

**PERLAWANAN KORPORASI TRANSNASIONAL TERHADAP REZIM
PENGENDALIAN TEMBAKAU GLOBAL: STUDI KASUS *INTERNATIONAL
COALITION AGAINST PLAIN PACKAGING (ICAPP)***

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ABSTRAK

Selama ini, penelitian mengenai *Transnational Advocacy Networks* (TANs) didominasi oleh analisis tentang pergerakan-pergerakan progresif yang termotivasi oleh *public goods* dan nilai-nilai Hak Asasi Manusia, seolah TANs hanya berhubungan dengan aspek-aspek ideal. Selain itu, literatur yang membahas peran korporasi dan motivasi material di balik pergerakan jaringan serupa masih terbatas pada analisis level domestik. Oleh karenanya, melalui tulisan ini penulis mengangkat studi kasus *International Coalition Against Plain Packaging (ICAPP)* sebagai sebuah TAN beserta keterkaitannya dengan industri tembakau transnasional dalam pergerakan melawan rezim pengendalian tembakau global dan kebijakan *plain packaging*. Berdasarkan riset yang telah dilakukan dan data yang ada, industri tembakau transnasional menyediakan sumber daya material, tetapi mereka juga secara aktif terlibat dalam produksi dan mobilisasi informasi yang digunakan dalam pergerakan jaringan untuk melawan argumen-argumen yang mendukung *plain packaging*. Pihak korporasi juga mendapatkan keuntungan dari kemitraannya dengan berbagai organisasi dan *think tanks* dalam TAN yaitu dapat diatasinya berbagai hambatan akses terhadap arena perumusan kebijakan serta semakin mudahnya mereka untuk mempropagandakan gagasan yang menguntungkan kepentingan mereka. Sehubungan dengan temuan di atas, analisis TANs perlu memberikan perhatian lebih pada keterlibatan dan pengaruh korporasi sebagai *private actor*, menelaah lebih jauh melampaui representasi idealis untuk mempertimbangkan motivasi-motivasi di balik keterlibatan mereka dalam berbagai perdebatan kebijakan global.

Kata Kunci : *Transnational Advocacy Networks*, transnasionalisme, *plain packaging*, industri tembakau, kebijakan pengendalian tembakau



**TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS' RESISTANCE AGAINST GLOBAL
TOBACCO CONTROL REGIME: CASE STUDY INTERNATIONAL COALITION
AGAINST PLAIN PACKAGING (ICAPP)**

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ABSTRACT

All this time, researches on *Transnational Advocacy Networks* (TANs) dominated by analysis about progressive movements motivated by public goods and human rights values, as if TANs seems only related to ideal aspects. Beside that, literature which discusses corporations' role and material motivations behind such network's movements still limited to domestic level analysis. Therefore, through this article the writer presents a case study of *International Coalitions Against Plain Packaging* (ICAPP) as a TAN and its linkages to the transnational tobacco industries in their movement against global tobacco control regime and plain packaging policy. Based on the research that has been done and the existing data, transnational tobacco industries not only providing material resources, but they have also been actively involved in producing and mobilizing the information used by the network to refute the arguments in favor of the plain packaging policy. The corporations also gain a number of benefits from their partnerships with various organizations and think tanks in the network, corporations overcome access barrier to policy formulation arena and also it becomes way easier for them to propagate ideas favorable to their interests. Considering the findings above, analysis of TANs should pay more attentions to corporations' involvement and influence as private actor, explore further beyond idealist representations to consider motivations and motives behind their engagement in many global policy debates.

Keywords : Transnational Advocacy Networks, transnationalism, plain packaging, tobacco industries, tobacco-control policy