

- Abbott, F. M. (1975). Bargaining Power and Strategy In The Foreign Investment Process: A Current Andean Code Analysis. *Syracuse Journal of International Law and Commerce*, 3(2).
- Abidien, Z. (2012, November 10). *Toyota Tidak Terpengaruh Aksi Buruh*. Tempo. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/440952/toyota-tidak-terpengaruh-aksi-buruh>
- Adiwijaya, S. (2012, November 12). *Toyota Kritik UU Ketenagakerjaan Indonesia*. Tempo. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/441216/toyota-kritik-uu-ketenagakerjaan-indonesia>
- Alviansyah. (2017, June 12). *Perjalanan 40 Tahun Toyota Kijang, Pelopor MPV Hingga Andalan Ekspor*. Antara News. <https://otomotif.antaranews.com/berita/634779/perjalanan-40-tahun-toyota-kijang-pelopor-mpv-hingga-andalan-ekspor>
- Amir, S. (2008). The Engineers Versus the Economists. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 28(4), 316–323. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0270467608319591>
- Anggoro, W. D. (2023, July 13). *Indonesia Invites Japan to Develop EV Ecosystem in Southeast Asia*. IDX Channel. <https://www.idxchannel.com/technology/indonesia-invites-japan-to-develop-ev-ecosystem-in-southeast-asia>
- Anugrah, I. P. (2016). Ersatz Capitalism in Indonesian Automotive Industry during The New Order Era, 1969—1998. *Lembaran Sejarah*, 12(2), 157–178. <https://doi.org/10.22146/lembaran-sejarah.33465>
- Arfani, R. N., & Dewanta, A. S. (2018). Production Shifts and Upgrading in ASEAN Automotive Production Network: Case on Toyota-led Regional Value Chains. *IKAT : The Indonesian Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1(1), 115. <https://doi.org/10.22146/ikat.v1i2.32356>
- Arkyasa, M. (2023, July 21). *Indonesia's Automotive Market Attracts Global Attention as Car Manufacturers Set Sights on The Country's Untapped Potential*. Indonesia Business Post. <https://indonesiabusinesspost.com/risks-opportunities/indonesias-automotive-market-attracts-global-attention-as-car-manufacturers-set-sights-on-the-countrys-untapped-potential/>
- Astra Otoparts. (2024, June 3). *Manufaktur*. Astra Otoparts. <https://www.astra-otoparts.com/PT>
- Bappenas. (2019). Indonesia 2045: Berdaulat, Maju, Adil, dan Makmur. In *Perpustakaan Bappenas*. https://perpustakaan.bappenas.go.id/e-library/file_upload/koleksi/migrasi-

publikasi/file/Policy_Paper/Ringkasan%20Eksekutif%20Visi%20Indonesia%202045_Final.pdf

- Bandyopadhyaya, K. (1977). The Indonesian Economy in Transition: From Guided Economy to New Order. *India Quarterly*, 33(4), 432–453. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45070703>
- BBC Indonesia. (2023a, January 4). *Perppu Cipta Kerja Dinilai Ciptakan “Ketidakpastian Hukum”, Mulai dari Penentuan Upah Minimum hingga Pekerja Alih Daya*. BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c893j8qdwj9o>
- BBC Indonesia. (2023b, October 2). *Omnibus Law: MK Tolak Lima Gugatan Serikat Buruh dan Kukuhkan UU Cipta Kerja, Apa yang Digugat?* BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cn0q33n9p1qo>
- Budiarti, F. T., & Hastiadi, F. F. (2015). Analisis Dampak Indonesia Japan Economic Partnership Agreement terhadap Price-Cost Margins Industri Manufaktur Indonesia. *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Pembangunan Indonesia*, 15(2), 192–209. <https://doi.org/10.21002/jepi.v15i2.06>
- CNN Indonesia. (2023a, February 23). *Toyota Sudah Gelontorkan Rp105 Triliun di Indonesia*. CNN Indonesia: <https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.cnnindonesia.com/otomotif/20230222091506-579-916225/toyota-sudah-gelontorkan-rp105-triliun-di-indonesia&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1706503182951479&usg=AOvVaw0fF14xF-korrUIUppnQ9TO>
- CNN Indonesia. (2023b, April 14). *Toyota Lobi Pemerintah Agar Mobil Hybrid Juga Dapat Subsidi*. CNN Indonesia. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/otomotif/20230412102421-603-936630/toyota-lobi-pemerintah-agar-mobil-hybrid-juga-dapat-subsidi>
- Cochard, F., Van, P. N., & Willinger, M. (2004). Trusting Behavior in a Repeated Investment Game. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 55, 31–44. Elsevier.
- Dal Bó, P. (2005). Cooperation under the Shadow of the Future: Experimental Evidence from Infinitely Repeated Games. *The American Economic Review*, 95(5), 1591–1604. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4132766>
- Detik News. (2012, October 3). *Demo Buruh Bakal Lumpuhkan 80 Kawasan Industri Se-Indonesia*. Detik News. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2053192/demo-buruh-bakal-lumpuhkan-80-kawasan-industri-se-indonesia>

- Domonoske, C. (2023, February 24). *Hybrid Cars Are Still Incredibly Popular, But Are They Good for The Environment?* NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/24/1158306767/prius-toyota-hybrids-electric-car-climate-change>
- Eden, L., Lenway, S., & Schuler, D. A. (2004). *From the Obsolescing Bargain to the Political Bargaining Model*. The Academy of International Business in the session, “International Business & Government Relations in the 21st Century.” [Annual Meeting Paper].
- Eden, L., & Miller, S. R. (2004). Distance Matters: Liability of Foreignness, Institutional Distance and Ownership Strategy. *Advances in International Management*, 16, 187–221. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0747-7929\(04\)16010-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0747-7929(04)16010-1)
- Fauzan, H. A. (2022, August 1). *Historia Bisnis: Astra (ASII) Bangkit dari Kubangan Krisis* 98. *Bisnis*. <https://market.bisnis.com/read/20220801/192/1561397/historia-bisnis-astra-asii-bangkit-dari-kubangan-krisis-98>
- Gaikindo. (2009). *Domestic Motor Vehicle Sales in Indonesia: Jan-Dec 2009*.
- Gaikindo. (2021). *Wholesales-Retail Sales-Production-Export Import By Brand: Jan-Dec 2021*.
- Gaikindo. (2022). *Wholesales-Retail Sales-Production-Export Import By Brand: Jan-Dec 2022*.
- Grosse, R., & Aramburu, D. (1991). A Bargaining View of Government/MNE Relations: The Latin American Case. *The International Trade Journal*, 6(2), 209–238. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08853909108523739>
- Gunawan, H. (2015, January 20). *Toyota: Tenaga Kerja RI Sudah Tidak Murah Lagi*. Kontan. <https://industri.kontan.co.id/news/toyota-tenaga-kerja-ri-sudah-tidak-murah-lagi>
- Hale, C. D. (2001). Indonesia’s National Car Project Revisited. *Asian Survey*, 41(4), 629–645. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2001.41.4.629>
- Halloran, R. (1974, January 16). *Violent Crowds in Jakarta Protest the Visit by Tanaka*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/01/16/archives/violent-crowds-in-jakarta-protest-the-visit-by-tanaka-thousands.html>
- Hardzi, A. A., & Sugito. (2023). Implikasi Foreign Direct Investment Jepang melalui Toyota terhadap Perekonomian Indonesia Periode 2016-2022. *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences*, 6(2), 648–656. <https://doi.org/10.34007/jehss.v6i2.1928>
- Hasiana, D. (2023, March 22). *Perppu Cipta Kerja Disahkan jadi UU, Simak Perbedaannya dengan yang Lama*. Sindo News Ekbis.

<https://ekbis.sindonews.com/read/1053305/33/perppu-cipta-kerja-disahkan-jadi-uu-simak-perbedaannya-dengan-yang-lama-1679465039>

- Ichijo, K. (2005). Rapid Penetration Into The Emerging Markets – The Toyota Way. *The Journal of Europe's Centre for Business Leaders*. Critical EYE. <https://www.criticaleye.com/inspiring/insights-servfile.cfm?id=513>
- Indonesia Investments. (2016, October 17). *New Lifestyles & Trends: What Car Do Indonesian Consumers Want?* Indonesia Investments. <https://www.indonesia-investments.com/culture/culture-columns/new-lifestyles-trends-what-car-do-indonesian-consumers-want/item7276>
- Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement: Joint Study Group Report*. (2005). Japan Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- Junaedi, A. Y. (2004, December 10). *Fleksibilitas Pasar Tenaga Kerja Rugikan Buruh*. Tempo. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/52623/fleksibilitas-pasar-tenaga-kerja-rugikan-buruh>
- Kahfi. (2023, October 30). *65 Tahun Indonesia-Jepang, Industri Otomotif Semakin Matang*. Bisnis. <https://otomotif.bisnis.com/read/20231030/46/1709213/65-tahun-indonesia-jepang-industri-otomotif-semakin-matang>
- Kartasasmita, G. (2020, October 16). *Japan-Indonesia relations: Past, present and future*. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/10/16/japan-indonesia-relations-past-present-and-future.html>
- Kementerian Perindustrian Republik Indonesia. (2014, October 22). *Jalan Panjang Insentif untuk Mobil LCGC*. Situs Resmi Kementerian Perindustrian Republik Indonesia. <https://kemenperin.go.id/artikel/10097/ghs>
- Kurniawan, D. (2021, August 25). *Mengenal Timor S515, Mobil Nasional Murah yang Populer di Akhir 90an*. Tempo. <https://otomotif.tempo.co/read/1498510/mengenal-timor-s515-mobil-nasional-murah-yang-populer-di-akhir-90an>
- Lyon, P. (2024, March 3). *Total EV Adoption Is Not The Way Forward, Says Toyota Chairman*. Forbes. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/peterlyon/2024/03/03/bucking-industry-trend-toyota-chairman-downplays-ev-growth-predictions/?sh=698a095a4621>
- Maesaroh. (2023, August 16). *Berkuasa 9 Tahun, Jokowi Bangun 70% Tol di Indonesia*. CNBC Indonesia. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230815204758-4-463293/berkuasa-9-tahun-jokowi-bangun-70-tol-di-indonesia>
- Mardiansyah, D. (2024, May 3). *Ramai-Ramai Produsen Mobil Henggang, Persaingan Industri Otomotif Indonesia Sengit?* Kontan. <https://industri.kontan.co.id/news/ramai-ramai-produsen-mobil-henggang-persaingan-industri-otomotif-indonesia-sengit>

- Martinez-Diaz, L. (2006). Pathways Through Financial Crisis: Indonesia. *Global Governance*, 12(4), 395–412. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/27800628>
- Medina, A. F. (2023, April 25). *Indonesia's Positive Investment List: Sectors Open to Foreign Businesses*. ASEAN Business News. <https://www.aseanbriefing.com/news/indonesias-positive-investment-list-and-the-sectors-open-restricted-to-foreign-businesses/>
- Moseman, A. (2022, October 13). *Are Electric Vehicles Definitely Better for the Climate than Gas-Powered Cars?* MIT Climate Portal. <https://climate.mit.edu/ask-mit/are-electric-vehicles-definitely-better-climate-gas-powered-cars>
- Muhamad, N. (2023, October 6). *Indonesia, Pasar Mobil Terbesar di Asia Tenggara hingga Agustus 2023*. Databoks. <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/10/06/indonesia-pasar-mobil-terbesar-di-asia-tenggara-hingga-agustus-2023>
- Mustasya, T. (2005). Kebijakan Pasar Tenaga Kerja Fleksibel: Tepatkah Untuk Indonesia Saat Ini? In *The Indonesian Institute: Center for Public Policy Research*. <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/45112-ID-kebijakan-pasar-tenaga-kerja-fleksibel-tepatkah-untuk-indonesia-saat-ini.pdf>
- Niagara, A. P. (2021, April 10). *50 Tahun Toyota Indonesia: Dari Produsen Mobil Bak hingga Elektrifikasi*. Kumparan. <https://kumparan.com/kumparanoto/50-tahun-toyota-indonesia-dari-produsen-mobil-bak-hingga-elektrifikasi-1vWNytyyRX>
- Nkomo, T. (2019). *Analysis of Toyota Motor Corporation* (pp. 1–16). Harvard University. https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/tnkomo/files/analysis_of_toyota.pdf
- Nurhuda, S. F. (2024, March 8). *Pemerintah Mulai Bahas Insentif Mobil Hybrid, Tunggu Tanggal Mainnya!* Detik Oto. <https://oto.detik.com/detikoto/d-7232158/pemerintah-mulai-bahas-insentif-mobil-hybrid-tunggu-tanggal-mainnya>
- Nurmayanti. (2013, October 2). *Presiden Teken Inpres Upah Pekerja, Apa Isinya?* Liputan 6. <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/708535/presiden-teken-inpres-upah-pekerja-apa-isinya>
- Pahwa, N. (2023, January 19). *How the World's Most Valuable Carmaker Fell Perilously Behind on Electric Vehicles*. Slate Magazine. <https://slate.com/business/2023/01/toyota-electric-vehicles-slow-why-hybrid-prius-bz4x-rav4.html>
- Pebrianto, F. (2018, August 7). *Tiga Kasus Sengketa Dagang Indonesia yang Berakhir di Meja WTO*. Tempo. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1114737/tiga-kasus-sengketa-dagang-indonesia-yang-berakhir-di-meja-wto>

Pemerintah Republik Indonesia. (2013). *Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 41 Tahun 2013 Tentang Barang Kena Pajak yang Tergolong Mewah Berupa Kendaraan Bermotor yang Dikenakan Pajak Penjualan atas Barang Mewah.*

Poesoro, A. W. L. (2005). *Membangkitkan Investasi di Indonesia.* The Indonesian Institute: Center for Public Policy Research.

Presiden Republik Indonesia. (1972). *Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 45 Tahun 1972 Tentang Pembinaan Terhadap Sektor Industri Kendaraan Bermotor dan Alat-Alat Besar (Keagenan Tunggal dan Distributor) Assembling dan Manufaktur oleh Menteri Industri.*

Presiden Republik Indonesia. (2019). *Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2019 Tentang Percepatan Program Kendaraan Bermotor Listrik Berbasis Baterai (Battery Electric Vehicle) untuk Transportasi Jalan.*

Priya, A. (2020). Case Study Methodology of Qualitative Research: Key Attributes and Navigating the Conundrums in Its Application. *Sociological Bulletin*, 70(1), 94–110. Sagepub. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0038022920970318>

Priyadi, L., & Takahashi, Y. (2019). The Dynamics of the Toyota-Astra Hybrid Structure Partnership. *Institutions and Economies*, 11(1), 85–122.

Priyantoro, D. D., & Kurniawan, A. (2019, December 6). *Penyebab Banyak Pabrik Otomotif Hengkang dari Indonesia.* Kompas. <https://otomotif.kompas.com/read/2019/12/06/080200815/penyebab-banyak-pabrik-otomotif-hengkang-dari-indonesia>

Purwanto, A. (2021, August 10). *Sejarah, Kebijakan, dan Peta Jalan Industri Otomotif Indonesia.* Kompas. https://www.kompas.id/baca/paparan-topik/2021/08/11/sejarah-kebijakan-dan-peta-jalan-industri-otomotif-indonesia?status=sukses_login&status_login=login&loc=hard_paywall

Purwanto, H. (2012, December 26). *Govt Will Put in Place Low-Cost Green Cars Policy.* Antara News. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/86376/govt-will-put-in-place-low-cost-green-cars-policy>

Riyandanu, M. F. (2023, February 6). *Produsen Jepang Dinilai Hambat Program Kendaraan Listrik RI.* Katadata. <https://katadata.co.id/ekonomi-hijau/energi-baru/63e0b64610682/produsen-jepang-dinilai-hambat-program-kendaraan-listrik-ri>

Salsa. (2022, May 26). *Toyota Hadirkan xEV Center Untuk Memberikan Edukasi Mengenai Kendaraan Elektrifikasi di Indonesia.* Toyota-Astra Motor.

- <https://www.toyota.astra.co.id/toyota-connect/news/toyota-hadirkan-xev-center-untuk-memberikan-edukasi-mengenai-kendaraan-elektifikasi-di-indonesia>
- Sandi, F. (2023, August 8). *Siap-siap, Beli Mobil Hybrid Bakal Disubsidi, Ini Alasannya*. CNBC Indonesia. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230808200731-4-461276/siap-siap-beli-mobil-hybrid-bakal-disubsidi-ini-alasannya>
- Sasmita, I. (2013, September 28). *Mobil Murah Berpotensi Rugikan Pemerintah Rp 10 Triliun*. Republika. <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/mttv3h/mobil-murah-berpotensi-rugikan-pemerintah-rp-10-triliun>
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. (2020, October 20). *Indonesia, Japan Agree to Strengthen Multilateral Cooperation*. Situs Resmi Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. <https://setkab.go.id/en/indonesia-japan-agree-to-strengthen-multilateral-cooperation/>
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. (2023, April 6). *Pemerintah Luncurkan Insentif Pembelian Kendaraan Listrik Roda Empat dan Bus*. Situs Resmi Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. <https://setkab.go.id/pemerintah-luncurkan-insentif-pembelian-kendaraan-listrik-roda-empat-dan-bus/>
- Septiani, & Dwinta, A. (2017). *Perkembangan Industri Otomotif di Indonesia Pasca Realisasi Investasi Jepang dalam Kerangka IJEPA* [Undergraduate Thesis].
- Siribaddana, S. H., & Sumathipala, A. (2003). Qualitative research. *Ceylon Medical Journal*, 48(4). DOI: 10.4038/cmj.v48i4.3332
- Soehartono, H. (2007, November 16). *Toyota Kijang, Indonesia's Unofficial National Car*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSJAK204055/>
- Sudarwan, I. A. (2019, October 21). *Toyota Astra Motor Sambut Positif Pidato Jokowi, Ini Alasannya*. Bisnis. <https://otomotif.bisnis.com/read/20191021/275/1161338/toyota-astra-motor-sambut-positif-pidato-jokowi-ini-alasannya>
- Sulaiman, S., & Shiraki, M. (2022, July 27). *Toyota Plans \$1.8 bln Indonesia Investment to Build Electric Vehicles*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/business/autos-transportation/toyota-plans-18-bln-indonesia-investment-next-5-years-indonesian-govt-2022-07-27/>
- Tai, W.-P. (2014). An Industry without Industrialization: The Political Economy of The Failure of Indonesia's Auto Industry. *JAS (Journal of ASEAN Studies)*, 2(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.21512/jas.v2i1.154>
- Thee, K. W. (2012). *Indonesia's Economy Since Independence* (pp. 67–68). Institute Of Southeast Asian Studies.

https://www.toyota-global.com/company/history_of_toyota/75years/text/leaping_forward_as_a_global_corporation/chapter1/section1/item1.html

Toyota Indonesia. (n.d.-a). *Corporate Milestone*. Toyota Motor Manufacturing Indonesia.

<https://www.toyota.co.id/en/corporate/company-milestone>

Toyota Indonesia. (n.d.-b). *Manufacturing*. Toyota Motor Manufacturing Indonesia.

<https://www.toyota.co.id/manufacturing>

Toyota Indonesia. (n.d.-c). *Toyota Production System*. Toyota Motor Manufacturing Indonesia.

<https://www.toyota.co.id/industrial/tps>

Toyota Indonesia. (2020, June 11). *The Strategic Role of Toyota Indonesia*. Toyota Newsroom.

<https://newsroom.toyota.co.id/en/industry/peran-strategis-indonesia>

Toyota Indonesia. (2021, April 7). *50 Tahun Kehadiran Toyota di Indonesia Membangun Industri, Memajukan Bangsa*. Toyota Newsroom.

<https://newsroom.toyota.co.id/news/50-tahun-kehadiran-toyota-di-indonesia-membangun-industri-memajukan-bangsa-2>

UNFCCC. (2015). *The Paris Agreement*. United Nations Climate Change.

<https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement>

Van Lange, P. A. M., Klapwijk, A., & Van Munster, L. M. (2011). How the shadow of the future might promote cooperation. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(6), 857–870. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211402102>

Vernon, R. (1968). Economic Sovereignty at Bay. *Foreign Affairs*, 47(1), 110. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20039358>

Wahyudi, E. (2023, February 22). *Toyota Bakal Tambah Investasi di RI Senilai Rp27,1 T Hingga 2026*. Fortune Indonesia. <https://www.fortuneidn.com/business/eko-wahyudi/toyota-bakal-tambah-investasi-di-ri-senilai-rp27-1-t-sampai-2026>

Widyanita. (2016, August 10). *Potret, Tantangan dan Peluang Industri Otomotif Indonesia*. Katadata. <https://katadata.co.id/infografik/5e9a56c8550d9/potret-tantangan-dan-peluang-industri-otomotif-indonesia>

Widyastuti, Rr. A. Y. (2021, August 26). *Lika-liku Cerita Perjalanan Mobil Timor dan Tommy Soeharto*. Tempo. https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1498868/lika-liku-cerita-perjalanan-mobil-timor-dan-tommy-soeharto?page_num=2

WTO. (2021). *Indonesia - Autos. In WTO Dispute Settlement*. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/1pagesum_e/ds55sum_e.pdf



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Analisis Political Bargaining Model dalam Upaya Toyota Motor Corporation dan Pemerintah Indonesia

Menjaga Kontinuitas Investasi Sektor Otomotif

SARAH FADILA DINESTININGTYAS, Raras Cahyafitri, S.I.P., M.Sc.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2024 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Yamazaki, M. (2022, June 24). *Exclusive: After Pressure from Toyota Chief, Japan*

Emphasized Support for Hybrids. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/business/autos-transportation/exclusive-japan-emphasised-hybrids-policy-document-after-lawmaker-cited-lobbying-2022-06-24/>

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Sage.