

Democracy Assistance to Global South: A Case Study of Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) Freedom Agenda in Indonesia

Tsabita Afifah Khoirunnisa, Yusli Effendi

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Department of International Relations
Brawijaya University, Indonesia
tsabitaafifah@student.ub.ac.id

This paper aims to investigate and analyze the democracy promotion carried out by Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) in Indonesia. Our provisional findings on the case show that the hegemony of the North over the South is also perpetuated through political and economic assistance. Through the German political foundation of KAS, Germany seeks to foster a Western “better democracy” in Indonesia through several programs in collaboration with local actors. These “Freedom Agenda” include training for civil apparatus and legal drafting training for national legislation. The Freedom Agenda carried out by KAS in Indonesia is associated with Germany’s pursuit of democracy promotion policy. This study utilizes Neo-Gramscian Approach by Coxian Critical Theory (CCT) to investigate the role of KAS in maintaining the hegemonic order of Western Democracy in Indonesia through Cox’s historical structure. By using library research, this study seeks to explain the reciprocal relationship between Cox’s social forces in hegemony structure of Western democracy.

Keywords: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung; democracy promotion; hegemony; social forces

Introduction

To implement their foreign policy, EU members utilize political foundations as actors to carry out the program. The Federation of German Government is one of the EU members that has attributed political foundations (*Stiftungen*) to pursue their national interest abroad. The political strategy of using *Stiftungen* to pursue political interests is familiar to German authorities. The popularity of *Stiftungen* has encouraged other European countries to do the same under the development assistance policy (Lloyd, 2010). The study below discusses how Germany’s

Stiftung maintains hegemonic order by distributing hegemonic ideas and Western democratic values.

The formation of political foundations in Germany has existed since 1925. The Social Democratic Party founded *Stiftungen* in Germany under Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES). This was followed by establishment of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation by the Christian Democratic Party in 1956. Other initiatives emerged after that, such as the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, which is affiliated with the Free Democrats Party, and the HannsSeidel Foundation by Chris-

tian Social Union in 1967. The growth of these political foundations reveals that German governments have been attributing political foundations as part of their political strategy.

Previous research on the attribution of German political foundations in the Global South region is sufficient to give us an idea of how foundations—affiliated with political parties and funded by the government—conduct their activities abroad. There were various topics in *Stiftungen's* research; a recent one was conducted by Weissenbach (2016) analyzes the party funding to the political foundations. Using the MSSD method, This study shows that party promotion instruments always corresponded to a party's individual characteristics and promoted the institutionalization process when they were in a certain sequence (Weissenbach, 2016). Before Weissenbach, previous research was carried out by academics such as Schurmann (1989), who discussed KAS activities in India, and Kress (1985), who discussed the comparison of FES and KAS activities in Latin America. Proceeding Weissenbach, another research on German political foundations was introduced by Sieker (2019) through her PhD thesis, which discusses the role of six German political foundations as a form of public diplomacy for German foreign policy. In addition, Samse and others (2019) discuss the role of KAS in the East Asia region, while in the Middle East, there is research on the role of *Stiftungen* in Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Tel Aviv (Abelmann & Konarek, 2018).

Irrespective of the previous research mentioned above, the research topics regarding political foundations—especially Konrad Adenauer Stiftung—encompass what activities are carried out by *Stiftung* to support Germany's political interests. Without regard to these previous studies, the authors discuss the role of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in maintaining hegemonic order by distributing hegemonic ideas through democracy promotion policy.

Democracy promotion carried out by Germany is not limited to certain forms of democracy but involves the application of the principles of democracy and the rule of law. Germany perceives this way because development, in any case, cannot be achieved without democratic principles (Sieverdingbeck, 2004). The values in democracy promotion by Germany include 'promotion of democratic elections and parliaments, equal rights for women and protection of minorities, and participation of civil society in government decision-making processes, and promoting a free and independent media (Lloyd, 2010)'. German socio-democratic values shared common elements to the concept of Western democracy e.g social justice, rule of law, and freedom of speech. However, Germany's democratic values have a stronger emphasis on the role of the state in the economy to regulate markets; redistributive policies to address socioeconomic disparities; labor rights and union influence on decision making process; as well as progressive taxation; and publicly funded and accessible public services such as education, healthcare, and social services. This relates

to the concept of hegemony adopted by Cox from Gramsci, where 'to become hegemonic, a state would have to found and protect a world order which was universal in conception that most states could find compatible with their interests (Cox, 1983)'. According to Cox, hegemony is the driving force of history, manifested as a material and ideological component of world power relations that change over time (Cox & Jacobson, 1977). The authors argue that to maintain hegemonic order, Germany uses its political foundation to extend their agenda in the Global South through the promotion of democratic values as their foreign policy.

This study explores how Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the German government distribute Western democratic values abroad as a strategy to carry out hegemony in the Global South. The authors focus on KAS activities in Indonesia between 2015 and 2021, specifically during Angela Merkel's administration. KAS Partnership programs focus on activities covering the fields of 1) Parliament and Parties; 2) Democracy, the rule of law and civil society; and 3) Social Market Economy (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2022). Their programs range from seminars, international conferences, and training to promote, what the authors refer to as, the Freedom Agenda under the hegemonic ideology of Western democracy.

The Freedom Agenda is recognized as the promotion of Germany's democratic values under the hegemonic order of Western Democracy in Indonesia that distributes social democratic values through partnership programs in which hegemonic ideas are cre-

ated and preserved in Indonesian society. For instance, on the program Pesantren for Peace, KAS collaborated with the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) to promote peace and stability (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2015). In addition, the KAS program with the Jimly School of Law and Government promotes the concept of independence of the judiciary and the rule of law (BINUS University, 2019).

Research on democracy promotion mostly sees it as an independent policy or places democracy promotion within the framework of different policy areas, such as foreign policy or development cooperation (Weissenbach, 2016). This research stands on the position of democracy promotion as part of foreign policy, or what the authors refer to as the 'Freedom Agenda'. This study is driven by Cox's idea that 'world hegemony is expressed in universal norms, institutions, and mechanisms that establish general rules of behaviour for states' (Cox, 1983). The Freedom Agenda carried out by Germany through KAS includes promoting social market economic values, freedom and peace, and the integration of the European Union. These values are considered the 'legacy' of Konrad Adenauer.

Cox's view on a hegemonic structure is derived from the global level of analysis. In the broader sense of KAS principles and values, the foundation promotes German democratic values which share common elements with Western Democracy that encompass basic principles and norms most Western countries hold, such as freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law, promoting peace

and stability. United Nations expanded these principles into ten categories; 1) Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; 2) Freedom of association; 3) Freedom of expression and opinion; 4) Access to power and its exercise under the rule of law; 5) The holding of periodic free and fair elections by universal suffrage and by secret ballot as the expression of the will of the people; 6) A pluralistic system of political parties and organizations; 7) The separation of powers; 8) The independence of the judiciary; 9) Transparency and accountability in public administration; and also 10) Free, independent and pluralistic media (United Nations, 2023). This categorization, classified by the United Nations, is one of the evidences that highlights the concept of institutions according to Coxian Critical Theory, which emphasizes the role of international institutions in sustaining hegemonic ideology through Western democratic values.

In order to investigate how hegemonic ideas are created and sustained in Indonesia, we explored KAS partnership programs in Indonesia. This can be seen through KAS's activities with SATUNAMA, which runs a democratization program through the Sekolah Politisi Muda (SATUNAMA, 2015) by training young people about democracy and politics. In addition, other activities can also be seen through KAS's routine activities with CSRC, which organizes the Pesantren for Peace (PfP) program with the theme revolves around Western democratic values (CSRC, 2021; UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2015). The program run by KAS with its partners in Indonesia can form collective

intellectuals, where according to Gramsci, this intellectual group has a major role in building a historic bloc (Cox, 1983) because intellectuals can play a role in developing and maintaining mental images from a class or historic bloc to become a common identity.

The data gathered in this research is analyzed through the Neo-Gramscian approach offered by Cox, called Coxian Critical Theory (CCT). The Coxian Approach can explain the relationship between material capabilities, ideas, and institutions in maintaining hegemonic order. In this research, the concept is utilized to explain how KAS distributes Western democratic values as hegemonic ideas in Indonesia and how material capabilities and international institutions help to sustain those ideas.

Contrary to German political foundations, foundations in Indonesia tend to use the labels 'non-profit' and 'independent' in representing their institutions; therefore, the authors cannot fully claim foundations in Indonesia as political foundations (*Stiftungen*). Nevertheless, various studies have shown the role of foundations—in general—regarding various social phenomena. Research conducted by Achsin et al. (2020) discusses the role of the Wahid Foundation in preventing violent extremism in Indonesia. Several studies have raised the role of foundations in improving the community's welfare in certain areas (Murtani, 2019; Muthahari, 2019). At the international level, recent research discusses the Wahid Foundation program with UN Women (Ayunur, 2020) and the role of international philanthropic organizations in the developmental area (Radikawati et al.,

2020). The research gap on foreign political foundations analysis in Indonesia composes this study as one of the initiated research on the area.

Based on the research development of political foundations in Indonesia, this situation requires an exploratory study to investigate this phenomenon. This research design is a descriptive qualitative study that uses data collection methods through library studies. This study aims to explain the role of Cox's social forces in hegemonic structure that contribute to maintaining hegemonic order on the international level. The authors departed from several preliminary assumptions. First, the authors assume KAS activities in Indonesia are associated from Germany's national interest, promoting democracy abroad. Second, democracy promotion delivered by KAS in Indonesia is to support the hegemonic order of Western democracy that is dominant to the global order. This research is based upon a research question; how does the Konrad Adenauer Foundation support and preserve the hegemonic order of Western democracy through its Freedom Agenda in Indonesia? The authors utilize the Coxian Critical Theory approach with library research to answer the former question.

Coxian/Neo-Gramscian Approach

This study uses Robert Cox's approach regarding the three forces in the structure to explain the role of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in preserving hegemonic ideas in Indonesia in the context of democracy promotion. The approach by Cox is commonly known as the Coxian Critical Theory

(CCT) or Neo-Gramscian Approach. The authors will discuss Cox's concepts and attribution to the study case in this section.

The main idea of Cox's political thoughts is rooted in Gramsci's ideas. Cox is considered one of the figures who linked Gramsci's thinking to studying international relations. Cox adopted Gramsci's concepts: hegemony, institutions, and historic blocs. His major works (Cox, 1981, 1983) explain how he adopts Gramsci's ideology into international relations. The turn of Gramscian in IR provides a way to conceptualize a world order free from the constraints of state-centric approaches and relations between states while explicitly recognizing their importance (Moolakkattu, 2009)

Cox and Gramsci both adopted a school of Marxism called historical materialism. This school can reason historically and seeks to explain and promote changes in social relations (Cox, 1981). Historical materialism not only examines the relationship of forces in production but also in conditions as well as in international relations. In short, historical materialism can see conflict as a possible cause of structural change. In historical contexts, political structures—such as churches, education systems, media, and other institutions—contribute to building behaviour and expectations of society that are consistent or in line with the hegemonic social order (Cox, 1983).

Gramsci shared the view that the state and society form a solid structure called the historic bloc. Gramsci uses this term to describe the unity between structure and superstructure in which several social forces

share ideas and values. Cox also adopted this concept regarding social forces. Cox explains that the world can be represented as a pattern of interaction between social forces, where the state acts as an intermediary between global and local social forces (Cox, 1981). The historic bloc concept is dialectical, where interacting elements create greater unity.

According to Gramsci, the historic bloc cannot exist without a hegemonic class—the dominant class in a country or social order (Cox, 1983). In this context, intellectual groups are important in building historic blocs. Gramsci saw this group as organically connected with social class. Gramsci identified the party as a form of collective intellectuals, which plays a role in building the mental images of society. According to Gramsci, intellectual groups have a role in developing and maintaining mental images, technologies, and organizations that bind members of a class and a historic bloc into a common identity (Cox, 1983).

Cox also adopted Gramsci’s concept that ideas and material conditions are always bound together, influence each other, and cannot be reduced to one another (Cox, 1983). This concept relates to the three categories of forces in the structure, which will be discussed later. According to Gramsci, ideas or ideologies must be understood concerning material conditions and conditions that include social relations (Cox, 1983). Cox offers a historical structure method representing a certain scope of human activity in its historically located totality or limited totalities (Cox, 1983).

Cox’s approach through historical structures tries to explain three forces in structure: material capabilities, ideas, and institutions. Cox defines historical structures as ‘continuous social practices, created by collective human activity and transformed through collective human activity’, shaped by interactions between ‘certain combinations of thought patterns, material conditions, and human institutions’ (Pass, 2018). This method can understand how ideas, material capabilities, and institutions have interacted at different times to shape the motivations and interests of actors at the organizational/material/discursive level in parallel with the explanation of global politics (Altiparmak, 2022).

The relationship of these three forces can be considered reciprocal (Cox, 1981). This concept is inspired by Gramsci, where the reciprocal relationship between material and ideas brings reciprocity between structure (social relations and physical production) and superstructure (ideology and political organization) (Altiparmak, 2022). This study highlights the role of ‘organic intellectuals’ which Moolakkattu (2009) stated that they are not only producing ideas, but also form complex and competing strategies.

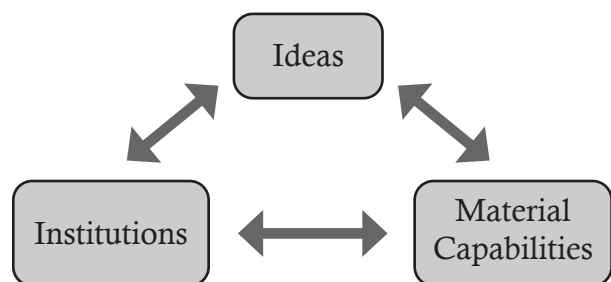


Figure 1: Coxian Historical Structure

Cox explains that material capabilities are potential in productive and destructive forms. In a dynamic form, this power is manifested as technological and organizational capabilities. In contrast, in an accumulative form, it is seen as a natural resource which can change technology, equipment supply, and wealth. Furthermore, the next element discusses ideas within this framework. There are two types of *ideas*: ideas with an intersubjective meaning and ideas that hold a collective picture of the social order. The first one, Cox explains, is that ideologies have shared ideas about the nature of social relations—which tend to perpetuate habits and expectations of behaviour that have been historically conditioned. In the second type, ideas are collective images of the social order held by different groups so that each group has a different view of the nature and legitimacy of the prevailing power relations.

The last element of Cox's structure is institutions. This concept also adopts the concept of institutions initiated by Gramsci. According to Gramsci, institutions can provide a way to deal with internal conflict with minimal violence. Furthermore, Gramsci explained that institutions can be an anchor for a hegemonic strategy. Cox himself sees institutions as a tool to stabilize and perpetuate a certain order, which can reflect the prevailing power relations and encourage a collective image consistent with these power relations. Institutions are considered a mixture of ideas and material forces, which influence the development of these ideas and material forces (Cox, 1981).

Cox's view of international institu-

tions places institutions as a process in power relations in which hegemony is institutionalized (Cox & Jacobson, 1977)'. The hegemonic concept of world order is found in regulating inter-state conflicts and civil society. For Cox, the expansion of hegemony was carried out in peripheral countries as a passive revolution (Cox, 1983). Value hegemony occurs through the adoption of cultural, economic, and political aspects by peripheral countries (Cox, 1983) of universal values brought by hegemonic actors through international institutions as a place for these values to be distributed.

The authors use this concept to explain how the Konrad Adenauer Foundation maintains the existing hegemonic order in which Western democracy is dominant in international politics. Hegemony in the international system is a complex relationship between the international community that links social classes from various countries (Cox, 1981). Hegemony can be represented as a union between material forces, ideologies, and institutions where the three things are interrelated—this relates to the idea that the world is seen as a pattern of interacting social forces. World hegemony is expressed in universal norms, institutions and mechanisms, which set the ground rules for states and their societies to act according to universal standards.

Democracy Promotion Policy

The promotion of democracy by the Western, especially the members of the European Union, has become one of their foreign policies. It is essential to understand how

German authority involves democracy promotion as one of their foreign policies. The role of the EU in promoting democracy started long ago since the Post-Soviet condition, in which EU and US interference followed in Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. Although the existence of the Western in the Global South through democracy promotion does not always succeed, they still manage to adopt this method as foreign policy.

The previous study by Wolff in 2013 discusses four rhetoric of government officials on German democracy promotion. First, the Germans prefer to use universal values and international norms rather than supporting specific forms of democracy. For example, The Development Ministry (BMZ) explicitly emphasizes that Germany does not promote a particular form of democracy but 'the implementation of democratic and rule-of-law principles' (Wolff, 2013). Second, the Germans perceive democratization as a long-term structural change for better conditions. The next one, democracy promotion, focuses more on cooperation and inclusion with non-democratic actors. Lastly, the actors of German foreign policy prefer to use pronouns like freedom, peace, and liberty rather than democracy. Federal ministries and other agents of democracy promotion policy commonly use these rhetorics. Wolff also mentioned that the German government takes international norms as the point of departure for conceiving its democracy promotion agenda (Wolff, 2013).

Germany's foreign policy on democracy promotion involves various actors. There are more than three actors involved

in this foreign policy. The interrelation between these actors can be traced to relative parliamentary power during Merkel's fourth administration, which was dominated by Christian Democratic/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) and Social Democratic Party (SPD). For example, the Foreign Affairs Office and the Federal Ministry for Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (BMUV) were led by SPD figures. In contrast, CDU members led the Ministry of Defence and Economic and Energy Cooperation, and CSU led the BMZ.

The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) focuses on several issues. For example, they build strong partnerships to achieve shared development goals, track issues that define a common global future, protect global goods, tackle structural causes of conflict, displacement, and violence, and support peacebuilding programs (BMZ, n.d.). The following agent is Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), which supports not only BMZ but also Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Nuclear Safety and Consumer Protection (BMUV), Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs and European Union (GIZ, n.d.-a). One of the main agendas involving democracy promotion is the Alliance for Integrity (AFiN), a global project focusing on Participatory Development and Good Governance; Protection of the Environment and Resources; Ecological Sustainability; Gender Equality; and Poverty Orientation (GIZ, n.d.-b).

Germany's foreign policy is designed as a value-oriented foreign policy. Human

rights and democracy have been core values of German foreign policy. The Federal Foreign Office is responsible for formulating and implementing foreign policy. Although The Office is not directly emphasizing core tenets of preferable democratic values, they manage to refer to other terms such as civil society participation and freedom of speech. They also try to frame democratization as a long-term process that must be nurtured by the respective society (Faust & Leininger, 2014).

EU representatives in host countries also contribute to the democracy promotion policy. The EU influences and—in some cases—determines Germany's foreign policy and vice versa (Faust & Leininger, 2014). Democracy promotion has been advanced as an essential new symbolic policy agenda for twenty-first-century EU foreign policy (Kurki, 2011). Therefore, the democracy promotion conducted by Germany not only fulfils the political interest of domestic politics but also contributes to the regional agenda.

Political party foundations also become leading agents of German democracy promotion. Before 1990, German democracy promotion was mainly the business of the political party foundations (Wolff, 2013). The politics of *Stiftungen* in Germany is usually affiliated with a major political party—such as the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party. However, its funding is through the German government, which is 'divided based on the relative power of the party in the national parliament' (Lloyd, 2010). KAS is a part of the Christian Democratic Union; however, it was men-

tioned that there was no political intention between KAS and CDU in the sense of democracy promotion. Nevertheless, its power, popularity, and access to other countries benefited from its relative power in a parliamentary system—especially when Chancellor Angela Merkel was in the administration.

These agents play crucial roles in democracy promotion policies. Some of them use a political approach, and the rest of them use a developmental approach. There are different approaches to democracy promotion. Cited from Babayev (2014), Carothers mentioned two approaches to this foreign policy: the political approach that perceives the value of democracy as a political end; and the developmental approach that perceives democracy as a contributing factor in national development.

The democracy promotion conducted by KAS in Indonesia focuses on the second approach, whereas they use more indirect methods. FES, another political foundation from Germany that also works in Indonesia, has a controversial reputation during the SBY administration. Therefore, it is one of the main causes for KAS to use a 'friendly' approach rather than the aggressive one.

The developmental approach is implemented through several activities, such as supporting social and economic development, supporting institutions in terms of building state capacity and good governance, and also emphasizing the importance of partnership with the host government (Babayev, 2014; Perdana, 2019; SATUNAMA, n.d., 2015). These are reflected through their flagship programs with each partner in Indo-

nesia. For example, KAS's partnership with SATUNAMA Foundation focuses on giving informal education to teenagers and young adults about participatory and representative democracy. Furthermore, KAS partnership with the Jimly School of Law and Government conducts a seminar in several provinces of Indonesia by providing training for jurisdiction members about the rule of law (BINUS University, 2019, 2020, 2021a, 2021b). A strong emphasis on supporting the rule of law links its human rights approach with its aim of supporting democracy (Faust & Leininger, 2014). Rather than being aggressive like FES, KAS activity in Indonesia is more moderate in terms of associating their Christian Democratic values with Indonesia's society. This means that the change in KAS building is more gradual, small-scale, and less politicized with a slow and iterative process.

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Indonesia

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung is a political foundation associated with Christian Democratic Union, which aims to promote liberal democracy and its social market economy called *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*. In addition, KAS also promotes peace and freedom, transatlantic relations, and European integration (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, n.d.). Foundation's funding, Lloyd stated that 97 per cent of KAS funding comes from the German Government (Lloyd, 2010). In accordance with the former statement, the foundation received 214 million euro from federal grants and 3 million euro from state and local governments in 2022 (Konrad Ad-

enauer Stiftung, 2023a)

The study we conducted here took place between 2015 to 2021. During this period, Germany was led by Angela Merkel as the ChancellorChancellor. This background aligns with how we perceive KAS activity in Indonesia because neither Merkel nor KAS shared a common interest associated with Christian Democratic Union. CDU itself domestic politics have succeeded three political figures as the ChancellorChancellor: Konrad Adenauer, Helmut Kohl, and Angela Merkel.

Indonesia is one of the KAS partner countries with a long relationship since 1968. KAS activities in Indonesia are carried out through three principles that are applied, namely by using a decentralized project approach, by collaborating with local partners, and by offering the development of democracy that is not 'Western democracy' (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2022)

KAS's partners in Indonesia are divided into research institutes, governments, and NGOs. First, KAS partners with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which has an annual Strategic Dialogue program. This program has been implemented five times, and every year, both parties bring significant themes that are mutual for both institutions.

KAS also has a partnership program with the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) from UIN Jakarta. This partnership with CSRC is implemented under the Pesantren for Peace (PfP) program, where the main target in this partnership is students in Java (Republika, 2015). In con-

trast to the annual KAS program with CSIS, the partnership program with CSRC is carried out regularly. This program carried out training for students related to Counter Extremism Narrative, which relates to the KAS agenda at the global level to fight against extremism, antisemitism, and racism. According to KAS, extremism is considered unconstitutional outside democratically determined political boundaries (Bickel & Semaan, 2022). Furthermore, this foundation considers that extremism can threaten democratic practices such as elections, separation of powers, human rights, pluralism and secularism, and the rule of law (Bickel & Semaan, 2022).

The foundation also has partnerships with several other NGOs, such as the Yayasan Perspektif Baru (YPB), owned by Wilmar Witoeler, which is engaged in the environmental sector. The partnership established by KAS and YPB works under the Campus Road Show program, where YPB will visit several campuses and hold energy and environmental issues seminars. Aside from YPB, the foundation also built a partnership with SATUNAMA Foundation. The partnership program carried out by SATUNAMA and KAS is engaged in democracy, which can be seen through its regular programs, Sekolah Politisi Muda (SPM) and Civic Education for Future Leaders (CEFIL). This program aims to; 1) increase the capacity of young politicians as important political subjects in the development of democracy, 2) increase the sensitivity of young politicians to social problems and challenges to democracy in Indonesia, and 3) increase awareness and

knowledge of young politicians about the urgency of politics as a medium of struggle in articulating and aggregating the people's interests, needs, and rights (SATUNAMA, n.d.). In its financial report (SATUNAMA, 2020), SATUNAMA obtains funds from several foundations, one of which is KAS itself. In the 2020 financial report, SATUNAMA received revenue of Rp.963,870,769 for the CPID program.

KAS also builds a partnership with Paramadina University through the Paramadina Institute for Education Reform (PIER). This partnership inserts a narrative on the *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*, or social market economy (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2017). The purpose of this market economy is to obtain maximum prosperity with the best possible social protection so that people have advantages in the market, such as free choice of workplace and freedom of price, and can stem losses such as market monopoly, market pricing, and unemployment (Deutschland, 2018). The program with Paramadina University moves in training whose targets are teachers or educators (Halvaima, 2022; Rahadi, 2018). In addition to the idea of a social market economy, the program also brings narratives about democracy into the training (Majalah Teras, 2020; PIER, 2021).

In the judicial sector, KAS builds a partnership with the Jimly School of Law & Government (JSLG), which provides training and seminars to court and law enforcement institutions. This training has been attended by various judges from the high courts, such as in East Nusa Tenggara, the Chairperson of the Religious Courts attend-

ed this training for Kupang, Ruteng, Waikabubak, and Maumere (BINUS University, 2021a). In addition, the Yogyakarta High Court and Religious Courts also participated in the KAS-JSLG training on 'Management of Case Handling in Courts in the Perspective of the Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Judge Conduct' (BINUS University, 2021b). KAS-JSLG also organizes this training for judges in DKI Jakarta and its surroundings (BINUS University, 2019, 2020).

Furthermore, KAS establishes a partnership relationship with the Indonesian executive agency, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemendagri). The partnership with the Ministry of Home Affairs operates under the Human Resources Development Agency (BPSDM) of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which provides training for ASN to develop their capabilities. The training held by the Ministry of Home Affairs BPSDM with KAS is about digitalization, such as technological innovation (BPSDM Kemendagri, 2021d; Dianita, 2022a, 2022b) and digital literacy (BPSDM Kemendagri, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d; Ramdhani, 2021). This partnership is intertwined with the KAS program, Think Tank Report, which discusses digitalization and connectivity.

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung's partnership in Indonesia has different values to promote, but these values are inseparable from Western democratic values. KAS distributes these values by implementing them through the seminars or training that the partners carry out. Hence, western democratic values could be absorbed into Indonesian society.

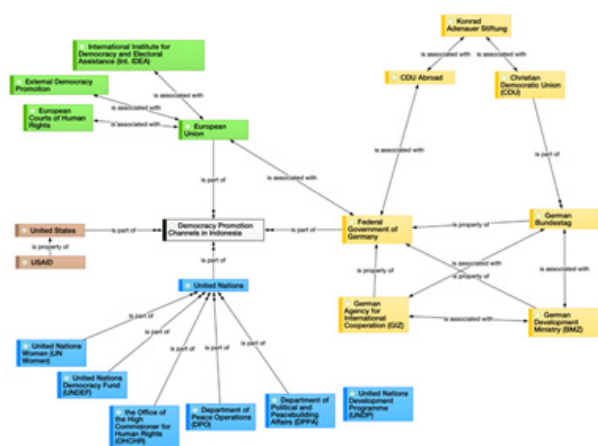
Discussion

Based on the previous explanation above, we focused on how Western Democracy as a hegemonic idea is created and preserved in Indonesia. We divided our discussions into three sections by applying Cox's concept of hegemony structure. First, we discuss the promotion of Western Democracy in Indonesia which not only perpetuated by a single actor, rather a network of different actors and followed by explanation of the KAS programs to promote Germany's democratic values. Second, we focus our analysis on material capabilities given by KAS that help to support the advancement of hegemonic ideas at the global level. Finally, we will discuss the international institutions that legitimize Western Democracy as hegemonic ideas and democracy promotion as EU foreign policy.

This concept of Western democracy emerged as the dominant form of government and the standard of good governance. Instead of focusing on democracy as the body of government, democracy promotion focuses on implementing democratic values abroad. The EU recognized democracy, good governance, and respect for human rights as the cornerstone of peace and human development (Elmar Brok MEP, 2007), regardless of the diversity of foreign cultures in interpreting these concepts. As a result, implementing democratic values worldwide became one of the main agenda in EU foreign policy.

Democracy promotion in Indonesia is delivered through various channels. Some programs are carried out by collaborating

with local governments; some are distributed through civil society organizations (CSOs). Irrespective of the channels where the program is implemented, democracy promotion in Indonesia is usually intertwined with development and P/CVE programs. Corresponding to the scope of research, we managed to map out democracy promotion channels in Indonesia using network tools from Atlas.



The network presented above has shown various channels contributing to democracy promotion policy. Although we already point out some actors in this policy, it does not rule out any possibility of other actors contributing in this area. In this study, we found that actors in democracy promotion in Indonesia came from different branches; some are under regional mandate, some from bilateral agreements, and others from international regimes. The network also illustrates the relationship between actors and its programs, where programs focus on development, research, and good governance. One of the things that we can conclude through this network is that regardless of the diversity of channels that deliver these

programs, they come from the same framework, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Vienna Declaration, and the United Nations Charter. This also concludes that despite how many initiatives are conducted in Indonesia, these actors strive to create what is suggested before, Western democracy as hegemonic ideas where they try to shape understanding that Western democratic values are the most suitable for society.

Approaches to democracy promotion by KAS in Indonesia are carried out by collaborating with different local channels. Those channels range from government institutions such as the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) and House of Representatives (DPR) to research institutions such as CSIS and CSRC, and also through CSOs like Yayasan Perspektif Baru and SATUNAMA Foundation (Perspektif Wilmar TV, 2020; SATUNAMA, 2015). KAS engagements with local channels are to build strong relationships for the good cause of Germany's relationship with Indonesia and to implement Germany's foreign policy, promoting Western democratic values.

A previous study carried out by (Mißfelder, 2014), a former member of the German *Bundestag*, presented that Germany's foreign policy enforces human dignity, freedom, democracy, and human rights as universal values because they see those values correspond to the universal essence of human beings. Therefore it should be acceptable for other countries to implement it. Furthermore, he suggested that 'all Asian partners should respect the universal values and norms of international law because as

the members of the UN, they are particularly committed to the mandate of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Mißfelder, 2014)

In pursuit of implementing Western democratic values in Indonesia, KAS divides each value into institutions that have expertise in the area. For example, KAS chose to pursue their P/CVE program with CSRC because CSRC has a focal point on Islamic scholarships. Furthermore, KAS collaborated with the Jimly School of Law and Government to conduct training for court judges considering this institution offers informal education regarding the implementation of law and government. The foundation also conducts a program with the SATUNAMA Foundation that focuses on participatory politics and gender equality to promote the role of the rising generation. Hence, this foundation is not necessarily promoting all Germany’s democratic values through the same platforms; rather, they deliberately divide following the focal point of their partners.

Programs / Partner	Promotion of Western Democratic Values
Pesantren for Peace / CSRC	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedom 2. Freedom of expression and opinion 3. The separation of powers 4. Promoting peace and stability
Annual Strategic Dialogue / CSIS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Freedom of association, expression and opinion 2. Access to power and its exercise under the rule of law 3. The separation of powers 4. Transparency and accountability in public administration

Civilising Politics for Indonesia Democracy (CPID) / SATUNAMA	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pluralistic system of political parties and organizations 2. Freedom of association, expression and opinion 3. Access to power and its exercise under the rule of law 4. The separation of powers 5. Transparency and accountability in public administration 6. Free and fair elections
Kontra Narasi Ekstremisme / CSRC	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedom 2. Freedom of association, expression and opinion 3. Free, independent and pluralistic media
Campus Roadshow on Sustainable Environment / Yayasan Perspektif Baru	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedom 2. Access to power and its exercise under the rule of law 3. Free, independent and pluralistic media
Teachers Training / PIER	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social market economy 2. Freedom of association, expression, and opinion 4. Pluralistic system of political parties and organizations
Court Officer Training / Jimly School of Law and Government	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The independence of the judiciary 2. The separation of power 3. Transparency and accountability in public administration 4. Access to power and its exercise under the rule of law
State Civil Apparatus Training / Kemendagri	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Transparency and accountability in public administration 2. The separation of power 3. Access to power and its exercise under the rule of law

Table 1: Western Democratic Values in KAS Freedom Agenda in Indonesia

Table 1 presents KAS's distribution of Western democratic values in Indonesia through partnership programs. Corresponding to the table, it shows that this foundation prefers to build partnerships with intellectuals that came from legitimized institutions rather than through collective movements. In addition to this funding, this foundation sees the role of practitioners, decision-makers, and academicians in shaping society. Hence, through Cox's concept, the authors conclude that KAS uses intellectuals to distribute democratic values to create historic blocs since these intellectuals develop mental images. Ultimately, these mental images of Western democracy become a common identity in society. However, the role of collective intellectuals in this Agenda does not necessarily result in long-term structural change because the outcome of these partnership programs did not change the existing identity in Indonesia, which is dominated by nationalism (Pancasila).

Reflecting on the aforementioned Mißfelder's study, Germany's foreign policy encompasses human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and the protection of the rights of minorities (2014). Consequently, its aim in democracy promotion is to create peaceful and just order. KAS's contribution to promoting Western democratic values has shown in their democracy-focus program called "Shaping. Democracy. Together". However, its contribution to democracy promotion can also be traced back to the Cold War, when the foundation committed to assisting CDU in reunifying Germany as a free and democratic state

(Tserkovnikov & Petrovich-Belkin, 2015).

KAS's contribution at the global level to promoting Western democratic values is limited to the scope of research study and scholarships. The foundation's position to the party, Christian Democratic Union, is a kind of expert division that provides the necessary analytical materials on topical issues around international relations and domestic politics (Tserkovnikov & Petrovich-Belkin, 2015) KAS along with other political foundations such as Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Hanns Seidel Foundation, and Heinrich Boll Foundation committed in their joint statement that 'their socio-political and democratic educational work, information, and political advice at home and abroad, are based on the principles of the free democratic basic order and committed to the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity and mutual tolerance (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023)'.

KAS has increased their expenditure for international cooperation from 2021 to 2022, where previously, they spent around 103 million euro in 2021 and then increased to 127 million euro in 2022 (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023a). KAS expects to spend more on promoting students and graduates, conferences and seminars, promoting art and culture, international cooperation and other projects, up to 158 million euro in 2023. (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023a).

One of the ongoing projects KAS carried out to promote democracy is Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians (KASYP). This program is specifically designed for young politicians from Asia since it is

under the Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia of KAS. Aside from providing the framework and module for the program, the foundation will also provide 1) Economy class air ticket from home country to the training venue; 2) Accommodation on a twin sharing basis; 3) Cost of visa fee and local transfers related to the training programme; and 4) Meals during the training programme (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023c). The authors argue that this program is part of the Freedom Agenda since some of the purposes of this program are to strengthen participants' democratic knowledge; and to nurture participants' democratic values (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023a).

Aside from KASYP, KAS also grants public scholarships through programs such as Doctoral Colleges, Women's Colleges, and Political Education like AdenauerCampus. These programs are educational-based programs that offer scholarships to the participants. For instance, in the Doctoral College program, the foundation grants 1350 euros per month and an additional budget for research of around 100 euros (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023b).

The foundation's commitment to maintaining Western democratic values is attributed to other programs at the global level. At the international level, KAS carried out three main programs known as 1) the Rule of Law Program, 2) Party and Political Dialogue, and 3) International Media Program. Each program focuses on promoting democracy, the rule of law, freedom, and the social market economy. KAS provides not only legal entities to carry out the programs but

also the funding for the programs. The Rule of Law program is dispersed outside European countries; it encompasses Colombia, Singapore, Kenya, Senegal, Sub-Saharan Africa, Romania, and Lebanon (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2023b), which has outputs in the form of international and national conferences, seminars, workshops, discussion rounds and courses.

The programs that KAS has delivered at the global level are bound to the implementation of democracy promotion worldwide. These programs are affiliated with Western democratic values implemented and distributed throughout the programs. Its regard for democracy is generous. Thus, in maintaining Western democracy as a hegemonic idea, the foundation contributes to providing programs that not only accommodate the platform but also grant funding in order to preserve Western democracy around the world.

International regimes and institutions secure Ideas and material capabilities that make it possible for these elements to remain hegemonic in international politics. Despite the grand funding KAS has provided worldwide to promote Western democracy, democracy promotion will not be as welcome to foreign publics if there are not things that bind foreigners to democracy. This section discusses international regimes and institutions that legitimize democracy promotion as foreign policy and Western democracy as an ideational standard for the international community.

Democracy promotion channels in Indonesia, aforementioned in Network 1, have shown that this policy is carried out by

Germany and its political foundations and other actors such as the United States, European Union, and United Nations. Democracy promotion has become a Western foreign policy mostly carried out by EU members. In addition, the study also explained that democracy promotion has become the extension of developmental aid (Lloyd, 2010), in which Mißfelder points out that ‘education is the key to a better, freer, and more self-determined future. Therefore the lack of development can be combated through education (Mißfelder, 2014)’.

The authors argue that Western democratic values have become hegemonic in international politics because it is intertwined with international commitments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Vienna Declaration. These commitments were institutionalized into international organizations such as the United Nations and European Union, which they adopted as core values or principles. These ideas subsequently participate in the organization’s agenda through the organisation’s principles, where those values are distributed.

The institutionalization of Western democratic values into international organizations is prominent to analyze in this study. At the United Nations, several units specifically work to promote democracy, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF), Department of Peace Operations (DPO), Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA), Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and UN Women. Western democratic values

promoted by the UN encompass good governance, monitoring elections, supporting civil society to strengthen democratic institutions and accountability, ensuring self-determination in decolonized countries, and assisting in drafting new constitutions in post-conflict nations (United Nations, 2023). The institutionalization of democratic values into UN organizations is based on the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. This organization suggests that ‘Democracy provides an environment that respects human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in which the freely expressed will of people is exercised (United Nations, 2023)’.

The UN distributes Western democratic values through several international programs that entail worldwide participation. For example, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The agenda suggested that “democracy, good governance and the rule of law as well as an enabling environment at national and international levels, are essential for sustainable development” (UNDP, 2015). The acknowledgement of democracy, good governance, and the rule of law in Sustainable Development Goals promotes access for Western countries to persuade democracy promotion abroad. In addition, resolutions published by Human Rights Council in 2012 (Resolution 19/36) and 2015 (Resolution 28/14) also supported democracy promotion policy in which the resolution stated that “democracy, develop-

ment and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms were interdependent and mutually reinforcing” in consequence forum on human rights, democracy and the rule of law emerged into the international community. The UN has also distributed funding for democracy promotion through UNDEF, which has spent up to 210 million dollars for 800 projects in more than 130 countries (United Nations, 2023). This participation by the UN in democracy promotion supports the legitimization of Western democracies worldwide; it shapes Western democracy as the more preferable, sustainable, and just form of government.

Aside from the UN, the authors also paid attention to the European Union as an international institution that promotes democracy promotion as foreign policy. In advance of the explanation above, the EU has curated an Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy that states the organization, and its members are committed to strengthening global leadership with priorities to “protecting and empowering individuals; building resilient, inclusive and democratic societies; promoting a global system for human rights and democracy; harnessing the opportunities and addressing challenges of new technologies’ and delivering by working together (European Union, 2020). Accordingly, the organization will promote democracy and human rights abroad through trade, environment, development, and counter-terrorism. The Action Plan consists of a 5 years program on democracy promotion with specific sub-topics that foreign policy agents can deliver. In promoting Western democracy, the

EU is also supported by think tanks and research institutions like the Research Network External Democracy Promotion (EDP), the European Courts of Human Rights, and the Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). This plural participation by other organizations supports democracy promotion as foreign policy. Thus, these organizations also maintain Western democracy as a hegemonic idea.

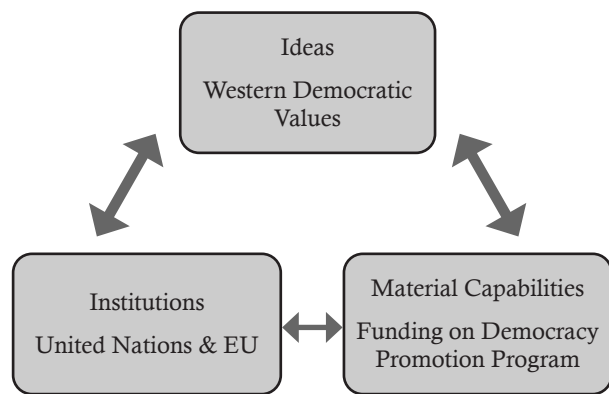


Figure 2: Application of Cox's Concept

The domination of EU members in promoting democracy shapes Western democratic values as international principles that should be acceptable abroad; it makes Western democratic values become hegemonic ideas in the international arena. This hegemonic idea is supported and preserved through international norms and institutions in which they create worldwide programs based on the principles of Western democracy. As a result, democracy promotion agents such as Konrad Adenauer Stiftung receive access to distribute these Western democratic values with conviction abroad. This mechanism of hegemony structure has shown how ideas, material capabilities, and international institutions sustain the hegemonic order.

Conclusion

The Freedom Agenda carried out by KAS in Indonesia is a form of extension to implement Germany's foreign policy to Global South because of its strong relations to the federal government. Germany's democracy promotion policy is related to the EU agenda to promote democracy outside the region. However, KAS activities in Indonesia are strategically inclined to Germany's social democratic values rather than Western democracy in general. Difference between Western democracy and Germany's social democracy is the emphasis on certain areas of the general public e.g role of the state in the economy to regulate markets, labor and union influence on decision making process, progressive taxation, and publicly funded healthcare and education.

KAS activities in Indonesia are carried out through partners such as the Ministry of Home Affairs; Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC); SATUNAMA, and others. These partnerships established by KAS with local institutions help to channel Germany's social democratic values to Indonesian society. The Freedom Agenda carried out by KAS manifested as seminars, training, also national and international conferences in which the hegemonic ideas are distributed. KAS partners in Indonesia serve as collective intellectuals that play an important role to shape mental images of Indonesian society. However, these collective intellectuals do not result in a long term structural change because it does not necessarily change the historic bloc within society.

KAS's reputation as agents of democracy promotion is supported by the material capabilities they have delivered globally. Its contribution to the international system manifested through programs such as scholarships and research grants. Regardless of what democratic values are shared by KAS in Indonesia, this Freedom Agenda promotes Western democracy as hegemonic ideas in the international system. The Agenda is also supported by international institutions such as the United Nations and European Union in which they legitimize democracy promotion as a foreign policy. As a result, the role of the UN and EU in this policy gives wider access to KAS and other agents to promote Western democracy as hegemonic ideas.

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