

- Abdulghani, R. (1980). *The Bandung Connection: The Asia Africa Conference in Bandung in 1955*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung
- African Development Bank. (2019, March 4). Korea-Africa economic cooperation, African Development Bank, connect to bridge East Africa's digital divide. African Development Bank. <https://www.afdb.org/fr/news-and-events/korea-africa-economic-cooperation-african-development-bank-connect-to-bridge-east-africas-digital-divide-19058>
- Al-Fadhat, F. (2022). Indonesia's G20 presidency: neoliberal policy and authoritarian tendencies, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 76:6, 617-623, DOI: 10.1080/10357718.2022.2070598
- Alvian, R. A., Putrawidjoyo, A., & Fadhila, Z. (2023) The diversity of solidarity in South-South Cooperation: A case of BAPA+40. Universitas Gadjah Mada
- APHR. (2022, June 9). Southeast Asian mps call Indonesia to give a voice to the Global South at the G20. <https://aseanmp.org/2022/06/09/southeast-asian-mps-call-indonesia-to-give-a-voice-to-the-global-south-at-the-g20/>
- ASEAN. (2022, June 15). ASEAN, Türkiye to strengthen partnership. ASEAN. <https://asean.org/asean-turkiye-to-strengthen-partnership/>
- Atkinson, J. D. (2017). Qualitative Methods. In *Journey into Social Activism: Qualitative Approaches* (pp. 65–98). Fordham University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1hfr0rk.6>
- Azis, A., & Satriawangsa, B. (2024). Dari Recipient to Donor: Indonesia's Motives in Giving Foreign Aid to South Pacific 2015-2023. 10.2991/978-2-38476-236-1\_7.
- Baranyi, S., Feldmann, A. E., & Bernier, L. (2015). Solidarity forever? ABC, ALBA and South–South Cooperation in Haiti. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(1), 162–178. doi:10.1080/01436597.2015.976041
- Behringer, R. M. (2013). The Dynamics of Middlepowermanship. *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 14(11), 13–14.
- Bellur, P. (2023, February 24). Solidarity. *Global South Studies: A Collective Publication with The Global South*. <https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/key-concepts/solidarity>



- A. (2022). G20 Presidency of Indonesia: Collective and Inclusive Agendas for World Development. *International Journal of Technology*. Volume 13(1), pp. 1-4
- Berg, B. L., & Lune, H. (2014). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Cahyadi, A., & Magda, R. (2021). Digital leadership in the economies of the G20 countries: A secondary research. *Economies*, 9(1), 32. <https://doi.org/10.3390/economies9010032>
- Ciuriak, D., & Ptashkina, M. (2019). Leveraging the Digital Transformation for Development: A Global South Strategy for the Data-driven Economy. Centre for International Governance Innovation. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep21057>
- Cooper, A.F. (1997). Niche Diplomacy: A Conceptual Overview. In: Cooper, A.F. (eds) *Niche Diplomacy. Studies in Diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-25902-1\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-25902-1_1)
- Cooper, A. F. & Mo, J. (2013). Middle Power Leadership and the Evolution of the G20. *Global Summitry Journal*. 1. 10.7871/2291-4110.1001.
- Debates, R. (2018, May 4). Pan Africa e-network: India's Africa outreach. Observer Research Foundation. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/pan-africa-e-network-indias-africa-outreach>
- Devermont, J., & Harris, M. (2021, June 9). Digital Africa: Leveling up through governance and trade. Center for Strategic and International Studies. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/digital-africa-leveling-through-governance-and-trade>
- Dorigné-Thomson, C. (2021). Indonesia's African foreign policy shift under President Jokowi. *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 4(3), 36-46. <https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1991.04.03.301>
- Ekon. (2021, August 11). Menelisik Kembali Troika Dan Sejarah presidensi G20. Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian. <https://ekon.go.id/publikasi/detail/3207/menelisik-kembali-troika-dan-sejarah-presidensi-g20>
- Engel, S. (2019). South–South Cooperation in Southeast Asia: Dari Bandung and Solidarity to Norms and Rivalry. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 38(2), 218-242. [doi.org/10.1177/1868103419840456](https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103419840456)



Engel, S. (2017). 6. South-South Cooperation Strategies in Indonesia Domestic and International Drivers. *African-Asian Encounters*, 155–182. doi:10.1515/9789048534913-008

Gallie, W. B. (1956) Essentially contested concepts. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society New Series*. 56: 167–198

Ghiasy, R., & Krishnamurthy, R. (2021, April 13). China's Digital Silk Road and the global digital order. *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/04/chinas-digital-silk-road-and-the-global-digital-order/>

Hicks, J. (2021) A 'data realm' for the Global South? Evidence dari Indonesia, *Third World Quarterly*, 42:7, 1417-1435, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2021.1901570

Heeks, R., Foster, C., Gao, P., Han, X., Jepson, N., Schindler, S., & Zhou, Q. (2024). China's digital expansion in the Global South: Special issue introduction. *The Information Society*, 40(2), 65–68. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/10.1080/01972243.2024.2315868>

Hutabarat, L. (2023). Indonesian diplomacy of south-south cooperation to achieve sustainable development goals 2030. *Sociae Polites*, 23(2), 140–151. <https://doi.org/10.33541/sp.v23i2.4446>

Johnson, J. B., Reynolds, H. T., & Mycoff, J. D. (2019). The Building Blocks of Social Scientific Research: Hypotheses, Concepts, and Variables. In *9<sup>th</sup> Edition Political Science Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Jokela, J. (2011). THE G-20: A PATHWAY TO EFFECTIVE MULTILATERALISM? *European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)*. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep07003>

Kapeller, J., & Wolkenstein, F. (2013). The grounds of solidarity. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 16(4), 476–491. doi:10.1177/1368431013479689

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2021). Policy Brief: Refleksi Satu Dekade Kerja Sama Selatan-Selatan Indonesia. In *Badan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri (Vol. 6)*. Jakarta. Diakses dari <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9LYWppYW>



Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2023, July 13). ASEAN-Korea partnership vital for regional digital transformation. Kemlu. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/4962/berita/asean-korea-partnership-vital-for-regional-digital-transformation>

Kominfo. (2021, December 10). Connectivity, digital literacy, and data flow as Indonesia's priority issues in the G20 Digital Economy Working Group. Kominfo. Diakses dari [https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/38652/siaran-pers-no-438hmkominfo122021-tentang-connectivity-digital-literacy-and-data-flow-as-indonesias-priority-issues-in-the-g20-digital-economy-working-group/0/siaran\\_pers](https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/38652/siaran-pers-no-438hmkominfo122021-tentang-connectivity-digital-literacy-and-data-flow-as-indonesias-priority-issues-in-the-g20-digital-economy-working-group/0/siaran_pers)

Kloke-Lesch, A., & Gleichmann, C. (2010). Global development beyond the North-South paradigm. In G20 and global development: How can the new summit architecture promote pro-poor growth and sustainability? German Development Institute. [https://www.idos-research.de/fileadmin/migratedNewsAssets/Files/E-Publication\\_G20.pdf](https://www.idos-research.de/fileadmin/migratedNewsAssets/Files/E-Publication_G20.pdf)

Kulik, L. (2021, May 28). Russia and India: Natural partners in building a digital world. Russian International Affairs Council. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/russia-and-india-natural-partners-in-building-a-digital-world/>

Larionova M. (2023) The G20 at a Critical Juncture. Indonesia's 2022 Presidency: Internal and External Shocks, Risks of Power Rebalancing and Eventual Demise, Causes of Resilience and Re-Equilibrium. *International Organisations Research Journal*, vol. 18, no 1, pp. 33–74 (in English). doi:10.17323/1996-7845-2023-01-02

Lim, M., & Wei, S. C. (2023, January 27). The growing digital economy in a COVID-19 world: Opportunities, challenges and solutions. Diakses March 10, 2023, dari <https://accesspartnership.com/the-growing-digital-economy-in-a-covid-19-world-opportunities-challenges-and-solution/>

Lissovlik, Y. (2022, November 21). G20 summit of 2022: Bridging the North-South Divide. Diakses May 15, 2023, dari <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/g20-summit-of-2022-bridging-the-north-south-divide/>



Li, H., & Zhou, T. (2019) Bandung humanism and a new understanding of the Global South: an introduction, *Critical Asian Studies*, 51:2, 141-143, DOI: 10.1080/14672715.2018.1564625

Maupin, J. (2017). Blockchains and the G20: Building an Inclusive, Transparent and Accountable Digital Economy. *Centre for International Governance Innovation*. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05191>

Morillas, P., & Quero, J. 2019. The G20 in Face of Politicization: Avoiding or Embracing Contestation? G20 Insights. Policy Brief. [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/the-g20-in-face-of-politicization-avoiding-or-embracing-contestation/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/the-g20-in-face-of-politicization-avoiding-or-embracing-contestation/).

Morgan, G., & Pulignano, V. (2020). Solidarity at Work: Concepts, Levels and Challenges. *Work, Employment and Society*, 34(1), 18–34. doi:10.1177/0950017019866626

Muhibat, S. (2016). Charting the path to development effectiveness: Indonesia's SSC challenges. In A. Mulakala (Ed.), *Asian approaches to development cooperation: Contemporary Asian perspectives on South–South Cooperation*. Korea: Korean Development Institute and The Asia Foundation.

Mukhopadhyay, A. (2022). India's Lines of Credit in Africa: Enhancing Development Partnerships. *Development Policy Review*, 40(2), 287-305.

Nainggolan, E. (2020). *UMKM Bangkit, Ekonomi Indonesia Terungkit*. [djkn.kemenkeu.go.id](http://djkn.kemenkeu.go.id). Diakses 29 October 2021, dari <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/artikel/baca/13317/UMKM-Bangkit-Ekonomi-Indonesia-Terungkit.html>.

Organization of Turkic States. (2023, June 21). Secretariat convened next meeting on Digital Economy Partnership Agreement. Organization of Turkic States. [https://www.turkicstates.org/en/haberler/secretariat-convened-next-meeting-on-digital-economy-partnership-agreement\\_2974](https://www.turkicstates.org/en/haberler/secretariat-convened-next-meeting-on-digital-economy-partnership-agreement_2974)

Onuoha, R. (2022, December 2). Africa's leading lights: Regional network readiness for digital transformation. Network Readiness Index. <https://networkreadinessindex.org/africas-leading-lights-regional-network-readiness-for-digital-transformation/>



- Pacific Alliance. (2020, December 11). Declaration on gender equality and the digital market of the bloc concludes the Pacific Alliance Summit. Pacific Alliance. <https://alianzapacifico.net/en/with-declaration-on-gender-equality-and-the-digital-market-of-the-bloc-concludes-the-pacific-alliance-summit/>
- Pacific Alliance. (2018). Pacific Alliance – MERCOSUR. Alianza del Pacífico. <https://alianzapacifico.net/en/pacific-alliance-mercosur/>
- Pandey, P. (2020, November 27). Five nations unite to launch the Digital Cooperation Organization. Forbes Middle East. <https://www.forbesmiddleeast.com/innovation/technology/five-nations-unite-to-launch-the-digital-cooperation-organization>
- Phillips, A. (2016) Beyond Bandung: the 1955 Asian-African Conference and its legacies for international order, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 70:4, 329-341, DOI: 10.1080/10357718.2016.1153600
- Prasidya, T., & Dewi, W. (2023). Digital Economy to Boost Economy Recovery Post-Pandemic: Indonesia's Strategic Position as New Economic Power in Southeast Asia. *Global South Review*. 4. 81. 10.22146/globalsouth.83331.
- Putri, T. E., & Abiyanti, N. N. (2022). Transformasi Digital dalam Agenda G20: Menuju Pembangunan Ekonomi Digital yang Bermakna dan Berkelanjutan. Dalam Winanti, P. S., & Wawan, M. (eds). *G20 di Tengah Perubahan Besar: Momentum Kepemimpinan Global Indonesia?* Gadjah Mada University Press, pp 55-84.
- Rosário AT., & Dias JC. (2023). The New Digital Economy and Sustainability: Challenges and Opportunities. *Sustainability*. 15(14):10902. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su151410902>
- Rosmayati, S. (2023). Tantangan Hukum dan Peran Pemerintah dalam Pembangunan E-commerce. *Cooperative Journal*, 3(1), 9-23. <https://doi.org/10.32670/koaliansi.v3i1.3641>
- Septiari, D. (2020, December 17). Indonesia to send more aid to Pacific nations in diplomatic push. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/12/17/indonesia-to-send-more-aid-to-pacific-nations-in-diplomatic-push.html>



- South Centre, (2009). South-South Cooperation Principles: An Essential Element in South-South Cooperation. Diakses April 8, 2023, dari [https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/South-South-cooperation-Principles\\_EN.pdf](https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/South-South-cooperation-Principles_EN.pdf)
- Sumando, E. (2024, May 27). Indonesia strategically shaping international cooperation through foreign aid. East Asia Forum. <https://doi.org/10.59425/eabc.1716847200>
- Thies, C. G., & Sari, A. C. (2018). A Role Theory Approach to Middle Powers: Making Sense of Indonesia's Place in the International System. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 40(3), 397–421. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26545301>
- Timossi, A.J. (2015) Revisiting the 1955 Bandung Asian-african conference and its legacy, The South Centre. Diakses February 20, 2024, dari <https://www.southcentre.int/question/revisiting-the-1955-bandung-asian-african-conference-and-its-legacy/>
- Reinsch, W., & Caporal, J. (2020). The Digital Economy & Data Governance. In M. P. Goodman & S. Miller (Eds.), *Key Trends in the Global Economy through 2030* (pp. 18–21). *Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26050.6>
- UNCTAD. (2022, September 12). South-South Cooperation offers solutions in Solidarity for Global Challenges. Diakses April 8, 2023, dari <https://unctad.org/news/south-south-cooperation-offers-solutions-solidarity-global-challenges>
- Virgianita, A., Nurwijoyo, A., Agswenko, F. D. P., & Aqilahanif, S. Z. (2023). *Perjalanan Satu Dekade KSS Indonesia: Kontribusi Bagi Tercapainya Pembangunan Berkelanjutan*. UI Publishing.
- Winanti, P. S., & Alvian R, A. (2019). Indonesia's South–South cooperation: when normative and material interests converged, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 21(2), 201–232, doi: 10.1093/irap/lcz021
- Winanti, P. S., & Wawan, M. (2022). *G20 di Tengah Perubahan Besar: Momentum Kepemimpinan Global Indonesia?* Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Xia, L., Baghaie, S., & Sajadi, S. M. (2023). The digital economy: Challenges and opportunities in the new era of technology and electronic communications. *Ain Shams Engineering Journal*. 15. 102411. 10.1016/j.asej.2023.102411.



Sage.

Yuniar, R. W. (2021, December 13). US seeks closer ties with 'key player' Indonesia as Blinken set to make Indo-Pacific speech. Diakses March 24, 2023, dari <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3159560/us-seeks-closer-ties-key-player-indonesia-blinken-set-make-indo>

Yusgiantoro, F. C., & Nasution, N. A. (2023, September 11). ASEAN digital connectivity under Indonesian chairmanship. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/09/11/asean-digital-connectivity-under-indonesian-chairmanship.html>

Zhang J, Zhao W, Cheng B, Li A, Wang Y, Yang N & Tian Y (2022) The Impact of Digital Economy on the Economic Growth and the Development Strategies in the post-COVID-19 Era: Evidence dari Countries Along the "Belt and Road". Front. Public Health 10:856142. doi: 10.3389/fpubh.2022.856142

## Dokumen Laporan

Indonesia G20 Presidency. (2022). G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration. Diakses dari <https://web.kominfo.go.id/sites/default/files/G20%20Bali%20Leaders'%20Declaration,%202015-16%20November%202022,%20incl%20Annex.pdf>.

Indonesia G20 Presidency. (2022). G20 Digital Economy Ministers' Meeting 2022. Diakses dari <https://web.kominfo.go.id/sites/default/files/G20%20DEMM%20Chair%27s%20Summary.pdf>.

Italy G20 Presidency. (2021). G20 Rome Leaders' Declaration. Diakses dari [https://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/G20ROMELEADERSDECLARATION\\_0.pdf](https://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/G20ROMELEADERSDECLARATION_0.pdf).

Italy G20 Presidency. (2021). The Declaration of G20 Digital Ministers. Diakses dari <https://assets.innovazione.gov.it/1628084642-declaration-of-g20-digital-ministers-2021final.pdf>.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2015). Rencana Strategis Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia 2015-2019. Diakses dari <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9BS0lQL0tlbWVudGVyaWFuJTlwTHVhciUyME5lZ2VyaS9UYWh1biUyMDIwMjAvUmVuc3RyYSUyMEtlbWVubHUIWjAyMDIwLTlwMjQucGRm>.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2020). Rencana Strategis Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia 2020-2024. Diakses dari



<https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9BS0lQL0tlbWVudGVyaWFuJTlwTHVhciUyME5lZ2VyaS9UYWh1biUyMDIwMTkvUkVOU1RSQSUyMEtFTUVOTFUIMjAyMDElTIwMTklMjBGSU5BTCUyMERPTkUIMjBTSyUyME1FTkxVJTlwGRmJTlwdmVyc2lubi5wZGY=>.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2020). Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Kerja Sama Teknik Tahun 2020. Diakses dari <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9BS0lQL0RpcmVrdG9yYXQIMjBkZW5kZXJhbCUyMEluZm9ybWFzaSUyMGRhbiUyMERJcGxvbWFzaSUyMFB1Ymtpay8yMDIwL0xLSiUyMEtTVCUyMDIwMjAlMjAtJTlwZGVuZ2FuJTlwGfGlyYW4ucGRm>.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2021). Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional Tahun 2021. Diakses dari <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9BS0lQL0RpcmVrdG9yYXQIMjBkZW5kZXJhbCUyMEluZm9ybWFzaSUyMGRhbiUyMERJcGxvbWFzaSUyMFB1Ymtpay8yMDIxL0xLSiUyMEtTVCUyMDIwMjAlMjByZXlMjBkYW4lMjBMYW1waXJhbi5wZGY=>.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2022). Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional Tahun 2022. Diakses dari <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9BS0lQL0RpcmVrdG9yYXQIMjBkZW5kZXJhbCUyMEluZm9ybWFzaSUyMGRhbiUyMERJcGxvbWFzaSUyMFB1Ymtpay8yMDIyL0xLSiUyMEtTUEkIMjAyMDIyJTlwLSUyMGF1ZGI0ZWQucGRm>.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2023). Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional Tahun 2023. Diakses dari <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGVzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9BS0lQL0RpcmVrdG9yYXQIMjBkZW5kZXJhbCUyMEluZm9ybWFzaSUyMGRhbiUyMERJcGxvbWFzaSUyMFB1Ymtpay8yMDIzL0xLSiUyMEtTUEkIMjAyMDIzJTlwLSUyMGF1ZGI0ZWQucGRm>.

Lembaga Dana Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional. (2020). Laporan Keuangan. Diakses dari <https://ldkpi.kemenkeu.go.id/api/Medias/1bef4ddd-0b8c-49b4-8bd2-ee90b51f8be4>.

Lembaga Dana Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional. (2021). Laporan Keuangan. Diakses dari <https://ldkpi.kemenkeu.go.id/api/Medias/bb90259d-9822-4c46-a1ee-90c4d8931a89>.

Lembaga Dana Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional. (2022). Laporan Keuangan. Diakses dari <https://ldkpi.kemenkeu.go.id/api/Medias/42320726-0473-4ee1-8bd1-350a0b030754>.

Lembaga Dana Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional. (2023). Laporan Keuangan. Diakses dari <https://ldkpi.kemenkeu.go.id/api/Medias/8b36fd4c-ef86-4f80-886f-d2446d7335e1>.



UNIVERSITAS  
**Video: Rilis Pers**

Kemkominfo TV. (2022a). Konferensi Pers DEWG 1st Workshop: Achieving A Resilient Recovery [Video]. YouTube.

[https://www.youtube.com/live/YTQ4jmmwD7s?si=0V32ajhGJ\\_QwWQRZ](https://www.youtube.com/live/YTQ4jmmwD7s?si=0V32ajhGJ_QwWQRZ)

Kemkominfo TV. (2022b). Konferensi Pers: 1st Meeting Digital Economy Working Group G20 2022 [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/live/nEvZruLaQbc?si=AJRoncqFSaMD0TI5>

Kemkominfo TV. (2022c). Press Conference 2nd DEWG Meeting [Video]. YouTube.

<https://youtu.be/qdmTvqEWF6c?si=ahkt2CjOhxtCqBZp>

Kemkominfo TV. (2022d). Konferensi Pers: 3rd Digital Economy Working Group (DEWG) Meeting [Video]. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/live/nytniuRvnZE?si=WW4laQUly9dFMK18>

Kemkominfo TV. (2022e). Live Event - Press Conference DEMM G20 [Video]. YouTube.

<https://youtu.be/jzfx2ehdU?si=aRf5XhHZNkZ9fjNX>