

**AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA COOPERATION IN THE BALI PROCESS (2018-
2022): EXPLAINING THE INTENSIFICATION OF EFFORTS AGAINST ILLEGAL
IMMIGRANTS
UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**UNIVERSITAS
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INDONESIA**

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA

2025

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia
As partial fulfillment of the requirements to earn a
Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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AUTHORIZATION PAGE

AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA COOPERATION IN THE BALI PROCESS (2018-2022): EXPLAINING THE INTENSIFICATION OF EFFORTS AGAINST ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

Defended in front of the Board of Examiners
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STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

July 18th 2025,



Nadhira Nurul Azka

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DFAT	: Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs
UNHCR	: United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
RCP	: Regional Consultative Process
RCF	: Regional Cooperation Framework
RSO	: Regional Support Office
GBAF	: Government and Business Forum
RBO	: Rules-Based Order
OSB	: Operation Sovereign Border
TNI	: Tentara Nasional Indonesia
AFMA	: Australian Fisher Management
DCP	: Australia's Defence Cooperation Program
JCLEC	: The Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation
AAA	: The Acknowledge, Act, and Advance
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
AVRR	: Voluntary Return Support and Reintegration Assistance Program or Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration

ABSTRACT

The issue of illegal immigration, which has led to modern slavery, technological crimes, and online fraud, persisted from 2018 to 2022, causing growing concern in Australia due to perceived threats to its national security and economic stability. This situation has been attributed to the lack of defense and enforcement in the Indo-Pacific region, including in transit countries such as Indonesia. This study aims to analyze how Australia's strategic interests and domestic political dynamics shape the direction and intensity of its engagement in the Bali Process, using K.J. Holsti's framework of international cooperation. The preliminary argument suggests that Australia's strategic interests have driven it to intensify its efforts, as evidenced by the enhancement of the *Regional Support Office (RSO)*. This research employs a qualitative method, utilizing both primary and secondary data sourced from interviews, official documents, books, academic journals, and organizational reports. The findings indicate that Australia's strategic interests guide the nature of this cooperation, emphasizing principles of *a rules-based order, burden sharing, and collective responsibility*. These findings also show that defense relations between Australia and Indonesia have improved due to Australia's increased commitment through joint military exercises, border maritime patrols, the development of operational guidelines, and financial support.

Keywords : Bali Process, Illegal Immigrants, Australia-Indonesia Cooperation, International Cooperation Theory

ABSTRAK

Masalah imigran ilegal yang memicu praktik perbudakan modern, kejahatan teknologi, dan penipuan online selama periode 2018 hingga 2022 telah menimbulkan kekhawatiran serius bagi Australia karena dianggap mengancam stabilitas keamanan dan perekonomiannya. Situasi ini diperburuk oleh lemahnya sistem pertahanan di negara-negara transit seperti Indonesia dan kebijakan Australia yang bertentangan dengan kesepakatannya dalam Bali Process. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi mengapa Australia menguatkan intensitas dalam upayanya untuk memperkuat kebijakan keamanan perbatasannya dari imigran gelap dalam Bali Process, dengan menggunakan kerangka kerja kerjasama internasional dari K.J. Holsti. Argumentasi sementara menunjukkan bahwa kepentingan strategis Australia mendorong peningkatan komitmen negara tersebut, yang tercermin dalam kesepakatan untuk meningkatkan *Regional Support Office (RSO)*. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan memanfaatkan data primer dan sekunder yang diperoleh dari wawancara, dokumen resmi, serta laporan lembaga terkait. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa kepentingan strategis Australia memainkan peran penting dalam mengarahkan kerjasama melalui prinsip *rules-based order, burden sharing, dan collective responsibility*. Temuan ini juga mengindikasikan peningkatan kualitas hubungan pertahanan antara Australia dan Indonesia, yang ditandai oleh intensifikasi latihan militer, patroli laut di wilayah perbatasan, penyusunan pedoman operasional, serta pemberian bantuan dana yang dilakukan oleh Australia.

Keywords : Bali Process, Imigran Ilegal, Kerjasama Australia-Indonesia, Teori Kerjasama Internasional

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Australia and Indonesia maintain a bilateral relationship. This bilateral relationship between the two countries has seen both positive and negative developments. The two countries illustrate differences in culture, language, faith, heritage, ethnic background, number of people, as well as in political, judicial, and social systems. In general, neighbours demonstrate certain resemblances as a result of their continuous proximity over time. Nevertheless, it is quite probable that the archipelago of Indonesia and the Australian mainland were geographically too far apart for this to develop (Ariani and Elistania 2019, 2). Although the political relationship between the two countries is complicated, they have reached an understanding with one another and made agreements to enhance their cooperation in matters of security. Both sides are responsible for maintaining a harmonious relationship in this collaboration, with the objective of preventing all types of regional threats.

Refugees enter Australia through both authorized and illegal ways. Australia is affected by transnational crime operations due to the existence of undocumented immigrants. It lacks the capacity to efficiently prevent and handle irregular migrants alone. Indonesia functions as a gateway country for refugees trying to reach Australia, resulting in a significant populace of undocumented migrants also having an impact on Indonesia. Consequently, the Bali Process serves as an important forum for Australia and Indonesia to collaborate in addressing the irregular migration matter. The partnership of Bali Process is a regional collaborative initiative of the Asia-Pacific

countries aimed at tackling the challenge of irregular migration matter. Initiated in 2002 under the joint leadership of Australia and Indonesia, the initiative aims to address issues concerning the illicit movement of individuals, human trafficking, and various forms of transnational criminal activity in the region of the Asia-Pacific (The Bali Process, n.d.). Over the years, the Bali Process has highlighted the escalating issue of irregular migration, subsequently incorporating it as a significant agenda item and priority concern. The collaboration between Australia and Indonesia in the Bali Process is beneficial for both countries.

From an Indonesian perspective, all of the actions involved in the Bali Process will strengthen the country's efforts to elevate awareness about the risks associated with human trafficking issue and smuggling among coastal communities (Ismail 2019, 129). Meanwhile, from the Australian perspective, irregular migration creates a challenge for the government. Despite Australia's commitment to the 1951 Convention on Refugees and its status as a country that provides asylum, the arrival of irregular migrants and their settlement in Australia can pose a threat to transnational crime and internal security. Collaboration with Indonesia is necessary to tackle the issue of irregular migrants as Indonesia has the ability to prevent illegal migrants from attempting to enter Australia (Rafiki 2017, 600).

For Australia, the establishment and preservation of beneficial connections with Indonesia will enable the country to prevent and discourage irregular migrants from entering their territory. Before their transfer to Australia, Indonesia will subject these undocumented migrants to a selection process and initial screenings. Indonesia plays a significant role in preventing irregular migrants from freely entering Australian territory (Ismail 2019, 130). Thus, Australia must prioritise maintaining a strong

political alliance with Indonesia in order to get assistance from the country, and The Bali Process serves as a process through which Australia can request this additional assistance from Indonesia. Indonesia utilizes the Bali Process as a platform to actively engage in the development of its own foreign policy by implementing diplomatic strategies within the region, especially strategies that address immigration matters involving Australia (Oktavia 2014, 16). Furthermore, collaborating with Australia in the Bali Process can be categorized as a primary concern for Indonesia, as it views irregular migration matter as intricately linked to national safety and security.

The Bali Process also generates economic advantages through the relationship between Australia and Indonesia. As a part of Bali Process partnership, Australia is required to provide assistance to Indonesia, including financial help (Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) 2023). Indonesia has been able to improve its ability to control immigration because of financial assistance that was provided by Australia to handle irregular migration. This included enhancing facilities and infrastructure, as well as increasing border security management. Australia's provision of assistance in managing asylum seekers can help reduce the strain on the Indonesian government as it grapples with the growing influx of unauthorized migrants in the country. Australia also has the consideration of needing supplementary funding to finance immigrants that manage to arrive in the country (Afriansyah, Purnama, and Putra 2022, 78). Australia has enhanced its cooperation with Indonesia and the two countries are efficiently managing irregular migrants through the Bali Process. This collaboration has received supporting from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Douglas and Schloenhardt 2012, 6)

Nonetheless, the two countries showed their dedication to tackle the issue of undocumented immigrants. They collaborate and have mutually agreed to solve the human trafficking and illegal immigration matters through the Bali Process. Indonesia and Australia possess mutual interests in tackling irregular migration. However, despite its cooperation with Indonesia, Australia has implemented policies that contradict its commitments under the Bali Process and the 1951 UN Convention, particularly by violating the principle of Non-Refoulement (Maing and Kukab 2020, 32). This is evident in Tony Abbott's policy known as *"Operation Sovereign Borders"* was subsequently continued with Scott Morrison's policy initiative titled *"Planning for Australia's Future Population,"* which reduced Australia's immigration quota from 190,000 to 160,000 in 2019. This policy shift resulted in an unequal burden-sharing among countries participating in the Bali Process, particularly between Australia and Indonesia (Sabrina, Sutianingsih, and Wahyudi 2022, 211).

For transit countries like Indonesia, such policies have become a burden, as migrants intending to reach Australia are blocked by Australian policies, resulting in a large number of migrants becoming stranded and handled by the IOM, totaling 13,745 individuals in 2020 ("UNHCR in Indonesia," n.d.). This situation has led to developments within the Bali Process in addressing the issue of illegal immigration. This study highlights Australia's significant contributions in supporting refugees and forcibly displaced populations, while simultaneously safeguarding its national security through policies and agreements aligned with the ongoing challenges and developments within the Bali Process. This research is fuelled by the main objective of analyzing the factors that facilitated Australia's enhancement of its strategy for managing illegal

immigration through the Bali Process from 2018 to 2022, employing K.J. Holsti's framework on International Cooperation.

As indicated above, Australia has intensified its efforts within the Bali Process framework by adopting a more proactive diplomatic stance in addressing irregular migration and increasing financial support. This included the expansion of collaborative programs with Indonesia, the enhancement of capacity-building initiatives, and the promotion of regional cooperation through forums such as the Bali Process Government and Business Forum. These intensified efforts signify Australia's strategic priority to tackle irregular migration not only at its borders, but also by enhancing collaboration with Indonesia as an important regional partner. The establishment of this partnership illustrates both nations' dedication to collaboratively addressing migration challenges through ongoing dialogue and mutual responsibility. Further investigation is needed into Australia's fundamental motivations for enhancing its engagement with Indonesia through the Bali Process.

1.2 Research Question

Why has Australia intensified its efforts to strengthen its border security policies against illegal immigrants through the Bali Process in 2018-2022?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To carry out a research study of the way in which Australia worked to develop immigration and security initiatives;
2. To analyze Australia's contributions within the Bali Process in addressing human security concerns, including issues related to refugees, asylum

- seekers, people smuggling, modern slavery, human trafficking, and other kinds of transnational crimes;
3. To evaluate the successful outcomes of the Bali Process policies and agreements and the maintenance of the relationship between the two countries; and
 4. To analyze Australia's strategy for establishing and implementing policies and agreements related to illegal immigrants and transnational crime during the period of 2018 to 2022.

1.4 Research Scope

This research analyzes the collaboration between Australia and Indonesia under the Bali process framework, applying the theory of International Cooperation. This research aims to examine the reasons behind Australia's strengthening of its immigration and security strategies concerning illegal immigrants through its collaboration with Indonesia in the Bali Process. Starting with Australia's policies that contradict the principle of non-refoulement and its commitments under the Bali Process, as well as the burden borne by Indonesia due to the continuous increase of irregular migrants over time. Examined within this study are the strategies Australia implemented to address illegal immigrants and transnational issues, including illegal fishing, terrorism, asylum seekers, modern slavery, people smuggling, and trafficking, through the agreements made between 2018 and 2023.

1.5 Literature Review

Skolastika G. Maing and M. Elfan Kukab offer an in-depth analysis of Australia's foreign policy concerning the management of refugees and asylum seekers. Their study traces the evolution of Australia's policy approaches across successive

administrations, beginning with Prime Minister John Howard and continuing through to the leadership of Prime Minister Scott Morrison. The article emphasizes how each government shaped and implemented specific policy frameworks in response to shifting domestic political pressures and international obligations. Furthermore, the study explores the broader regional implications of these policies, particularly how they have influenced Australia's bilateral relations with key transit and neighboring countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, both of which have been directly impacted by Australia's increasingly restrictive asylum strategies. Through this examination, the journal contributes to a deeper understanding of the intersection between domestic political agendas and foreign policy decisions within the context of regional migration governance.

Dinda Ayu Saraswati examines the securitization of migration in Australia during the tenure of Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. The article offers insight into how Turnbull's administration responded to the rising number of irregular migrants, particularly within the framework of the Bali Process. A central focus is placed on the 2016 Bali Declaration, which marked a renewed commitment among regional actors to address migration challenges collectively. Saraswati highlights that, compared to previous administrations, Turnbull's policies reflected a relatively more humanitarian orientation, seeking to balance border security with international obligations and ethical considerations. Additionally, the study explores the shifting dynamics of domestic politics, noting that tensions with the opposition Labor Party gradually eased during this period. This political shift is evidenced by the Labor Party's increasing willingness to support contentious policies such as maritime vessel turnbacks—once a source of intense political debate.

Modhy Mahardika Jufri critically investigates Australia's *turn back boats* policy, arguing that it constitutes a violation of international law. The article offers a detailed discussion on the legal principle of *non-refoulement*, which prohibits the forcible return of individuals to countries where they may face persecution or serious harm. Through the lens of this principle, Jufri evaluates the implementation of *Operation Sovereign Borders* and asserts that the policy not only undermines international legal obligations but also infringes upon the sovereignty of neighboring states, particularly Indonesia. The journal includes specific data on the number of vessels that have been intercepted and returned, many of which were en route through Indonesian waters. Additionally, Jufri explores the broader legal context surrounding maritime border control and migrant interception, providing an overview of international legal instruments relevant to the treatment of asylum seekers and irregular migrants at sea.

The three journals reviewed collectively indicate that Australia's migration-related policies have played a significant role in fueling diplomatic tensions with Indonesia, while also contributing to political controversy within its own domestic landscape. Each study underscores Australia's strong focus on addressing irregular migration, which is perceived as a potential threat to its national security and strategic interests. Nonetheless, there remains a lack of comprehensive analysis regarding Australia's concrete steps to rebuild and strengthen its international cooperation—particularly with Indonesia. Moreover, existing literature does not yet sufficiently explain the driving factors behind Australia's increasing commitment and proactive stance within the framework of the Bali Process.

In the first journal, the author analyzes the topic by examining the policies implemented by each Australian Prime Minister throughout their respective terms.

However, this study focuses on how Australia has sought to ease tensions with Indonesia and address the issue of irregular migration through a multilateral approach. The second journal discusses the policies and efforts of Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull in responding to the irregular migration issue both domestically and internationally. In contrast, this research provides a more comprehensive explanation of Australia's strategies and policy developments following Turnbull's tenure. Meanwhile, the third journal explains how the *turn back boats* policy violates international law and Indonesia's sovereignty. This current study, however, emphasizes Australia's efforts to strengthen its border security policies in response to irregular migration. It also focuses on how Australia combats illegal migration through the development of international cooperation and policy frameworks under the Bali Process. As a result, this research is centered on analyzing and exploring Australia's strategic intensification of its efforts to address irregular migration through active engagement in the Bali Process.

1.6 Research Framework

The author of this study utilizes the theory of multinational cooperation that was proposed by Kalevi J. Holsti. This theory was chosen based on the basis of the background of the case and the formulation that needs to be solved. This theory was introduced by Holsti in his book "International Politics: a framework for analysis." In his book, Holsti argues that countries worldwide are unable to operate independently and require a forum for collaboration as a solution to both domestic and global issues.

International cooperation can be established based on the specific needs of each country or the reliance on some countries with greater resources, which demands collaboration to support less developed countries. International cooperation

encompasses different areas such as economic, social, educational, political, security, and cultural cooperation, among others, which are determined by the country's interests. According to Holsti, cooperation is essentially a means to pursue national interests by enhancing mutual welfare, improving cooperation efficiency, expediting the resolution of specific problems, and establishing political proximity between two or more countries that mutually impact the cooperation (Faisal 2024, 13).

In his book, K.J. Holsti delineates cooperation into four components. *The first component is the existence of interests, values, and objectives that are mutually compatible and potentially productive* (Holsti 1987, 434). To foster effective bilateral cooperation with Indonesia, Australia needs to ensure that its national interests, core values, and strategic objectives are aligned with those of Indonesia. Such alignment is essential not only to strengthen collaborative efforts in addressing threats posed by irregular migration to Australia's security, but also to minimize the risk of diplomatic friction and avoid actions that could potentially disadvantage or undermine other states involved.

Secondly, the state's policy is intended to assist in achieving the objectives outlined in its commitments (Holsti 1987,434). As part of its collaborative efforts, Australia has formulated policy initiatives under the Bali Process framework in partnership with Indonesia, with the objective of reinforcing mutual trust in the effective implementation of previously agreed commitments. A key aspect of this cooperation involves Australia's proposal of a policy framework grounded in regional engagement, equitable burden sharing, adherence to international legal norms, the principle of collective responsibility, and a holistic, multi-dimensional approach to addressing the challenges of irregular migration.

Thirdly, the existence of an agreement between the two states or more to capitalize on their similarities and conflicts of interest (Holsti 1987, 434). Equally important is the necessity for Australia to engage in agreements that are grounded in mutual interests and shaped by shared concerns over potential threats to those interests. Such alignment is essential for fostering equitable cooperation and coordinated actions that not only strengthen bilateral relations but also generate positive and mutually advantageous outcomes for both Australia and Indonesia.

Fourthly, a transaction or interactions made between countries in order to fulfill their agreement (Holsti 1987, 434). This can be defined as Australia's efforts to strengthen its relationship with Indonesia in the context of domestic issues that have the potential to affect the security of both countries. By continuing to implement these agreements, Australia and Indonesia have effectively reduced the number of irregular migrants and ensured ongoing collaboration between the two nations. This dynamic can also be understood as a responsive arrangement, wherein Indonesia, as a transit country, provides the infrastructure for migrant screening processes, while Australia contributes financial support to help address the issue.

Australia effectively applied all of Holsti's theories and perspectives from the four components. Based on the objectives and outcomes observed in the field, several elements can be identified in the components utilized by Holsti. The initial component indicates that Australia and Indonesia have shared goals, interests, and values in the mitigation of the influx of illegal immigrants, particularly into Indonesia. Entry of such individuals adversely impacts the Indonesian economy. In the second component of Holsti's perspective, Australia and Indonesia implemented policies that facilitate cooperation shared between both countries, for instance the Bali Process frameworks.

In the third component, Holsti pointed out that discussions or policies transpire through several formal and informal meetings between two countries. The Bali Process established an agreement to form the Bali Process Government and Business Forum (GABF) to oversee the Bali Process' proceedings by conducting regular meetings. Additionally, Holsti suggested that the utilization of shared interests and the management of differences are the final components that contribute to the success of cooperation. An illustration of this fourth component is that Australia continues to extend support to Indonesia, including financial assistance. The aid from Australia can be employed to enhance the capabilities of coastal surveillance patrols, which serve not only to monitor illegal immigration.

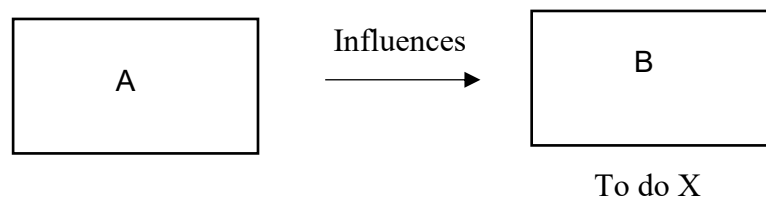


Figure 1 Power Illustration

Sources : International Politics: a framework for analysis (Holsti 1987, 141)

The illustration above illustrates that State A exerts influence on State B to carry out action X in pursuit of objectives that State A cannot achieve independently. This influence may take the form of financial resources, security guarantees, alliances, or access to raw materials (Holsti 1987, 141). This concept aligns with Australia's efforts to achieve its objectives within the Bali Process and to strengthen its security policies with the support of Indonesia by offering various forms of transactional influence, including financial assistance, training, and workshops.

Therefore, the theory of collaboration proposed by K.J. Holsti is very suitable for application in this research and significantly enhances the advancements of the research. The Bali Process has played a crucial role in elucidating the diverse variables that contribute to the security and migration policies upheld by both countries. The case study of both Australia and Indonesia demonstrates the international collaboration's importance, as both countries share the same goal of maintaining their partnership under the Bali Process, which addresses various topics including security, migration, economy, and politics. The inclusion of viewpoints from both Australia and Indonesia can greatly increase the development of this research concept.

1.7 Provisional Argument

Australia intensified its efforts to address illegal immigration through the Bali Process from 2016 to 2023, indicating its dedication to international collaboration in a way that is consistent with the four criteria put forth by K.J. Holsti. The four criteria for international cooperation are as follows: 1) both countries must share one or more common interests; 2) the policies that are agreed upon must be conducive to the achievement of these shared interests; 3) there must be a future agenda in place, with either official or unofficial rules, to guide the implementation of decisions; and 4) both countries must mutually agree to take advantage of their similarities and give efforts in order to fulfil their respective wishes or interests.

Thus, Australia engages in cooperation not solely due to regional solidarity, but as a strategic effort to protect its national interests in border control and to ensure national stability against illegal immigration. Through collaboration with Indonesia, Australia may reduce its responsibilities in managing immigrants arriving in its territory. This is exemplified by Australia's efforts in the enhancement of the Regional Support

Office (RSO), established through a ministerial meeting. The collaboration focuses on enhancing support for Bali Process member states by providing training and workshops aimed at strengthening border security, building institutional capacity, and fostering greater regional cooperation. This agreement demonstrates that Australia and Indonesia have established a collaborative agreement with mutually aligned interests, the decision that is based on the values of rules, a policy framework, meetings that led to agreements based on common and conflicting interests, and delivering efforts in accordance with the agreed focuses. Therefore, the implementation of international cooperation theory is appropriate for the analysis of Australia's decision to establish a strategy to address illegal immigration through the Bali Process.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Type of the Research

The study employed a qualitative research approach, as it concentrated on investigating specific topics within the field of literacy analysis. The analysis used interview and employed a diverse range of scholarly resources—reliable newspapers, peer-reviewed journals, official reports, authoritative books, and pertinent articles—to examine the security and immigration policies of Australia and Indonesia, with a particular emphasis on irregular and unlawful immigrants as facilitated by the Bali Process and the corresponding policies implemented by both nations. Moreover, this study examined the effects of these concerns on both countries. Descriptive analysis, as opposed to data-driven economic or statistical methods, was utilized in this study to convey the results.

1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research

This study focuses on Australia and Indonesia as its subjects, with the object of the research being an examination of Australia's efforts to strengthen its border security policies against illegal immigration within the regulatory framework of the Bali Process from 2018 to 2022.

1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

The researcher carried out this research by gathering data from primary and secondary sources. These sources were obtained by the author in the form of reports and data that were gathered through the Bali Process, which was a collaborative effort involving Australia and Indonesia. The author carefully selected these sources to address the research questions, then gathered additional sources, including interview, journals, data, and news articles produced by scholars who investigated the topics addressed in the problem statement.

1.8.4 Process of the Research

The process of conducting research is comprised of a number of stages, such as preliminary research strategies, collecting data, and data analysis. The subsequent steps outline the procedure employed in this research:

1. Preliminary research strategies

Implementing the beginning stages of research is the first stage in the process of conducting research or conducting analysis. Within the context of this preliminary study, the author conducted research through analyzing the findings of research-related publications and reviewing relevant information that was in line with the research topic.

2. Collecting data

As a means to facilitate the collection of information for the research project, primary and secondary sources were utilized. These secondary sources consisted of interviews, scholarly publications, official declarations from the governments of Australia and Indonesia, academic books, publications from the government, scholars, and research journals.

3. Data analysis

In this step, analysis of the collected data was conducted.

1.9 Thesis Outline

The research discussion commences with chapter 1, which elucidates the background, research question, theoretical foundation, research scope, research objectives, research framework, research type, research object and subject, and provisional arguments. Subsequently, the selected problem or topic is explicated and described in the subsequent section, specifically chapter 2. This is accomplished by elucidating the manner in which Australia and Indonesia work together on migration and security strategies within the framework of the Bali Process, as stipulated in the problem formulation. The discussion then proceeds to the presentation of data that was analyzed in accordance with the facts and provides argumentative responses to the problem formulation. The following chapter, chapter 4, primarily focus on summarizing the analyzed issues and offering recommendations to the governments regarding the handling of illegal immigrants through Bali Process. These suggestions aim to facilitate the continuing collaboration between Australia and Indonesia within the scope of the discussed matter.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BALI PROCESS BASED ON AUSTRALIA'S AND INDONESIA'S INTEREST, VALUES, AND OBJECTIVES.

The first chapter provided a definition of this research, beginning with the background material and concluding with the framework that was utilized for this research. Within the context of the Bali Process cooperation, this second chapter focuses on providing an explanation of the international collaboration that exists between Australia and Indonesia. This includes the values and interests of both parties, as well as the objectives that both countries have in common when it comes to combating transnational crime. Throughout the second chapter, the research discusses the contextual information. This chapter serves as a reference for Chapter three, which is primarily concerned with the application of K. J. Holsti's concept of international collaboration, and the Bali Process' achievements and policies.

2.1 Political Interests Between Countries

According to Holsti, there are circumstances in which a state or government must safeguard its interests and advance or prioritize its national objectives. These interests include strengthening strategically important borders, addressing external threats, and ensuring access to critical raw materials (Holsti 1987, 123). Australia was the country that initiated the Bali Process establishment collaborating with Indonesia. Australia advocated for the Bali Process, prompted by the significant entry of refugees and illegal immigrants in Australia. Indonesia, as a transit nation for illegal migrants, seeks to mitigate the effects of irregular migration. The Bali Process functions as an

institutional framework jointly led by Australia and Indonesia, enabling regional nations to deliberate and redefine norms and practices concerning the legal rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

The Refugee Convention of 1951 was ratified by Australia, which signified the country's commitment to accommodating refugees. By facilitating the process of assimilation and naturalization for refugees in the country, according to this convention, Australia ensures that refugees will have rights to welfare, employment, and the judicial system. From year to year, the number of individuals seeking asylum has consistently increased. This resulted in Australia making refugees and asylum seekers matter a priority as a result. Illegal immigrants may present a potential risk to national security because of the criminal activities that are carried out by transnational organized crime (Putri 2025, 2). These criminal activities include the smuggling of human beings, the trafficking of narcotics, and the entry of terrorists under an appearance that they are seeking asylum.

The path refugees and asylum seekers take to Australia extends all the way to Indonesia and Malaysia. Numerous asylum seekers and refugees depart from the water to Indonesian mainland due to dwindling supplies during their journey, necessitating a temporary stopover. In addition to serving as a transit nation, mainland Indonesia also functions as an indirect destination for asylum applications from incoming migrants. Thousands of refugees have been trapped in Indonesia for up 8 to 10 years, with some exceeding a decade, awaiting permanent resettlement in third countries (BBC News 2021).

Since 1975, Indonesia has served as a host country for asylum seekers, beginning with the influx of Indochinese refugees escaping from Vietnam. Following the fall of Saigon in 1975, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and subsequently

asylum seekers from Cambodia embarked on perilous overseas journeys, passing through Indonesia on their way to Australia. The final group of Vietnamese asylum seekers departed from Pulau Galang, Riau, Indonesia in 1996. Following this, the initial influx of asylum seekers from the Middle East, predominantly from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Iran, and then reaching Indonesia, which served as their transit country. Consequently, Indonesia became a significant collaborator for Australia in tackling the challenge of illegal immigration, resulting in the formation of the Bali Process because of this issues (Herlina 2019, 4-5). Indonesia's important role in housing illegal migrants as a transit country as seen in the map below.

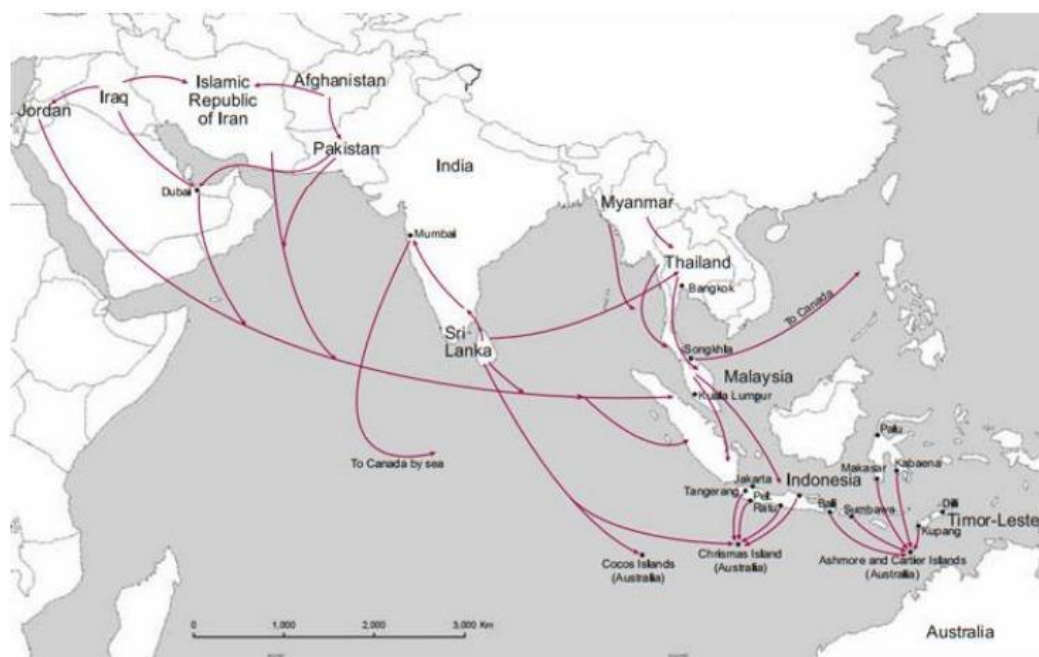


Figure 2 Illustration of Maritime Migrant Smuggling Routes to Australia and Canada
 Source : *National Geographic*, 2015.

According to the maps above, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand serve as transit nations frequented by illegal immigrants making their way to Australia. Australia perceives this as a threat to its national interests, particularly in terms of geographical concerns. Concerns regarding Australia's geography stem from the

predominance of individuals with Caucasian heritage, primarily of European descent (Kedutaan Besar Australia, n.d.), contrasting with its geographical positioning among Indo-Pacific countries which have a significant Asian population. Illegal immigrants are a threat to Australia's territorial interests. These challenges begin with several socio-political issues that have arisen within Australia as a result of the high number of illegal immigrants who have arrived.

Many parties believe that the coming of asylum seekers and immigrants not only create a threat to Australia in terms of state sovereignty, but also presents a threat to socio-cultural issues, the threat of terrorist attacks, and threats to the values and original identity of Australian society. This is because of the rising number of illegal immigrants who travel to Australia. In addition, the negative narrative that has been established in the public eye regarding illegal immigrants as a threat to the community requires serious handling as it is increasingly articulated and affects political deliberations ahead of elections (McDonald 2011, 287). Thus, this led to the necessity of Australia making a cooperation on the issue of illegal immigrants and border security.

According to a participant in a closed-door discussion held under the Chatham House Rule in Jakarta (June 2025), humanitarian interest is also one of the pillars of Australia's engagement in the Bali Process. Illegal immigration, especially in Australia, has been identified as the cause of poverty, conflict, and persecution. The collaboration Australia had with other countries in the Bali Process reflects a commitment to uphold international protection principles and also to promote safe, dignified, and rights-based migration policies. By having a collaboration through the Bali Process, Australia can reduce harm to individuals and support orderly migration frameworks. The collaboration that Australia formed in the Bali Process was driven by multiple interests, such as socio-cultural issues, political concerns, leadership responsibilities, and

humanitarian values. The table below presents data on the influx of illegal immigrants to Australia, highlighting a continuous pattern of arrivals that pose potential threats to the nation's interests, with the peak period occurring between 2020 and 2023.

Table 1
The Data of Illegal Immigrant in Australia

Years	Total of Immigrants
2018	62,900
2019	No estimate published
2020	70,000
2021	73, 100
2022	66,800

Source : Australian Government Department of Home Affairs

On the other side, Indonesia also has a national interest in the Bali Process collaboration with Australia. The main intention of Bali Process is for Indonesia to strengthen Indonesia's negotiating influence, which can be developed through the growth of the Indonesian government (Oktavia 2014, 14). The issue of irregular migration has emerged as a strategic instrument for Indonesia to enhance its geopolitical influence over other countries. Irregular migration matter has emerged as a strategic instrument for Indonesia to enhance its geopolitical influence over other countries. The enhanced bargaining power held by the Indonesian government regarding irregular migration is likely to strengthen Indonesia's position in discussions with other countries. This enhanced bargaining power stems from the recognition and appreciation of other nations regarding Indonesia's contributions to the Bali Process.

K.J. Holsti explains that cooperation or collaboration among states emerges in response to various national, regional, or global issues that necessitate joint action. Such problems require the involvement of multiple countries with aligned interests, as

without mutual interests, meaningful resolutions and negotiated agreements are unlikely to be achieved (Holsti 1987, 411).

2.2 Policies and Values between Countries

Holsti argues (Holsti 1987, 322) that while values in everyday life are often associated with concepts such as material wealth, power, social prestige, personal happiness, and isolation, within the realm of policymaking, values function as foundational elements that justify and inform the formulation of objectives, decision-making processes, and subsequent actions. International cooperation is established due to the multifaceted nature of international life, encompassing ideology, politics, social and cultural aspects, environmental issues, and defense and security concerns. The Bali Process has acted as a significant milestone in the relationship between Indonesia and Australia, enhancing ties that had previously declined due to various challenges.

The Bali Process member countries reached an agreement to establish principles for their collaboration. One principle embraced by the Bali Process member nations is burden sharing, signifying that member countries cannot transfer the burden to others, as the burden among Bali Process members is equal. The second principle is collective responsibility, expressing a shared obligation among the origin, transit, and destination countries of irregular migrants (KEMENLU 2019). This was accomplished through ministerial meetings and workshops concerning irregular migrants organized by the Bali Process (Bali Process 2019).

The countries that are engaged in the Bali Process emphasized the significance of a holistic regional strategy grounded in the concepts of shared burden and joint responsibility during the sixth Ministerial meeting convened from 22 to 23 March 2016. The Bali Process emphasises the protection and safety of illegal immigrants and victims of transnational crime while promoting initiatives to tackle the root problem of irregular

immigration and migration, also involving in providing support to countries of origin (Rahayu and Kartikasari 2019, 1831). Therefore, due to this principle agreement and Indonesia's dedication to prioritizing state sovereignty, when Australia implemented the Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB) agreement, which threatened Indonesia's sovereignty, both Indonesia and UNHCR repudiated the policy and referred the matter to the Bali Process.

Furthermore, since 2008, Australia has positioned itself as a focal point in its defense and foreign policy, demonstrating a commitment to a "rules-based order" (RBO). The 2016 White Paper on Defence in Australia articulates:

“The stability and prosperity of Australia rely on a global order characterized by established rules, the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes, the encouragement of free and open trade, and the provision of unrestricted access to global resources, all of which are essential for encouraging economic growth.”

In the framework of the Bali Process involving Indonesia, Australia's dedication to a system of governance in the Asia-Pacific region based on established rules and norms is evident in the various meetings and policies that have been established. Consequently, the Indo-Pacific region offers Australia a range of opportunities for consideration. Australia has consistently highlighted the significance of ensuring stability and complying with the RBOs. The strategic rationale emphasized by the Australian Department of Defence regarding RBOs in 2020 is outlined as follows: (Klein 2022, 382)

“Australia is dedicated to upholding its position as a prominent and engaged supporter of a rules-based international order designed to enhance its economic development, wealth, safety, and values.”

The value of the rule-based order embraced by Australia and Indonesia can be seen in the several rule-based declarations made by the two countries during the eighth

Bali Process Ministerial meeting in 2023. In a statement, the Australian co-chair said that : (“Eight Ministerial Conference” 2023)

“Ministers emphasized the importance of developing a proactive strategy to tackle the changing dynamics of people smuggling, trafficking in people, and related transnational crimes in the Bali Process region. They reached a consensus to:

- a. Develop the latest version of the Adelaide 2023 Strategy for Cooperation, ensuring it addresses the current challenges encountered by participants in the Bali Process.
- b. Enhance the ability of law enforcement authorities to effectively utilize technology in combating illegal immigration, trafficking in people, and other transnational crimes associated with these illegal activities.
- c. Encourage migration that is secure and lawful to ensure a lasting impact, while also informing the public about the risks associated with illegal immigration, such as online frauds and their connections to trafficking in people scenarios.
- d. To enhance collaboration, it is essential for Senior Officials to be assigned the responsibility of facilitating policy dialogue, sharing information, and developing capacity. This must encompass an examination of the existing difficulties associated with trafficking in persons within the context of online scam operations. Furthermore, it is advisable to engage Regional Support Offices in conducting studies and formulating targeted recommendations.
- e. Encourage voluntary, sustainable, and dignified repatriations, while systematically addressing the challenges associated with mass repatriations of illegal immigrants, the return of victims of human trafficking, and the underlying factors that contribute to re-migration.
- f. Encourage collaborations with the private sector, with a particular emphasis on technological innovation.”

The co-leaders' statement from the eighth Bali Process ministerial meeting clarified that all members, including Australia, has designated responsibilities, the same burdens, and tasks. These declarations demonstrate that the countries are committed to principles of collective responsibility and burden sharing, while upholding a rule-based order that emphasises the international standard rules of law enforcement, victim protection and human rights as fundamental values in the agreement.

In addition to this, Holsti gives focus to the significance of interdependence and continuous commitment in the context of international cooperation (Holsti 2016, 49-51). In this particular instance, the dependence that exists within this cooperation is the dependence on the two countries in fulfilling their national interests within their respective countries. The fact that the two countries are committed to working together in the long term is based on the fact that they continue to adhere to the principle of rule-based order, burden sharing, and collective responsibilities that are outlined in their agreement regarding the Bali Process despite pursuing their individual interests.

2.3 The Objectives of the Cooperation

Holsti defines the purpose of cooperation as a means by which governments support neighboring countries and allies, promote human rights, and strengthen international institutions, rules, and regulations that can be mutually beneficial. Such cooperation serves to maintain stability and facilitate transactions that help states achieve their national interests (Holsti 1987, 129). The Bali Process that focuses around People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons, and Related Transnational Crime operates as a regional cooperative session to discuss and conversate, information transfer, and practical collaboration to assist the Asia-Pacific region in acknowledging transnational crime and especially human trafficking cases. The Bali Process was established in Bali, Indonesia on February 2002 during the Regional Ministerial Conference on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons, and Related Transnational Crime. The Bali Process is fundamentally a solution irregular migrati on matter.

The Bali Process is a forum of regional collaboration that was established with the purpose of (1) increasing awareness and (2) promoting stronger collaboration among local governments in order to combat illegal trade and people smuggling (The

Bali Process 2024, 15). In order to assist the region in overcoming these challenges, the Bali Process serves as a forum for policy discussion, transfer of information, and practical cooperation. The ministers are in charge of directing the strategy that constitutes the Bali Process, which involves working together to organize and carry out future programs.

This aligns with Australia's objectives in collaborating with Indonesia within the Bali Process. Australia aims to enhance the management of the world's longest-standing refugee cases involving Afghans and Iraqis, bolster regional collaboration to combat human smuggling, particularly through the Bali Process, and implement strong legislative and domestic policy measures. Moreover, collaboration with Indonesia in the Bali Process can facilitate the early detection, apprehension, and investigation of human traffickers. Australia and Indonesia's foreign ministries, police, and immigration authorities work together to reduce irregular migration in the region, tackle smuggling networks, and ensure that asylum claims from smuggled individuals are assessed in accordance with the Refugee Convention. (Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) 2004).

Australia's objectives also align with Indonesia's in addressing immigration concerns and collaborating within the Bali Process. The Indonesian government aims to uphold the territorial integrity of its nation and extends an offer to the Australian government for collaboration in addressing security threats. The Bali Process was initiated due to the reason of alignment of interests, values, and objectives, resulting in a mutually beneficial impact for both countries. The rise in irregular migration is accompanied by a number of connected problems, including the spread of infectious illnesses, the smuggling of narcotics, and even humans, as well as concerns related to terrorist organizations. The governments of Indonesia and Australia have undertaken

various initiatives within the Bali Process as transit and destination countries for irregular migration. The Governments of Indonesia and Australia, as initiators of the Bali Process, have intensified their commitment to addressing irregular migration through collaborative efforts aimed at combating smuggling and human trafficking (Wibowo and Yazid 2024, 1822)

The Regional Support Office (RSO) serves as the central administrative office in the Bali Process. Protection of international migrants and arrivals, including smuggling and human trafficking victims, was the primary motivation behind the establishment of the RSO. The main intention of the establishment is to strengthen and support cooperation. Working together inside the Bali Process framework aims to accomplish a number of significant goals in relation to the human trafficking matter and illegal migration in the sector. Within the framework of international cooperation, the perfected goals of the Bali Process are as follows: (Wibowo and Yazid 2024, 1830)

1. Through the Information Exchange, member states are encouraged to share information with one another regarding irregular migration, which includes smuggling and trafficking. This information exchange is intended to improve both parties' understanding of the developments, patterns, and practices that are associated with human trafficking and irregular migration.
2. Increasing the level of cooperation between law enforcement authorities as a way to combat human trafficking and smuggling through law enforcement agency. In addition to the victims return to their own respective origin countries, this involves cooperation in the investigation, arrest, and punishment of those responsible for the crime.
3. The Border and Visa Systems Cooperation program encourages collaboration in the creation of efficient border and visa systems that can identify and prevent

the movement of people who are not officially authorized to be present. As part of this, there is collaboration in the implementation of border technologies and policies that aim to reduce the chance of human trafficking and illegal migration.

4. Educating the Public brings attention to crimes associated with irregular migration, such as human trafficking and smuggling, as well as raising public awareness of these crimes and mobilizing support for them. Information and education campaigns are used to accomplish this goal, with the goal of increasing awareness of the dangers and adverse effects that are associated with human trafficking and irregular migration.
5. In the process of national lawmaking, member states are urged to enact domestic legislation that makes human trafficking and smuggling networks criminal offenses. With the help of this measure, the legal framework that is in place to deal with these crimes on a national level will be strengthened.
6. Increasing the protection afforded to human trafficking victims, particularly women and children. In addition to enhancing victims' access to the legal system, this includes providing victims with a safe place to stay, rehabilitation services, and psychological assistance.
7. The process of addressing root causes involves addressing and dealing with the underlying causes of irregular migration, which include instability in politics, poverty, conflict, and crimes against human rights. To accomplish this, it is necessary to collaborate on efforts to prevent and recover, including the implementation of development programs and partnerships, with the goal of enhancing the economic and social opportunities that exist for communities.
8. According to the principles outlined in the Refugee Convention, the Asylum Management program offers member states assistance and support throughout

the process of managing asylum cases. This includes working together to build capacity, share information, and ensure that the rights of asylum seekers are taken into consideration.

Throughout the years, the Bali Process has focused on several key priorities, including the following: cooperation in information exchange; the creation of strategies for safer and more orderly immigration channels; the identification and protection of victims; public information campaigns to elevate public awareness and understanding of the risks associated with these crimes; reintegration; law enforcement; and coordination and support among member states. Taking this action is consistent with the policy of the forum, which is to strengthen strategies and solutions (Dewi 2024). For the years to come, Australia and Indonesia through the Bali Process will continue to expand its capacity and continue to be actively involved in finding the solutions to the problem of illegal migration. The most recent meeting of the Bali Process took place in February 2023. During this meeting, the Bali Process increased its cooperation on digital technology and social media platforms to combat human trafficking. Furthermore, the Bali Process acknowledged the necessity of conducting joint research and campaigns on business trends and practices in order to benefit GABF's engagement with a wider audience.

CHAPTER III

AUSTRALIA'S STRATEGY IN THE BALI PROCESS THROUGH POLICIES, AGREEMENTS, AND TRANSACTIONS

3.1 Design Of Policies to Assist The Objectives

According to one of the key components in K.J. Holsti's theory, successful international cooperation requires the creation of policies aimed at achieving shared goals, which in turn helps build trust that commitments will be fulfilled. Australia also makes many policies in terms of economy, security, values, and interests between countries. Strong relationships are necessary for strong international cooperation, according to K.J. Holsti's book:

“The study of international relations encompasses the analysis of foreign policies and political processes among nations, while also addressing different aspects of interactions between societies, including international trade, transportation, communication, and the development of global values and ethics. International relations encompass any interactions between members of diverse societies, regardless of governmental endorsement.” (Holsti 1988, 21-22)

In his book, K.J. Holsti explains that policies that can assist in the accomplishment of the objectives of a collaboration have a variety of characteristics. These characteristics include policies that are designed for particular purposes, policies that have the nature of an instrument for organizing operations, and policies that have a systematic structural framework. The success of international cooperation is contingent not only on the establishment of shared objectives and strategies for accomplishing those objectives, but also on the accomplishment of specific goals. Additionally, cooperation will be pursued when potential benefits overcome the negative aspects. It is the goal of international cooperation to improve the welfare of both parties, as stated in the objectives of the collaboration. Therefore, the

establishment of international cooperative relations will accelerate the process of enhancing welfare and resolving issues between two or more countries.

Due to the fact that the Bali Process is an informal and non-binding discussion forum, its achievements and results weren't able to be measured in absolute terms. However, Australia and Indonesia, as participants in the Bali Process, made several policies that reinforced the process's objectives. Therefore, Australia and Indonesia have defined the Bali Process as a form of soft diplomacy, which is a forum that only serves as a platform for discussion and building trust among the member states. The policy dialogue forums that were established in the Bali Process are also of a routine nature for the countries that are participating. The purpose of these forums was to facilitate the exchange of experiences, the development of strategies, and the examination of potential areas for collaboration.

Initially, to guarantee the objectives and priorities of the Bali Process, the Co-leaders, Australia and Indonesia, initiated a group to address the region's needs while considering emerging trends and issues (Manton, n.d.). The Steering Group works to toughen the commitment of members of Bali Process to their cooperation. Several core members of the Bali Process, including Thailand, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) were key participants in the establishment of the Steering Group policy, which was formulated by Australia and Indonesia.

The Steering Group helps coordinate the expansion of group meetings and sets agendas to address the issue of illegal immigrants, subsequently reporting to the senior official co-chairs of the Bali Process. This mechanism ensures that the Bali procedure operates smoothly and progressively aligns with its objectives. Following the analysis, the third Steering Group meeting in 2022 yielded a statement from the Co-chairs

indicating that the meeting highlighted the worsening of COVID-19's impact on diseases associated with illegal immigrants, the significance of the private sector in the influx of illegal immigrants, and the necessity of a program for banishment of illegal immigrants to their origin countries. Also, a further analysis was the establishment of a 20-year agenda for the Bali Process by Steering Group, aimed at evaluating the ongoing effectiveness of the Bali Process in providing concrete outcomes for its members in addressing transnational crime (The Bali Process 2022). The consequences of the issues that occurred that negatively impacted Australia's stability and national interests were discussed at the Steering Group meetings and by having the Steering Group in place helped Australia move forward with its strategy.

Furthermore, to received a good outcomes in the collaboration Australia and Indonesia make a strategy in the establishment of Ad Hoc Group meetings. The term "ad hoc meetings" refers to gatherings that take place within the context of the Bali process. The Ad Hoc Group Meeting is different from other meetings in that it is convened in response to specific problems that involve parties such as international organizations, governments, and non-governmental organizations. There are only sixteen countries that are a part of Bali Process that have the opportunity to participate in the Ad Hoc Group Meeting. This means that not all Bali Process members are present at the meeting.

During the Ad Hoc Group Meeting, the countries that are in charge of the Working Groups will also have the opportunity to present reports on the outcomes that have been achieved as a result of their collaboration ("Ad Hoc Group Meetings", n.d.). Through these meetings, members can properly evaluate the issues and report to the steering groups on the outcomes of the discussions and the tasks completed by the working groups. This will assist in managing the rising influx of illegal immigrants and

in preventing transnational crime through effective issue management. The analysis of the sixteenth Ad Hoc Group Meetings in 2022 indicates that Bali Process members need to understand the importance of the trend regarding the role of technology in detecting illegal immigrants, attributed to the substantial rise in illegal immigration resulting from COVID-19. The Ad Hoc Group meetings have produced several assignments to Working Groups, alongside enhancements to GBAF and RSO. The Ad Hoc Group Meetings facilitate Australia's management of illegal immigration, enable the coordination of agreements, and assist in future deciding processes.

Additionally, for the purpose of strengthening the foundation of Bali Process, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) proposed in the Bali Process to have a framework that would be known as the Regional Cooperation Framework (RCF) in order to support the goals that were established by Australia and Indonesia. In the interest of providing practical arrangements for responding to and streamlining the management of irregular migration and refugees in the region of Asia-Pacific, the Regional Cooperation Framework has been established with the intention of achieving this goal (Ismail 2019, 132).

This framework supports the development of responses and supports by member states in order to address the movement of illegal immigrants, promoting the Bali Process inter-country approach, as well as reducing pressure and providing fairness to transit and destination countries. The Regional Cooperation Framework (RCF) may be operationalized by interested countries through bilateral or other practical arrangements to improve the regional response to irregular movements, and it is consistent with the principles of the current framework (Bali Process 2011). The implementation of the Bali Process involves an agreement among its members to

establish the Regional Support Office (RSO), which aims to provide support for both the Bali Process and the member countries (The Bali Process 2012).

A policy is used as a follow-up mechanism to the Steering Group and Ad Hoc Group Meeting called the Consultation Mechanism. This mechanism operates with a less limited scope aimed at facilitating mutual consultation among Bali Process member countries, enhancing early warning systems, and fostering collaborative decision-making. The mechanism aims to strengthen the emphasis on sharing responsibilities and collective commitment among the countries participating in the Bali Process. This mechanism is expected to facilitate improved communication among the co-chairs of the Bali Process and the origin, transit, and destination countries of irregular migrants in cases of urgent situations that demand a swift response (Rahayu and Kartikasari 2019, 48). Based on the conducted analysis, during the initial activation of this mechanism, the senior co-leaders of Bali Process, Steering Group, along with the affected countries, including Australia, gathered to evaluate the impacts and outline future steps to ensure fairness without causing harm to either party.

It is evident that the four policies have distinct assignments but share a common objective: to serve as a policy that facilitates the establishment and execution of the Bali Process. Within the context of the Bali Process, the three policies have the potential to also organize the path of cooperation. The Steering Group serves as the focal point for all of the meetings and collaborations, the Regional Cooperation Framework serves as the framework for the Bali Process, the Ad Hoc Group is the meeting that is responsible for coordinating the ongoing agreement, and the Consultation Mechanism that serves to handle the communication and consultation between the affected countries and the origin country. These policies are crucial to Australia's strategy for enhancing its initiatives to deter illegal immigration within the Bali Process; without a solid

foundation and framework, Australia and Indonesia’s collaboration in these circumstances will not succeed.

3.2 Agreements between the Two Sides Based on Similarities and Conflicts of Interests and How They Capitalize Their Similarities

To achieve the objectives of the Bali Process, Australia and Indonesia engaged in cooperation that involved both the formulation of policies and an analysis of their conflicts and common interests, eventually capitalizing on these conditions. K.J. Holsti in his book argues that an agreement on specific issues among two or more countries, aimed at taking advantage of similarities or conflicts of interest, represents a form of effective collaboration (Holsti 1988, 652-653). In the course of time, the framework of the Bali Process will be incorporated into Australia's strategy for achieving its goals with Indonesia, and the joint agreement will consist of the following:

Table 2

The Agreements between Australia and Indonesia within The Bali Process

No	Agreements	Interests		
		Similarities	Conflict	Capitalization
1	Working Groups (2013-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia needed to sustain its collaboration with Indonesia to control illegal immigrants through the sea routes. (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.) • Australia aimed to enhance its law enforcement capabilities regarding illegal immigration. (“Bali Process Working Groups”, n.d.) • Indonesia needed to uphold its national sovereignty while carefully identifying and addressing potential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bali Process was unable to fulfill its objective of decreasing the smuggling of asylum seekers to Australia while also ensuring protection for those transported by sea, which has resulted in negative consequences for Australia and has led to a policy conflict with Indonesia, specifically regarding Operation Sovereign Borders. • Indonesia experienced significant challenges in managing illegal immigration due to the lack of clear laws and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitated technical dialogue and the exchange of practices among members • Enabled swift responses, and provides a mechanism for member states to tackle challenges in law enforcement, border management, and victim protection (“Bali Process Working Groups”, n.d.).

No	Agreements	Interests		
		Similarities	Conflict	Capitalization
		threats that may threaten the country's stability.	regulations also had a responsibility to accept asylum seekers and cannot return them to their country of origin in accordance with the principle of Non-Refoulement. The long process of determining refugee status poses risks that could undermine the nation's principles of sovereignty.	
2	The Government and Business Forum (2018-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia had a national interest to strengthen its national policy, specifically the Modern Slavery Act 2018, which requires that businesses provide annual reports to the government of Australia. (“Modern Slavery Act 2018”, n.d.) • Indonesia had the potential to enhance its diplomatic relations with Australia and other countries involved in the Bali Process. This can be achieved through collaboration with international organizations, as well as by improving economic diplomacy in partnership with the business sector and civil society (“Bali Process Government and Business Forum”, n.d.). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia adopted strict policy on modern slavery, related to the several cases of modern slavery involving illegal immigrants in the Indo-Pacific region, which affected 24.9 million people (“Bali Process Government and Business Forum”, n.d.). which might harm Australia's interests and security. • On the other hand, the lack of a law addressing modern slavery in Indonesia presents a challenge in the collaborative efforts between Australia and Indonesia concerning the management of this issue. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enabled the two nations to capitalize on shared interests and disputes to mitigate the expenses associated with slavery and illegal recruitment in the region, while also strengthening the domestic labor force (“Bali Process Government and Business Forum”, n.d.).
3	Regional Support Office (RSO) (2012-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia required transit countries to have strong defenses to deal with illegal immigrants. • Indonesia needed to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many of the countries that are a part of the Bali Process are developing countries that require support from developed countries like 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allowed the two countries to make use of their shared interests and conflicts in such a way that Australia is able

No	Agreements	Interests		
		Similarities	Conflict	Capitalization
		<p>develop and strengthen its national capabilities regarding defense at its maritime borders, enhance international collaboration, improve legal frameworks, and expand regional coordination (“Eight Ministerial Conference” 2023).</p>	<p>Australia in terms of both policy and technical assistance (The Bali Process 2022)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lack of equality in the distribution of responsibilities between countries (The Sixth Ministerial Conference of the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime 2016) 	<p>to achieve its goal of preventing illegal immigrants from entering the country</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesia was able to receive assistance in the form of training, workshops, and financial support from Australia
4	2023 Adelaide Strategy for Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia's concern regarding emerging transnational challenges that could threaten its stability in political and economic areas including the engagement of Australian companies in transnational crime and the safeguarding of its citizens. Australia's policy regarding the return of illegal immigrants to their home country could be strengthened. Indonesia's economy can be increased by engaging in economic activities with Australia and other countries, as well as by increasing diplomatic cooperation (The Bali Process 2023). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia recognized multiple new challenges confronting Bali Process countries, including Australia and Indonesia, caused by illegal immigration following COVID-19. The increase of technology-facilitated crimes, such as online fraud, and illegal activities, alongside natural and humanitarian issues, including climate-related disasters (“Eight Ministerial Conference” 2023). Indonesia showed insufficient management and protection against online employment fraud, leading to a significant number of immigrants arriving and departing in non-procedural ways. Therefore, many of these individuals fall victim to fraud, worsened by the effects of COVID-19. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia and Indonesia were able to strengthened their governance, increased their capacity by encouraging both countries and member states to participate in training and workshops that are organized by the RSO and Working Groups Australia and Indonesia managed to enhance their collaboration with technology platforms and associated organizations, which would encourage technological innovation and partnerships.

Australia turned out successful in reaching an agreement with Indonesia and other member countries of the Bali Process, all of whom share similar interests and conflicts within their respective countries. Australia demands strong policies and agreements to tackle illegal immigration, as numerous illegal immigrants remain unaware of the country's strict bans and sanctions, constantly disregarding existing regulations, including the previous initiatives that were made by Australia and Indonesia. In response to the escalating conflict and heightened threats to Australia's national interests, Australia implemented a policy that was unequal towards the Bali Process nations, particularly Indonesia. One of the example is the policy under Tony Abbott's leadership, the Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB) policy and under Prime Minister Scott Morrison with his plan Planning for Australia's Future Population, which created tension between Australia and Indonesia (Hidayanto 2016, 12). Therefore, it was essential for Australia and Indonesia to establish an agreement that utilizes their common interests and addresses existing conflicts through the Bali Process, in order to reduce tensions and prevent additional disputes and losses.

As a result of the agreements reached between Australia and the countries participating in the Bali Process, diplomatic tensions that were caused by illegal immigrants have been reduced and the number of illegal immigrants can be controlled. The creation of a Regional Support Office stands out as the most significant achievement in tackling illegal immigration between Australia and Indonesia. (Participants from Chatham House, In-person interview, 23 June 2025). This agreement enhances Australia's strategy for addressing illegal immigration, particularly concerning those individuals who are comparatively challenging to manage. The Regional Support Office (RSO) facilitates rapid collaboration among countries in case management, training, and policy experimentation.

The improvement of Australia's strategy presents an opportunity to recover its relationship with Indonesia, which has faced challenges. This agreement can be leveraged to strengthen the national interests of both Australia and Indonesia, particularly concerning illegal immigration and transnational crime. Additionally, it allows for the potential expansion of collaboration with the international organizations, private sector, and other nations. The progress report of the Bali Process Government and Business Forum provides evidence of successful cooperation between Australia and Indonesia, alongside the International Organization for Migration (IOM), participation from 52 countries, including observers, as well as over 80 businesses (Bali Process Government and Business Forum 2023).

3.3 A Transaction Between Countries to Fulfill The Agreement

K.J. Holsti (Holsti 1987, 434) states that international cooperation represents a perspective wherein two or more interests, values, or objectives come together to yield outcomes through collaborative engagement, facilitated and realized by the involved parties. The aspirations or expectations of a state are determined through a collective policy with other nations, supported by mutual objectives, values, and agreements in response to prevailing challenges. In addition, in the Vienna Convention Article 2 Paragraph 1 Point (a) of 1986 states:

“An international agreement is a documented accord governed by international law. (i) between multiple nations and one or more international organizations; or (ii) among international organizations, regardless of the name of the various associated instruments constituting the agreement. “

This statement indicates that establishing such agreements requires particular instruments or efforts to guarantee their effectiveness. This aligns with K.J. Holsti's theory, which can be explained by acknowledging that the transactions Holsti refers to in international cooperation can be defined as communication, such as tourism;

dialogue or discussions between nations; actions that can be characterized as program implementation or operational activities; and policies (Holsti 1983, 75). According to Holsti, these trade interactions between nations are carried out to fulfill their agreements, which include the formulation of policies, the implementation of actions, and the maintenance of ongoing communications that can be either official or non-official.

Furthermore, it adheres to the mutual agreements established with member countries of the Bali Process or those associated with it. To establish effective international cooperation, it is essential for one country to engage in transactions with other countries in order to finalize agreed-upon agreements. This approach allows Australia to enhance its strategy in addressing illegal immigration. Essentially, if Australia seeks assistance from other countries, it additionally has to show commitment to fulfilling the agreements that have been established.

The implementation of the agreement involves efforts such as providing financial resources to facilitate joint training and workshops, which are managed by the Regional Support Office (RSO) (The Bali Process 2022). Furthermore, Australia is not only provide workshops and joint training under RSO, but also provided military training delivered to the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) or Indonesian Armed Forces. This training is grounded in mutual interests, regional security, and capacity building. First, the training that focused on the maritime domain aimed to address people smuggling and illegal fishing in the region (Staff government, in-person interview, June 23, 2025). The collaboration between Australian Fisher Management (AFMA) and Task Force 115 has the potential to significantly address issues related to illegal immigration and illegal fishing.

The analysis of the period from 2017 to 2019 reveals that Task Force 115 successfully took 633 vessels engaged in illegal fishing activities in Indonesian waters,

including areas near the Australian border, such as Arafura (Tiaradipa and Hidayatullah 2024, 151). In the subsequent year, 2018 to 2019, the number of vessels traversing the Arafura Sea decreased to only three vessels. However, in 2021, a surge occurred due to COVID-19, prompting Australia and Indonesia to establish an operation named GANNET 5 to identify illicit vessels (Australian Fishers Management Authority 2021). This collaboration responsibly decreases illegal fishing activities and fosters the quick detection of unlawful vessels, strengthened by the patrols carried out by Task Force 115 and AFMA. Upon evaluating the analysis results, it is clear that through collaboration in addressing illegal fishing, Australia has the potential to mitigate criminal activities especially Illegal fishing that is often carried out by illegal immigrants without legal documents and permission and enables Indonesia to swiftly identify and apprehend ships that unlawfully enter its territorial waters.

Other trainings have also been conducted on transnational crime and counter-terrorism, which has helped Indonesia's military and policies to combat smuggling, trafficking, and extremist threats. These training programs are often conducted through Australia's Defence Cooperation Program (DCP), which has a partnership with regional centres, such as the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC) (Staff government, in-person interview, June 23, 2025). In December 2021, there was a terrorist attack that resulted in the deaths of two police officers in Queensland. Every year, Australia experiences terrorist attacks that threaten its national security (Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Centre 2024, 28). Based on the findings of the analysis, Australia must take a proactive approach to the issue of transnational crime that has the potential to influence the country. This is due to the fact that terrorism and other transnational crimes may arise from illegal immigrants or be brought into

Australia by illegal immigrants. Australia's efforts in the strategies are a result of its national interests, which pertain to the safety of its citizens.

Other initiatives to facilitate the agreements established between Australia and Indonesia involves the Acknowledge, Act, Advance (AAA) recommendations. In this instance, Australia and Indonesia collaborated to promote the significance of ethical recruitment, supply chain transparency, and worker redress among major corporations, emphasizing the necessity to acknowledge the severity of the issue, enhance policy and legal frameworks, and pursue enduring initiatives to eradicate transnational crime. The AAA recommendations represent the Bali Process' strategy to mitigate modern slavery perpetrated by illegal immigrants. Moreover, Australia and Indonesia concurred to promote regular meetings through the GABF concerning modern slavery issues associated with major corporations and governments (Bali Process Government and Business Forum 2018). This strategy has led to significant successes for Australia and other countries, contributing to a decrease in transnational crime, shown by the Afghan government's initiative to create millions of jobs within its borders. This has significantly influenced the motives of illegal immigration to Australia. Without this strategy, the widespread existence of modern slavery may result in an increase in the number of illegal immigrants who choose Australia as their destination, as well as Australia's capacity to offer adequate employment opportunities (Bali Process Government and Business Forum 2023)

Another strategy taken by Australia involves collaboration with the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The IOM implements Bali Process initiatives at the local, regional, and national levels within Australia. These initiatives encompass migrant protection services, capacity-building activities, private sector engagement, the development of guidelines, toolkits, and research, thereby facilitating

the application of Bali Process recommendations. (International Organization for Migration (IOM) 2020) Another transaction that Australia and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) have conducted together is the Voluntary Return Support and Reintegration Assistance Program for Bali Process Member States (AVRR BP). Australia has provided financial assistance for the program in order to facilitate this transaction.

Voluntary Returns Support and Reintegration Assistance Program for Bali Process Member States or that is also known as AVRR is a program that provides assistance to migrants and unauthorized immigrants who happened to be denied return to their home country. According to members of the government's staff, the program establishes a multilateral framework that is both practical and effective, and it provides support for initiatives pertaining to law enforcement, prevention, and rehabilitation throughout the region. With the help of this program, 187 migrants were able to go back to their countries from April 2019 and December 2020 (IOM UN Migration 2020). Through this strategy, Australia has the opportunity to minimize the influx of immigrants while ensuring that Indonesia, the transit country, remains unaffected. By providing financial support, Australia can facilitate illegal immigrants' return to their origin countries, thereby preventing any issues that might threaten the stability of its national interests. Nevertheless, this approach is applicable only to certain immigrants who have registered to the program, as others illegal immigrants arrive through different pathways or through the transnational crime, causing Australia to implement alternative strategies such as those previously explained, the Acknowledge, Act, Advance (AAA), the training with Indonesia's military, and other kinds of strategies for transactions.

Australia's strategy for finalizing the agreement, particularly in the formation of transactions through technical, tangible, and financial aspects, demonstrates a strategic commitment to addressing illegal immigration and transnational crime that poses a threat to the nation. An agreement will lead to no results without the necessary effort for its implementation. This applies to the agreement established in the Bali Process; its success depends on the commitment and actions taken by the participating countries.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusions

Australia faces ongoing challenges related to illegal immigration, particularly as Indonesia serves as a transit point for individuals seeking to reach Australia. This situation has adverse consequences, including human trafficking, unauthorised travel of individuals, and organized international crime syndicates. Australia and Indonesia have collaborated to address the illegal immigration matter in 2002 through the initiation of the Bali Process. This cooperation is aimed at preventing and resolving this challenge.

K. J. Holsti claims that successful international cooperation is determined upon several core elements: shared interests, values related in the cooperation, the objectives underlying its establishment, designed policy to assist the objectives, agreements through meetings regarding the future agenda, agreement between the two states to capitalize on their similarities and conflicts of interest, the transactions to fulfill its agreements. Here the table of the result that have been analyzed for this study :

Table 3

Australia's Strategies with Indonesia through The Bali Process based on International Cooperation Theory

No.	K.J Holsti Theory	Result of the analysis
1.	Interests, values, and Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To establish beneficial international cooperation, a state must share common interests, values, and goals with other countries.• Illegal immigrants pose threats to several of Australia's national interests, including geographical, socio-cultural, political aspects, and humanitarian values—many of which align with Indonesia's interests which they wants to enhance their bargaining power in Indopasific area.• Australia is committed to the principles of a rules-based international order, which it believes fosters political stability

No.	K.J Holsti Theory	Result of the analysis
		<p>and prosperity. In addition, Australia collaborates with Indonesia through the Bali Process, upholding the principles of burden sharing and collective responsibility—principles that guide both nations toward achieving justice.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia also shares long-term objectives with the Bali Process and Indonesia in addressing illegal immigration, while simultaneously aiming to implement strong legislative and domestic policy measures and enhance regional cooperation.
2.	Designed policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bali Process, operating as a non-binding forum for dialogue, requires the development of policies that facilitate cooperation between Australia and Indonesia. • This policy appears as mechanisms designed to guide cooperation and establish a framework for future actions. • The policies include the Steering Group, Ad Hoc Group Meetings, Regional Cooperation Framework, and the Consultation Mechanism. • The policy helps Australia to swiftly address the issue and facilitates the identification of essential preventative actions.
3.	Agreements between two or more countries to capitalize on their similarities and conflicts of interest.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most important consideration in assessing the agreement between Australia and Indonesia is the alignment of mutual interests. • Conflicts that are interconnected also serve as important factors in shaping agreements, including conflicts over borders, the lack of legal authority concerning illegal immigrants, an imbalanced number of challenges, differences in national policies, the unequal responsibilities, and the rise of modern slavery. • To solve these issues, Australia and Indonesia established an agreement comprising Working Groups, Government and Business Forum, Regional Support Office (RSO), and the 2023 Adelaide Strategy for Cooperation.
4.	A transaction between countries to fulfill the agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To fulfill its commitment, Australia made multiple efforts towards Indonesia and the Bali Process countries or can be called a transaction after the agreement. • Transactions includes a range of activities besides financial exchanges, including dialogue, tourism, program creation, and policy development. • These initiatives involve collaborative efforts with Indonesia and the private sector, training aimed at enhancing border security, patrols along the Australia-Indonesia border, and financial assistance for the Bali Process and the return of migrants to their countries of origin. • With the transactions, Australia can successfully manage the large number of illegal immigrants, which had previously been uncontrollable and harmful to the country's interests and stability.

In chapter II, this research analyzed the national interests, values, and objectives of Australia and Indonesia, which are the reasoning behind their collaboration in the Bali Process to acknowledge illegal immigration through the application of international cooperation theory. Although Australia and Indonesia have different national interests, there exists an alignment that can yield positive outcomes for both nations. The route of illegal immigrants who transit in Indonesia and subsequently travel to Australia as their destination country. Indonesia offers a strategic opportunity for collaboration with Australia regarding the management of illegal immigration and addressing the problem of transnational crime.

This applies equally to the values and objectives of both countries. Through the collaboration established by the Bali Process, Australia and Indonesia have the potential to decrease the number of illegal immigrants while maintaining the foundational principles and values that have been upheld previously. Australia emphasizes the importance of a rules-based order, which is essential to its collaboration within the Bali Process. Australia and Indonesia demonstrate the principles of shared burden and joint responsibility, suggesting that countries collaborating must equally share related burdens and responsibilities. In addition, the objectives of the two countries align, which has the effect of enhancing the level of collaboration that exists between Australia and Indonesia.

In chapter III, this research analyzes the reasons behind Australia's improvement of its strategy to combat illegal immigration through the perspective of K.J. Holsti's theory of international cooperation. In chapter III, this research examines the rationale behind Australia's enhanced strategy for addressing illegal immigration through the lens of K.J. Holsti's theory of international cooperation. The author can observe and comprehend why Australia is attempting to bolster its strategy despite

Australia's prior cooperation with Indonesia in the Bali Process by employing three points from K.J Holsti international theory: policies that are designed to support objectives, agreements between two or more countries to capitalize on their shared and conflicting interests, and transactions between countries to fulfill agreements.

The Bali Process serves mainly as a forum for dialogue, which requires the development of policies that enhance cooperation and ensure future agreements between Australia and Indonesia. The policies can be seen by the establishment of the Steering Group, Ad Hoc Group Meeting, and Regional Cooperation Framework (RCF) policies by both countries. The examination of Australia's strategic reinforcement is further strengthened by the conflict that emerged, resulting in an agreement between Australia and Indonesia. This situation leveraged the conflict and shared interests to serve the national interests of both countries. The initial conflict became worse by illegal immigrants who ignored Australian sanctions and policies, Australia's policy which caused tension between Australia and Indonesia relationship, alongside the influx of illegal immigrants because of COVID-19. Australia's strategy will require focused transaction efforts, encompassing financial, technical, and tangible actions, to achieve success.

The findings of this research show that Australia has enhanced its approach to addressing illegal immigration within the Bali Process framework. This improvement is able to be explained by several factors, such as the insufficient reinforcement of foundational elements in the Bali Process, an ongoing increase in the number of conflicts, the disregard shown by illegal immigrants towards the prohibitions and penalties imposed by Australia, and the need for strong implementation of agreements to ensure their effectiveness. Therefore, International Cooperation is an important foundation in understanding the conflict and dynamics of cooperation held in the Bali

Process between Australia and Indonesia, as well as answering the problem formulation regarding Australia's strengthened strategy to combat immigration and security against illegal immigrants through the Bali Process.

4.2 Recommendations

The findings of the research that was carried out using the K.J. Holsti Theory on the cooperation of Australia and Indonesia that is held in the Bali Process give the thought to the idea that both countries have successfully carried out international cooperation. On the other hand, the pilot implementation of policies developed under the Bali Process has predominantly prioritized security concerns, while paying limited attention to humanitarian dimensions. Therefore, it is expected that Australia and other Bali Process member states will place greater emphasis on providing essential support and aid for irregular migrants, adopt more humane approaches, and reinforce human rights standards. Strengthening such cooperation is also anticipated to contribute to a reduction in the number of irregular migrants and transnational crimes, while addressing the root causes of irregular migration.

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