses on the eradication of corruption. Offering a voluntary membership, GOPAC welcomes currently serving or former parliamentarians who are concerned with corruption issues. Other than strengthening the parliamentary role in tackling corruption, GOPAC also plays a central role in advocating for open and good governance.

In 2015, at the 6th GOPAC Global Conference in Yogyakarta, the assembly reached a consensus to select Indonesia, represented by the then Deputy Speaker on Politics, Law and Security Affairs of the Parliament, Hon. Dr. Fadli Zon, to be the GOPAC president from 2015 until 2017. He was unanimously selected to succeed Mr. Ricardo García Cervantes of Mexico in a board meeting attended by the representatives of five continents and the regional chapters of Africa, the Arab region, Latin America, North America, South Asia and Oceania and the Caribbean. Indonesia was re-elected to lead GOPAC in 2017 and held the mantle until 2019.

Having a leadership role has provided a greater opportunity for the Indonesian parliament to engage more deeply with open governance issues in various international fora, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Global Legislative Openness Conference, and the Open Government Partnership Summit. Through its active participation in the fora, the Indonesian parliament was able to harness the potential of its leadership role in the GOPAC to promote its open parliament (OP) agenda.

This article has argued that the leadership of the Indonesian parliament in GOPAC plays an important role in the decision taken by the Indonesian parliament to join the Open Parliament Initiative. GOPAC's open parliament advocacy motivated Indonesian Members of Parliament (MP) in GOPAC to strengthen their commitment and promote the OP initiative in the Indonesian parliament. Indonesia's presence in the GOPAC's leadership structure significantly and favourably influenced the development of new commitments by the Indonesian parliament to embrace a wide range of global initiatives, including the norms of Open Parliament (OP)

Indonesia joined the Open Government Partnership (OGP) in 2012 by declaring its Open Government Indonesia (OGI). This step was taken in line with global growing trend in political decentralization. The OPI functioned as an instrument to widen public space for influence on the policy of public goods and services, which would contribute eventually towards the existence of a balance between individual rights and collective harmony (Andi Yakub et al., 2018, p.147)

Indonesia's membership in the OGP was endorsed by Presidential Decree No. 13 of 2014 which was signed by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on March 26, 2014. After joining the OGP, Indonesia immediately played an active role, as reflected in the various positions of influence that Indonesia held within the OGP. In 2012, Indonesia co-chaired the OGP with the UK and became the OGP's lead chair on October 31, 2013. It was in the latter leadership role that Indonesia had the opportunity to coordinate the OGP's direction for the next one year. Indonesia served its second term as a member of the OGP's Steering Committee (SC) from 2019 until 2022, after serving the first term during the period 2015–2018 (OGI, 2018).

To manage and coordinate activities at the country level, Indonesia established a National Secretariat of OGI. The National Secretariat has been tasked to coordinate all planning and policy implementation activities of public institutions at the central and regional levels, as well as to liaise with the OGP Secretariat. During the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the OGI National Secretariat was nested under the Presidential Unit for Development Monitoring and Acceleration (UKP4). Starting from 2015, after President Joko Widodo took office, the OGI Secretariat has been handled by three institutions, namely, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and the President's Executive Office (KSP). Other than that, the National Secretariat also welcomes civil society representatives who have positions equal to that of government representatives (OGI, 2018).

In a significant demonstration of its commitment to the OGP, the National Secretariat has submitted a national action plan (NAP) document to the OGP Secretariat. The document outlined Indonesia's commitment and action plan to promote the principles of an open government. Since joining the organization, Indonesia has submitted the following five action plans: Action Plan 2011–2012, Action Plan 2013, Action Plan 2014–2015, Action Plan 2016–2017 and Action Plan 2018–2020. Each of these action plan contains proposals that the government was committed to executing. The OGP has evaluated Indonesia's performance as a member of the organization, based on the implementation of its action plans (DPR RI, 2019).

Table 1

Open Government Indonesia Action Plans

| Year | Number of Items (Program) |
|-----------|---------------------------|
| 2011–2012 | 12 |
| 2013 | 15 |
| 2014–2015 | 47 |
| 2016–2017 | 50 |
| 2018–2020 | 16 |

Source: Action Plans of Open Government Indonesia, DPR RI, 2019.

At the end of the 2014–2019 period, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesian Parliament) took the significant step of declaring its setting up of the Open Parliament Indonesia (OPI). The declaration marked a new chapter of the Indonesian parliament's commitment to OP as a multilateral initiative that had already commenced in 2012. Through this OPI declaration, the country has affirmed its commitment that the Indonesian parliament will act in compliance with international norms, adhering steadfastly to the global democratic principles of transparency, openness and accountability.

As a multilateral initiative, the OP is an international norm and part of the OGP. Historically, Indonesia was one of the eight countries which initiated the OGP. It was formally launched in 2011 and was declared a multilateral initiative that was aimed at fostering a meaningful commitment to promote openness in government institutions. The OP promotes the same, but focuses on parliamentary institutions.

In light of the historical background discussed in the foregoing about the development of the OGP and OP, this article has also examined in greater detail the aspects behind the OPI declaration in 2018. The paper will also argue that the GOPAC's advocacy of the OP has strengthened the commitment of Indonesian parliamentarians in GOPAC as a show of support for the OP agenda. Moreover, Indonesia's leadership in the GOPAC, with its Deputy Speaker for Politics, Law and Security Affairs helming the organization as the GOPAC president, has accelerated the OPI institutionalization process. The OPI declaration also marked a strategic achievement of Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

International Norms and Domestic Political Actions

International relations scholarship has attempted to show that international norms affect a state policy choice by way of the actions of the domestic political actors. Cortell and Davis (1996) suggested that two factors conditioned the extent to which an actor's appeal to an international rule or norm would influence state behaviour: the domestic structural context and the domestic salience of the

international norm. The domestic structural context was closely related to the development of the democratization of a country, its political system and the domestic political configuration. Moreover, the domestic salience of international norms was closely related to how government actors or policymakers perceived international norms (Cortell & Davis, 1996, p.66).

To strengthen that framework, another point of view can be drawn from the constructivist approach. Constructivists have demonstrated that international norms, apart from being a guidance for the interactions of states with one another, have also been a great influence on the domestic political debates, which in turn, could give rise to policy outcomes. The involvement of national policymakers in the international arena has enabled interaction between the international and domestic normative systems, resulting in the compliance of state institutions with international norms (Jeffrey, 2007, p.73).

Open Government and Open Parliament

The OP is a part of the OGP. As an international norm, the OGP has the following four main goals: increase the availability of data on governance, support public participation, implement the highest standard of professional integrity in the public administration process and improve access to new technologies that will help bolster openness and accountability (OGP, 2012). The OGP is also a common platform where state institutions, civil society and the private sector are equal partners in promoting openness, transparency and accountability in state institutions.

Lathrop and Ruma (2011) has defined the notion of an open government as a government that co-innovates with everyone, especially citizens; shares resources that were previously restricted (closed); harnesses the power of mass collaboration; drives transparency throughout its operations; and behaves not as an isolated department of jurisdiction, but as something new, a truly integrated and networked organization (Lathrop & Ruma, 2010, pp. 1–3). Daniel Smilov (2012) described the open parliament in principle as all the information about parliamentary activities, such as the legislative initiatives, as well as the work of individual MPs in their constituencies, which however, does not constitute state secrets or other classified information. The

OECD (2016) has also offered its own definition of what constituted an open government; an open government refers to the transparency in the government's actions, open access to public services and information, and in the government's responsiveness to new ideas, inquiries and needs. The OECD in its definition has emphasized the idea that the open government initiative is to be seen as a catalyst for the improvement of democratic life and the fulfilment of citizens' needs. (Smilov, 2010, p. 7).

Using the aforementioned definition, the OECD formulated an open government assessment instrument that observes the following three principles: policy, policy catalysts and policy outputs. The OECD also included four underlying principles which should be part of the open government framework, namely, public participation, transparency, accountability and integrity. The framework was then aligned with policy catalysts to achieve medium- and long-term goals. The medium-term goals were to improve the quality of public services, while long-term goals included improving the quality of democracy, promoting inclusive growth, increasing citizens' trust in public institutions and improving legal administration. The medium-term outputs were to improve public services, while long-term outputs were to improve the quality of democratic practice, promote inclusive growth, foster citizens' trust in the government and a regulatory framework. Cross-stakeholder integration, vertically and horizontally, was also vital in implementing an open government (OECD, 2005, p.29).

The OGP's vision has been to create more governments that are consistently transparent, accountable and responsive to the needs of their citizens. This is because its ultimate aim is to improve the quality of governance and public services so as to better serve its citizens. Nevertheless, achieving the vision will require changing the existing norms and culture, and ensure that the government and civil society can collaborate (OGP, 2012).

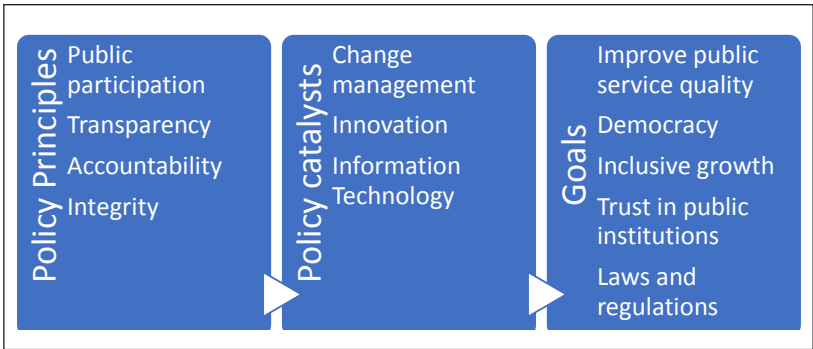
As a multilateral initiative, the OGP has four main components in its organizational structure, and they are as follows: the Steering Committee (SC), the Board of Directors (BOD), the International Expert Panel and the Secretariat. The SC is the executive body that plays a decision-making role in the OGP. It consists of 22 members, 11 members that represent national governments and 11 that represent civil society. These 22 members will hold office for a period of three

years. The BOD sits under the SC and oversees the Independent Expert Panel, the panel which is responsible for preparing the Independent Monitoring Report (IRM). The International Expert Panel consists of experts from the business sector and civil society and they directly oversee the drafting of the IRM—an evaluative instrument implemented by independent researchers, who submit an evaluation report to the OGP Secretariat.

Being a supporting unit, the OGP Secretariat coordinates all activities in the OGH and ensures seamless communications between state members and the SC, the BOD and the International Expert Panel. The OGP also has OGP ambassadors, appointees who are respected figures from various sectors, including business and international organizations, as well as OGP envoys, who were former SC members. They were to provide strategic input to the SC and the other committees (OGP, 2020).

Figure 1

Open Government Framework



Source: Documentation of the OECD (OECD, 2016)

The OP was established by the OGP as a platform to enable the participation of legislative institutions. The “Open Parliament Chapters” was declared in 2012 during the World e-Parliament Conference in Rome, Italy. The declaration summarized the various commitments and outputs of the inter-parliamentary meetings, as well as the meetings of the international community tasked with discussing issues about democracy and parliamentary roles. The OP Declaration has the following four goals: promoting a culture of openness,

parliamentary transparency, open access to parliamentary information and the use of electronic systems to disseminate parliamentary information (OGP, 2020).

To strengthen the institutional capacity of the OP, the OGP established the Legislative Openness Working Group (LOWG) in 2013, followed by the Open Parliament e-Network (OPeN) in 2018. The OPeN aims to improve the flexibility of parliamentary participation and to drive legislative engagement in the OGP. With this spirit, the OPeN is not exclusively a parliamentary organization, but is open to civil society organizations, former parliamentarians or senior parliamentary staff members who have the common commitment in and skills of promoting open parliament. These initiatives paved the way for a stronger implementation of a national OP. According to the latest 2020 data from the OGP, the OP declaration has received 145 commitment pledges from 55 parliaments around the world—including that from the Indonesian parliament in 2018 (OGP, 2020).

As part of the OGP, OP engagement is to be guided by the Parliamentary Engagement Policy Guidance. The document contains steps for a parliament to advance openness. There are five approaches for legislative engagement in the OGP (OGP, 2017) and they are as follows:

1. The OGP encourages parliamentary engagement in many forms.
2. Parliaments in OGP countries that wish to develop OP commitments should be integrated either as part of the NAP or as a separate parliamentary chapter of the NAP.
3. If parliaments choose to develop a separate chapter of the NAP, they should do so in a way that is consistent with the OGP principles and participation requirements, such as IRM, self-assessment and co-creation.
4. Countries should seek synergy between the commitments initiated by the executive and the commitments initiated by the parliament.
5. The primary point of contact for the OGP Support Unit

remains the POC in the executive branch of government. All OGP member countries, especially countries that have developed OP chapters, are encouraged to consider designating a parliamentary focal contact to facilitate the interaction of open government efforts at the national level and with the LOWG.

The OGP's Parliamentary Engagement Policy Guidance spells out the two forms of parliamentary engagement, namely, integration into the government-led NAP and the production of a separate parliamentary chapter of the NAP. In the case of Indonesia, the parliament decided to pursue the latter, developing a separate parliamentary-driven NAP.

The implementation of the principle of OPs took various forms in some countries. One of the best examples for illustration is Georgia. In 2015, Georgia became the first country to draft and approve the Open Parliament Action Plan as well as to sign up for the Declaration on Parliamentary Openness. Georgia has become the point of reference for the implementation of the open parliament. On December 30, by the order of the Chairperson of the Parliament of Georgia, the Permanent Parliamentary Council on Open and Transparent Governance was established, thus superseding the parliamentary Inter-Factional Working Group. Similarly, in the case of Ukraine one could see the same development. In 2016, Ukraine expressed its commitment to join the open parliament initiative. Ukraine's declaration of Parliamentary Openness was marked by the formulation of an Open Parliament's National Action Plan. This plan was developed by the Ukrainian civil society organizations in cooperation with parliament (the Verkhovna Rada) and the support of the UNDP. The NAP comprises 20 commitments between the parliament and civil society. These commitments served to facilitate access to information for citizens, open avenues for citizen engagement in the parliamentary process and ensure public accountability. All these commitments have been facilitated by the use of technology and innovation. The case of Albania differs from that of Georgia and Ukraine. Elira Zaka and Eralda Cani (2012) pointed out that while the Albanian legal framework on transparency was guaranteed, the implementations were problematic in certain cases. The study showed that there were cases of difficulties encountered even when there was permission given to attend a parliament session. Artificial and arbitrary requests on the part of the parliament damaged the transparency guaranteed by the legal rules (Smilov, 2010, p. 29).

Open Parliament Indonesia

Open Parliament Indonesia was declared on August 29, 2018 to coincide with the 73rd anniversary of the Indonesian parliament. The decision to join the OP stemmed from the Indonesian parliament's commitment to strengthen the initiative through the Global OGP Summit in Tbilisi, Georgia in July 2018. On that occasion, the then Deputy Speaker for Politics and Security Affairs of the Indonesian parliament expressed Indonesia's firm support of the OP. Subsequent to the OPI declaration, the Indonesian parliament produced its first NAP for the period between 2018 and 2020.

Prior to establishing the OPI, the Indonesian parliament conducted various studies on how the OP and civil society engagement under this initiative is implemented in other countries, a dedicated OPI task force was set up by order of the Indonesian parliament and it started researching several OP institutionalization models found elsewhere in other countries. The model selected was similar to the one implemented by the Parliament of Georgia, which also established the Open Governance Permanent Parliamentary Council.

However, prior to the establishment of the OPI, the OP movement was not a foreign idea for the Indonesian parliament. In fact, the country has been engaged with such a movement multiple times in the course of its international intercourse with other nations. While the OPI was only officially declared in 2018, the Indonesian parliament had been practicing open governance for some time already. Transparency is incorporated into its parliamentary sessions, law-making process and the data of legislation products, the budgeting process and documents and the oversight process. Access to public documents has also been provided and digital technology has been implemented to enable better communication channels between the parliament and citizens.

As the national legislative institution, the Indonesian parliament has been involved in the OP initiative even before the OPI declaration. From 2014–2015, the Indonesian parliament was a part of the OGI National Secretariat and it drafted an action plan commitment in 2014, which was then submitted to the OGP Secretariat. In the 2014–2015 NAP, drafted together with the executive, the parliament expressed its commitment to improving the transparency and accountability of the Indonesian parliament, and national and regional legislative

assemblies, by publishing information regarding parliamentary institutions and work mechanisms.

At this juncture, it has to be acknowledged that the parliament's engagement in the OGI National Secretariat at the time was not based on a parliamentary official commitment to the OP. Rather, the engagement was limited to the technical coordination work between secretariat generals and was not driven by the parliament's declared political commitment to the OGP's agenda. It caused some differences that led to the parliament's inactivity in the OGP.

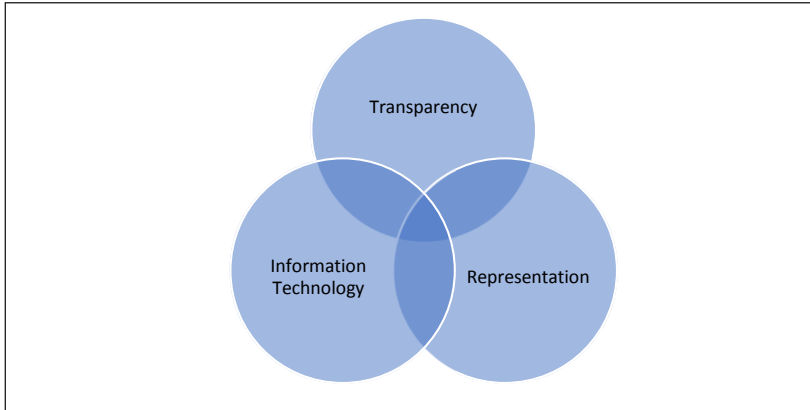
In 2015, the Secretariat General of the Indonesian Parliament drafted a separate, parliamentary-led NAP (IPC, 2015). In the view of the Secretariat General, the features of a parliamentary NAP had to be different from those of the OGI NAP and, therefore, could not be integrated. The parliament started to reduce its role in the OG agenda and opted to develop a separate framework through the Modern Parliament policy.

The Modern Parliament Framework was one of the strategic agenda items of the Indonesian Parliament in the 2014–2019 period. The framework put forward parliamentary reform to create a more democratic institution. The spirit of a modern parliament has been essentially aligned with the principles of the open parliament. Its policy was articulated in the 2015–2019 Bureaucracy Reform Roadmap of the Secretariat General and Experts Committee of the Indonesian Parliament. The roadmap identified the following three dimensions of a modern parliament (DPR RI, 2015, p.3):

1. Transparency: Easily accessible information on all activities of the parliamentary committees
2. Information technology: Use of a website and social media channels to provide access to the information for citizens
3. Representation: The parliament promotes and advances the citizens' aspirations

Figure 2

The Principles of a Modern Parliament



Source: Documentation of The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015.

It can be seen that the OPI declaration has further solidified the commitment of the Indonesian parliament to realizing a modern parliament. By becoming a member of the OP, the NAP formulated by the OPI would be evaluated by the OGP through its IRM. Therefore, the parliament's practice and exercise of openness can be reviewed and recognized based on international standards.

Indonesia's Leadership in the GOPAC and Open Parliament Indonesia

The DPR's decision to join the OP was a progressive step. Authors have argued that the international leadership of the Indonesian parliament in the GOPAC, prompted by the role of the then Deputy Speaker of the DPR (Indonesia Parliament) Dr. Fadli Zon as the President of the GOPAC has influenced the decision taken by the Indonesian parliament to join the OP initiative. In this context, authors have defined international leadership as a process in which a state had mobilized its resources such as financial, bureaucracy, and authority, to achieve a common goal (Vu, 2017, p.15). It is worth noting that during Dr.Fadli

Zon's leadership between 2015-2019, the GOPAC lacked financial reserves and this had limited its organizational program. Therefore, to sustain its agenda, Deputy Speaker Dr.Fadli Zon placed the GOPAC as priority in the context of the DPR's parliamentary diplomacy, a move which had enabled the DPR to support the GOPAC's financial and secretariat base.

Given his capacity as the Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian parliament, the President of GOPAC Dr.Fadli Zon could not only mobilize Indonesian MPs, either from the government side or from the opposition parties, to participate actively at Open Parliament's conference such as in Georgia 2018, but also had actively pushed the DPR to introduce the Open Parliament Initiative. Dr.Fadli Zon also accelerated the internal process of the DPR to adopt the Open Parliament Initiative, which was finally declared at the 73rd DPR's anniversary in 2018. This had motivated the Indonesian MPs in the GOPAC to strengthen their commitment and to promote the OPI in the Indonesian parliament by establishing the OPI Secretariat at DPR.

Table 2

Indonesian parliament delegation at the OGP Global Summit in Tbilisi, Georgia

| Name | Position | Party |
|--------------------|---|---|
| Hon. Dr. Fadli Zon | Head of the Indonesian Parliament Delegation/ Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament | Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) Faction |
| Rofi Munawar | Delegate/Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Committee (BKSAP) of the Indonesian Parliament | Just and Prosperous Party (PKS) Faction |
| Dr. Evita Nursanty | Delegate/Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Committee (BKSAP) of the Indonesian Parliament | Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) Faction |

(Continued)

| Name | Position | Party |
|------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Dave Akbarsyah Fikarno | Delegate/Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Committee (BKSAP) of the Indonesian Parliament | Golkar Party Faction |
| Jon Erizal | Delegate/Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Committee (BKSAP) of the Indonesian Parliament | National Mandate Party (PAN) Faction |

Source: Documentation of The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 2018.

The empirical analysis of the mile stones in the development of the OPI thus far seemed to suggest that the active parliamentary diplomacy that the Indonesian parliament has been exercising in the GOPAC was indispensable to the 2018 decision. Dr.Fadli Zon's leadership in the GOPAC had influenced Indonesia's parliamentary standing through its ability to create room and access for the parliament to intensely engage with open parliament issues in the international fora. These roles are represented through the following efforts discussed below.

First, in 2017 the then Deputy Speaker of the DPR Dr. Fadli Zon as the GOPAC President from 2015-2019, spoke before the Global Legislative Openness Conference in Kiev, Ukraine. More than 50 countries were represented in the forum, with participants coming from among parliaments, civil society, and international organizations such as the UN, UNDP, NATO, and the European Union. At the forum, Dr. Fadli Zon actively stated Indonesia's commitment to an open parliamentary agenda and encouraged the GOPAC members, including the DPR (Indonesia parliament) to implement the principles of transparency and openness to increase citizens' trust in public institutions.

Second, this effort was further strengthened by Dr. Fadli Zon at the OGP Global Summit 2018 in Tbilisi, Georgia, a forum that was attended by around 96 countries. The participants consisted of government and parliamentary representatives, researchers, scholars, and non-governmental activists who worked on anti-corruption issues, open governance, and public service. In the summit, the GOPAC

President, Dr. Fadli Zon again asserted the GOPAC's commitment to support and drive open parliament implementation. Moreover, as the then Deputy Speaker of the DPR, he confirmed his commitment to institutionalize the OPI on the anniversary of the Indonesian Parliament on August 29, 2018. These events have demonstrated to us that holding a strategic role within the GOPAC leadership has enabled the Indonesian Parliament to comply with the GOPAC's international commitment to open parliament. Moreover, Indonesia's leadership in the GOPAC, represented by the then Deputy Speaker in Politics, Law, and Security as the GOPAC President, accelerated the institutionalization of the OPI.

The commitment of the Indonesian parliament that was conveyed during the OGP Global Summit in Georgia was followed up by Dr. Fadli Zon with the establishment of an OPI preparation team, which was to be the OPI Secretariat. The team was formed by the Secretariat General of the Indonesian Parliament and supervised by the then Deputy Speaker, Dr. Fadli Zon. The team's main task was to produce a National Action Plan (NAP) to be submitted to the OGP Secretariat. However, this undertaking was not shouldered by Indonesia for the first time. From 2009-2014, there were several efforts to establish the OPI Secretariat, yet it did not succeed. According to the expert team of the International Cooperation Secretariat of the DPR, Mr. Aan Anggoro, the main reason was due to the less commitment and focus from the chairs of the DPR to adopt the Open Parliament Initiative. This situation had made it hard for the initiative to be executed. Moreover, the leadership of the DPR's Chair in parliamentary diplomacy had not been aggressive enough to embrace the Open Parliament Initiative. These past experiences made the then Deputy Speaker Dr. Fadli Zon see the need to strengthen the DPR's commitment to the OPI through actively engaging with the other Chairs of the DPR.

Indonesia's first parliamentary-driven NAP was finalized in December 2018. The NAP elaborated the following five agendas: law-making openness, strengthening of public information transparency, using IT to improve constituent engagement, the institutionalization of the OPI and drafting an OP road map. The five agenda items were crystallized into the following five commitments: improvement of data management and legislative information services, promotion of utilization of parliamentary information technology, promotion of

public information transparency of the parliament, formulation of the Open Parliament Indonesia Roadmap, and establishment of the Open Parliament Indonesia Institution (DPR RI, 2018, pp.1-2).

In addition to the DPR's active engagement with the Open Government fora, there were also several efforts initiated by the then President of the GOPAC Dr. Fadli Zon, representing the Indonesian Parliament to accelerate the institutionalization of the OPI. First, Dr. Fadli Zon had also been having a productive relationship with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), one of the civil society organizations represented in the OGP. The fruitful cooperation could be observed from, for example, the meeting between the GOPAC President-cum-Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament with Anthony Smith, the WFD's Executive Director. The meeting, which took place in November 2018 at the Indonesian Embassy in London, witnessed both parties affirming their commitment to continue their partnership in strengthening parliamentary transparency and public engagement in Indonesia. Both parties also agreed to advance the OP initiative.

Second, at the G20 Parliamentary Forum and Speakers' Summits in 2018 in Argentina, the GOPAC President Dr. Fadli Zon upheld his commitment in promoting open parliament. This statement was conveyed as the GOPAC President sat as a resource person in a discussion themed "Ensuring Transparent and Effective Governance, Free from Corruption." It was the first P20 forum since the G20 Summit's inaugural event in 2008. Meanwhile, the 13th G20 Leaders' Summit was themed "Building Consensus for Fair and Sustainable Development" and introduced the following three key focus streams: jobs, combating corruption, and gender equality. Representing the Indonesian Parliament, the then Deputy Speaker for Politics, Law, and Security Affairs, underscored the importance of the parliamentary role in driving effective, transparent, and corruption-free governance – the traits that were also critical to the notion of an open parliament.

CONCLUSION

The OPI declaration on August 29, 2018 was an important breakthrough for the institutionalization of a more democratic parliament in Indonesia. The declaration marked a new chapter in

the Indonesian parliament's commitment to the multilateral OPI, which was launched in 2012. The founding of the OPI signified that the Indonesian parliament had officially joined the international commitment in applying the principles of transparency, openness and accountability.

The decision to join the OPI could be attributed to the active role in diplomacy of the Indonesian parliament in GOPAC. This was evident from the compliance of the Indonesian parliament to the international norms of the OP. In the OGP Global Summit 2018 in Tbilisi, Georgia, the Deputy Speaker for Politics, Law and Security Affairs of the Indonesian Parliament, who had also served two terms as the GOPAC president from 2015 to 2019, affirmed GOPAC's commitment and readiness to encourage its member parliaments to join the OP initiative. Holding a strategic leadership position in GOPAC meant that the Indonesian parliament was well-poised to take the lead and realize GOPAC's commitment and support for the OP.

This article has argued that Indonesia's leadership in GOPAC created the crucial space for the Indonesian parliament to actively interact with parliamentary issues on many occasions. The GOPAC's advocacy of the OP also strengthened the commitment of the Indonesian MPs in GOPAC to the OP agenda. In conclusion, the present discussion has argued that Indonesia's leadership in the GOPAC has accelerated the institutionalization of the OPI. In turn, the OPI declaration denoted a strategic achievement of Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for profit sectors.

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