

SDG 17 and Indonesia's Diplomacy Development: A Strategic Review

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ABSTRACT: This article discusses Indonesia's international cooperation strategy in achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17, which emphasizes the importance of global partnerships for sustainable development. In this effort, Indonesia has utilized various forms and approaches of cooperation, including development diplomacy, multilateral cooperation, multistakeholder partnerships, and diversified development financing. This article uses a descriptive qualitative approach through a case study of Indonesia and analysis of secondary documents, such as Voluntary National Review (VNR) reports, UNDP documents, and scientific publications. The findings indicate that Indonesia's strategy is systemic and includes soft power diplomacy through South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC), integration of national and global policies, strengthening cross-actor partnerships, and active engagement in regional and international forums. This strategy not only demonstrates Indonesia's commitment to the SDGs but also strengthens its role and influence as a global development actor. This article makes a conceptual contribution to the study of international relations and sustainable development in developing countries.

KEYWORDS: SDG 17, international cooperation, development diplomacy, multistakeholder partnerships, Indonesia, SSTC

INTRODUCTION

The SDGs have become a normative reference in the formulation of national and international policies. Many countries have integrated the SDGs into their medium- and long-term development plans, including Indonesia through the document RPJMN (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional/National Medium-Term Development Plan)). In addition, the SDGs provide legitimacy for various non-state actors (such as NGOs, the private sector, and academics) to be actively involved in the development process, creating multi-stakeholder governance. (Kanie & Biermann, 2017).

The SDGs have become a key part of global diplomacy and multilateral forums. Countries use the SDGs to build international partnerships, strengthen soft power, and demonstrate their commitment to sustainable global governance. According to Kaul (2013), agendas such as the SDGs create "global public goods" that cannot be produced unilaterally by one country, but through collective action.

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17, entitled "Partnerships for the Goals," occupies a strategic position as a supporting pillar for all goals in the sustainable development agenda. This goal emphasizes the importance of global partnerships in finance, technology, institutional capacity, trade, and monitoring and data systems to support the achievement of the other 16 SDGs. Without close and synergistic collaboration among countries, institutions, the private sector, and civil society, achieving sustainable and inclusive development will be difficult.

SDG 17 acts as a catalyst because it provides the main prerequisites for implementing other development agendas, namely resource support and synergy between actors. Sachs et al. (2016) emphasize that without strengthened international cooperation—whether in the form of official development assistance (ODA), technology transfer, or institutional capacity building—developing countries will struggle to achieve the SDGs. In other words, SDG 17 is not merely a complement, but a key driving force behind the overall global development architecture.

Partnerships in SDG 17 encompass not only relationships between countries, but also involve non-state actors such as NGOs, the private sector, universities, and multilateral and regional organizations. The concept of multi-stakeholder partnerships (MSPs) is a central element in the SDG 17 approach. According to Pattberg & Widerberg (2016), MSPs enable the sharing of responsibilities, resources, and expertise, thereby increasing the effectiveness and sustainability of SDG implementation.

Despite its importance, the implementation of SDG 17 faces several challenges, such as power imbalances in negotiations, a lack of transparency in partnerships, and the dominance of certain actors, which can lead to non-inclusive partnerships (Biermann

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et al., 2017). Therefore, it is crucial to promote equitable partnerships based on the principles of mutual respect, shared responsibility, and local ownership.

Indonesia occupies a strategic position in global development diplomacy as the largest developing country in Southeast Asia, a member of the G20, and the world's third-largest democracy. As a middle power, Indonesia plays a crucial role in promoting more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable global governance. In the context of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Indonesia is not only a beneficiary of development cooperation but also a contributor of experience, ideas, and alternative development models for other developing countries.

One of Indonesia's important contributions to development diplomacy is through South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC). Through institutions such as the Indonesian Agency for International Development (AID), Indonesia has provided technical assistance, training, and experience exchange to more than 130 developing countries. This strategy strengthens solidarity in the Global South and demonstrates Indonesia's ability to become an emerging donor that strengthens global development governance (Soesastro & Atje, 2005).

Indonesia's development diplomacy is part of a soft power strategy aimed at strengthening its international image and forging strategic alliances based on solidarity. According to Anwar (2010), Indonesia's diplomatic strength lies in its ability to combine the principle of non-intervention with a moderate, collaborative, and solution-oriented approach. This has earned Indonesia the trust of a bridge between the North and the South, as well as between developed and developing countries.

Despite demonstrating strong commitment, Indonesia still faces challenges such as limited overseas development budgets, lack of inter-agency coordination, and the need to harmonize global development data and indicators. However, opportunities to expand the influence of development diplomacy remain significant, as the need for inclusive and contextualized global partnerships grows.

Previous studies based on bibliometric datasets with 597 publications on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) related to Indonesia during the period 2016-2025 (Scopus), show a rapidly increasing publication trend, especially peaking in 2024 with 193 publications, this indicates that interest and urgency of research on the topic of SDGs in Indonesia is very strong and continues to grow. The main research topics that emerged revolve around keywords such as sustainable, Indonesia, development, goals, SDGs, and sustainability, indicating a strong focus towards achieving sustainable development goals and related issues in Indonesia.

Based on this data, there are still research opportunities on emerging topics that are rarely discussed, such as accountability, access, adoption, alignment, augmented analytics, aquaculture, architecture, autonomous systems, and others. Focusing on the Indonesian context is more important. Many studies focus on macro aspects, while more in-depth research on local culture, traditional practices, and specific adaptations to the SDGs in the regions is still limited.

Although Indonesia has demonstrated a strong commitment to supporting the 2030 Agenda through development diplomacy and international cooperation, particularly in South-South Cooperation and multilateral forums such as the G20 and ASEAN, academic studies on the effectiveness of Indonesia's contribution to SDG 17 remain very limited. Most of the literature focuses on general foreign policy or economic diplomacy, but not much specifically evaluates how Indonesia's international partnerships contribute significantly to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goal 17: Partnerships for the Goals. This creates a significant research gap and opens opportunities to present new perspectives on Indonesia's role as a global development actor and the leverage of partnerships in promoting the success of the SDGs in a systemic and measurable manner.

As Indonesia's role in global development diplomacy, particularly through international cooperation and the South-South Partnership, SDG 17 should be a key indicator for assessing the effectiveness of Indonesia's contributions to promoting sustainable development. However, to date, studies that systematically assess how and to what extent Indonesia's international partnerships directly impact the achievement of SDG 17 are still very limited. Existing research is generally descriptive, focusing on policy narratives, without critically evaluating the quality, sustainability, and relevance of partnerships in the context of global transformation.

This gap is crucial to fill because SDG 17 serves as a driving force for all other SDGs. Without effective and strategic global partnerships, the achievement of the other 16 goals will be hampered. Therefore, a study is needed to assess the effectiveness, challenges, and potential for optimizing Indonesia's international cooperation in supporting SDG 17, both in terms of policy, diplomacy, and implementation on the ground. Therefore, this study aims to analyze in-depth Indonesia's international cooperation strategy in supporting the achievement of SDG 17.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Regime Theory

The genealogy of regime theory is inextricably linked to criticism of classical realism, which was pessimistic about the prospects for interstate cooperation because it viewed states as rational actors pursuing their national interests in conditions of international anarchy (Morgenthau, 1948). Within this framework, long-term cooperation was considered difficult to achieve. However, liberal thinkers rejected this view, arguing that cooperation could be built through international institutions and complex interdependencies

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(Keohane & Nye, 1977). This is where regime theory emerged as an analytical tool for understanding why and how states form cooperative patterns in specific areas such as trade, the environment, security, and development.

The concept of "international regime" has become widely known since it was popularized by Stephen D. Krasner (1983) in his book "International Regimes". He defined a regime as: "*sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations*" (Krasner, 1983:2). Krasner brings together perspectives from various schools of thought—realist, liberal, and structuralist—to discuss the existence and dynamics of international regimes. Within this framework, regimes are seen as institutional mechanisms that enable states to coordinate their interests and reduce uncertainty in international relations.

Regime theory was further developed by Robert O. Keohane in his book "After Hegemony" (1984). He proposed that international regimes can survive even without hegemony, because states have a long-term interest in stability and transparency in cooperation. Keohane stated: "Institutions reduce transaction costs, provide information, and make commitments more credible." (Keohane, 1984). In other words, international institutions and regimes facilitate cooperation by providing a stable regulatory framework. This is a key point of Neoliberal Institutionalism, which believes that even though states remain rational and self-interested, cooperation can still be achieved functionally through interconnected institutions.

Regime theory has also become a point of debate between realism and liberalism. Structural realists, such as Joseph Grieco (1988), argue that states care not only about absolute gains but also about relative gains—what other states gain. This makes cooperation vulnerable to power competition. Meanwhile, constructivist approaches (e.g., Alexander Wendt, 1992) criticize regime theory for being too materialistic and failing to consider the importance of identity, social norms, and intersubjective processes in shaping regimes. In this context, regimes are viewed not only as the result of rational interests but also as the result of social construction between states.

In the context of globalization and global governance, regime theory has expanded. Not only states, but also non-state actors such as international organizations, NGOs, and transnational corporations now play a role in shaping and maintaining regimes. An example of this can be found in the sustainable development regime institutionalized through the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs, including SDG 17. Here, cooperation is not solely carried out by states but also involves multi-stakeholder partnerships. (Bexell, Tallberg & Uhlin, 2010).

Regime theory developed in response to the challenges of anarchy in the international system, emphasizing the importance of norms and institutions in facilitating cooperation between states. Initially influenced by liberal thought, it has been criticized by realism and constructivism. This theory remains relevant in understanding the dynamics of global regimes, such as development cooperation within the SDGs framework, which is the primary focus of this research.

International regime theory serves as the primary foundation for this research because it explains how countries, including Indonesia, participate in international cooperation through a system of globally agreed-upon rules and norms. According to Krasner (1983), an international regime is "a set of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a particular field." In the context of SDG 17, the 2030 Agenda and multilateral forums such as the High-Level Political Forum and the G20 are part of the global development regime.

This regime serves as a coordinating instrument that enables international partnerships across countries and sectors. Indonesia's participation in these forums reflects active participation in the global regime structure and reflects how Indonesia interprets its role as a developing country oriented towards sustainable development.

International Cooperation and Development Diplomacy

The theory of international cooperation began to be formalized in works such as Axelrod's (1984) *The Evolution of Cooperation*, which explains that cooperation can emerge even in anarchic situations through incentive and reputation mechanisms in iterated games. Meanwhile, Keohane's (1984) *After Hegemony* emphasizes that international institutions function: "to reduce transaction costs, facilitate information-sharing, and create expectations of reciprocity." Thus, liberal cooperation theory believes that states can cooperate rationally if there are mechanisms that minimize uncertainty and enable transparency.

In the context of global development, international cooperation has transformed into what is known as development diplomacy—a state's efforts to build external relations focused on poverty alleviation, capacity building, and technology transfer.

Development diplomacy emerged in response to criticism of the post-colonial development architecture, which was considered paternalistic. Developing countries then established South–South Cooperation (SSC) as a form of horizontal solidarity based on shared experiences and the principle of equality (UNOSSC, 2022). In this context, development diplomacy is no longer simply about allocating funds or technical assistance, but also about foreign policy strategies that demonstrate a country's position, identity, and international solidarity.

Globalization, the climate crisis, and sustainable development agendas such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have increasingly integrated international cooperation and development diplomacy. Countries are viewed not merely as recipients of aid but as cooperative partners within an interdependent global framework. Concepts such as mutual accountability, ownership, and policy coherence for development have become new principles adopted in international cooperation.

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In this regard, Indonesia serves as an example of a developing country implementing proactive development diplomacy, through institutions like Indonesian AID, participation in the G20, and contributions to South-South cooperation. This approach represents a paradigm shift from dependency to strategic partnership in the global development architecture.

Multistakeholder Partnership (MSP)

The concept of Multistakeholder Partnership (MSP) is rooted in the transformation of the global development paradigm that occurred since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. This conference became the initial milestone in the emergence of the idea that global development issues cannot be handled by countries alone, but rather require collaboration between countries, the private sector, civil society, and international institutions.

During the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000–2015), although the development approach remained top-down and state-centric, recognition of the importance of cross-actor partnerships began to emerge. However, during this period, the role of non-state actors remained limited and poorly institutionalized. (Fukuda-Parr, 2010).

A major leap in the recognition and institutionalization of MSP occurred with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs by the UN in 2015. This is where MSP was explicitly included as part of the global goals, specifically in SDG 17.16: Enhance the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships and SDG 17.17: Encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships. In other words, MSP is not only considered a complementary instrument, but also a key pillar of SDG implementation. This approach assumes that inclusive, adaptive, and sustainable development requires shared responsibility from various sectors.

Since 2015, the MSP within the SDGs framework has developed based on the following principles:

1. Inclusiveness: the involvement of all stakeholders, especially those directly impacted by development policies;
2. Cross-sector coordination: combining resources and knowledge from the public, private, and community sectors;
3. Shared accountability: all partners share responsibilities, benefits, and risks transparently;
4. Contextual flexibility: partnerships are tailored to local social, economic, and political conditions. Model ini juga mendorong pendekatan *co-creation* dalam penyusunan kebijakan dan program, serta memperluas cakupan aktor dalam tata kelola pembangunan.

Globally, since 2015, various MSP initiatives have emerged to support the implementation of the SDGs, including:

1. Partnerships for SDGs Platform (UN DESA) – an online platform that records thousands of MSPs from around the world.
2. Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (GPEDC) – a global forum that promotes the principles of inclusive and effective partnerships.
3. High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) – a platform for reporting and sharing MSP best practices between countries.

The MSP is also increasingly integrated with innovative funding mechanisms, such as blended finance, impact investing, and collaborative digital platforms.

Based on these theories and concepts, it can be theoretically stated that: The existence of international regimes (normative and structural inputs) shapes Indonesia's strategies and cooperation models (policy responses), which ultimately impacts the effectiveness of Indonesia's contribution to SDG 17 indicators (empirical outputs).

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach that aims to describe and understand in depth the phenomenon of Indonesia's international cooperation in supporting the achievement of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17: Partnerships for the Goals. This approach was chosen because the focus of the research is not on statistical measurements, but rather on interpreting the meaning, strategies, and context behind Indonesia's development diplomacy and global partnership practices. As expressed by Creswell (2013), qualitative research is suitable for exploring complex phenomena related to policies and relationships between actors.

This research applies a case study approach to contextually and in-depth examine Indonesia's international development cooperation practices. The case study allows researchers to analyze Indonesia's involvement in various international forums, the implementation of South-South Cooperation, and its concrete contributions to SDG 17 indicators. According to Yin (2018), a case study approach is appropriate when the focus of the research is the "how" and "why" of a phenomenon in a real-world context.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Forms and Strategies of Indonesia's International Cooperation in Achieving SDG 17

In the context of achieving Sustainable Development Goal 17 (SDG 17), Indonesia has demonstrated a strong commitment through various forms of international cooperation that reflect a collaborative approach and development diplomacy. This chapter discusses these forms of cooperation, including: (1) South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC), (2) Multilateral and Regional Partnerships, and (3) Partnerships with International Organizations and Development Partners.

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South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC)

Sustainable Development Goal 17 (SDG 17) emphasizes the importance of revitalizing the global partnership for sustainable development, through cooperation across countries, sectors, and development actors. One form of cooperation explicitly accommodated in SDG 17 is South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC), which is considered a strategic approach to strengthening solidarity among developing countries and building collective capacity in support of the 2030 Agenda. (UN, 2015; UNOSSC, 2019).

In this context, Indonesia is a pioneering country and an active actor in the implementation of the SSTC. Since the era of the Asia-Africa Conference (1955), Indonesia has positioned itself as part of the Global South solidarity movement and continues to strengthen this role through inclusive development diplomacy policies. The SSTC is not only part of Indonesia's foreign policy but also a key instrument in the implementation of SDG 17, specifically target 17.9 (strengthening national capacity through international cooperation), target 17.6 (strengthening science and technology), and target 17.16 (developing multistakeholder partnerships).

Indonesia's implementation of the SSTC takes various forms. One strategic achievement was the establishment of the Fund for International Development Cooperation (Indonesian AID) in 2019. This institution serves as the primary institution for channeling technical and development assistance to partner countries, while strengthening Indonesia's role as a provider of development solutions. By 2023, Indonesian AID had supported more than 50 collaborative programs with countries in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific in the fields of agriculture, education, health, disaster resilience, and digital government. (Indonesian AID, 2023).

In addition, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs consistently organizes various training and capacity-building programs for developing countries. Examples include disaster management training programs for ASEAN and African countries, as well as technical cooperation in agriculture and digitalization with Pacific and South Asian countries. This form of cooperation is often combined with a triangular cooperation approach, involving traditional donor countries or multilateral institutions such as JICA, KOICA, UNDP, and GIZ as technical or financial partners. (OECD, 2021).

The SSTC holds strategic significance for Indonesia in strengthening its soft power projection, building legitimacy as a global development actor, and demonstrating leadership in a more just and inclusive development architecture. The SSTC also reflects the core values of Indonesia's foreign policy, such as solidarity, independence, mutual respect, and equitable development.

Overall, the SSTC not only reflects Indonesia's commitment to SDG 17 but also serves as a concrete means of strengthening Indonesia's role as a bridge between developing and developed countries in the global system. The SSTC emphasizes that development cooperation is not merely about aid flows, but about sharing knowledge, experience, and collective responsibility for the future of global development.

Multilateral and Regional Partnerships as a Form of Indonesia's International Cooperation in Achieving SDG 17

Sustainable Development Goal 17 emphasizes the importance of strengthening inclusive and effective global partnerships to support the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. One of the key strategies in achieving SDG 17 is through the active participation of countries in multilateral and regional partnerships, which enable synergy between countries, international organizations, and global financial institutions in supporting sustainable development in a collective and structured manner. (United Nations, 2015).

Multilateral and regional partnerships serve as strategic platforms for sharing resources, technology, funding, and mutually supportive development policies among countries. Through these forums, countries like Indonesia can voice their national interests at the global level, build consensus on sustainable development issues, access technical, financial, and institutional support, and influence global norms and policies within the SDGs framework.

For Indonesia, cooperation in the multilateral and regional spheres is a concrete form of commitment to SDG 17, particularly in meeting targets 17.16 (strengthening global partnerships) and 17.17 (effective, inclusive, and mutually beneficial partnerships), as follows:

1. **Active Participation in the G20 and G7+**
Indonesia plays a significant role in the G20 forum, particularly since its presidency in 2022, which adopted the theme "Recover Together, Recover Stronger." Issues such as financial inclusion, energy transition, and sustainable development are Indonesia's priorities in strengthening global development partnerships (G20 Indonesia, 2022). Indonesia is also involved in the G7+ to promote development stability in vulnerable countries.
2. **ASEAN and the Southeast Asian Regional Mechanism**
Through ASEAN, Indonesia promotes inclusive and sustainable regional development integration. The implementation of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 is directly aligned with the 2030 Agenda, and Indonesia plays an active role in aligning SDG indicators with the ASEAN SDG Indicators framework. Indonesia also hosts the ASEAN Centre for Sustainable Development Studies and Dialogue (ACSDDSD), a regional center for sustainable development studies.
3. **Participation in the UN System**
Indonesia is an active contributor to various UN agencies such as UNDP, UNEP, UNESCAP, and UN-Habitat. This collaboration is realized through Voluntary National Review (VNR) reporting, participation in the High-Level Political

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Forum (HLPF), and the implementation of SDG-based development projects, particularly those of a cross-border and regional scale.

4. Collaboration with Multilateral Institutions and Development Partners

Indonesia has established strategic partnerships with institutions such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the OECD, and the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB). In the context of SDG 17, these institutions support various national initiatives such as SDG financing (blended finance, SDGs Indonesia One), institutional capacity building, and development governance reform.

Partnerships with International Organizations and Development Partners

SDG 17 emphasizes strengthening the means of implementation and revitalizing the global partnership for sustainable development. One key form of this partnership is collaboration between national governments and international organizations and development partners, including donor countries, UN agencies, multilateral development institutions, and regional and global organizations.

These partnerships play a crucial role in supporting the achievement of the SDGs, including technology transfer, development financing, institutional capacity building, and evidence-based policy formulation. In the Indonesian context, collaboration with development partners is a strategic part of mainstreaming the SDGs into national and local development planning, encompassing areas such as:

1. **Strategic Partnerships with UN Agencies.** Indonesia maintains close relationships with various UN agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, UNEP, FAO, UN Women, and ILO. This collaboration includes technical assistance, SDG policy development, field program implementation, and Voluntary National Review (VNR) reporting. For example, the Indonesia-UNDP collaboration in establishing the SDGs Financing Hub and developing the Integrated National Financing Framework (INFF) to sustainably fund the SDGs agenda (UNDP Indonesia, 2022).
2. **Bilateral Development Cooperation.** Indonesia also partners with donor countries such as: JICA (Japan): sustainable infrastructure and disaster resilience projects; KOICA (South Korea): human resource development and digital transformation; USAID (USA): education, environment, health, and governance; and GIZ (Germany): renewable energy and governance. These partnerships include expertise transfer, technical assistance, grants, and development investments that directly support SDG target 17.
3. **Multilateral and Financial Institutions.** Indonesia collaborates closely with the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB) in providing financing for sustainable development. This includes the collaboration between Bappenas and ADB in establishing SDG Indonesia One, an integrated funding platform for SDG projects in clean energy, clean water, and environmentally friendly transportation (Bappenas, 2021).
4. **Development Partner Coordination Forum.** Indonesia initiated the establishment of multi-stakeholder forums such as the SDGs Development Partners Coordination Forum, the SDGs Corporate Platform (with the private sector), and the Civil Society Coalition for the SDGs. These forums serve to strengthen coordination, program harmonization, and collaboration based on inclusive and transparent principles.

Indonesia's partnerships with development partners directly contribute to several key targets of SDG 17, including: 17.3 – Mobilization of international financial resources for developing countries, 17.9 – Support for national capacity building, 17.16 – Inclusive and collaborative global partnerships, and 17.17 – Encouraging public-private and civil society partnerships. With this partnership structure, Indonesia demonstrates that the SDGs cannot be achieved through domestic efforts alone but rather require collaboration across countries and global institutions.

Indonesia's Strategic Framework for International Cooperation in Achieving SDG 17

Sustainable Development Goal 17 (SDG 17) emphasizes the importance of building strong, inclusive, and sustainable global partnerships as a key means of supporting the achievement of the other 16 SDGs. In this context, Indonesia is not only actively involved in international cooperation in various forms but also developing systemic strategies that affirm its commitment as a key actor in the global development architecture. Indonesia's strategic framework for international cooperation in supporting SDG 17 is illustrated in a comprehensive approach ranging from development diplomacy, sustainable financing, to multi-stakeholder partnerships and strengthening its global position, as follows:

1. **Soft Power Projection Strategy through Development Diplomacy.** Indonesia utilizes international cooperation in development as a form of soft power diplomacy aimed at strengthening moral influence, solidarity, and international trust. This strategy is implemented through active involvement in South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC), as well as concrete contributions to other developing countries through technical assistance, training, and knowledge transfer. A concrete example of this strategy is the establishment of Indonesian AID in 2019, which functions as an overseas development funding agency. Indonesian AID is a concrete representation of Indonesia's transformation from a recipient to a provider of aid, as well as a strategic tool to expand the reach of foreign diplomacy based on South-South solidarity (Bappenas, 2023; Indonesian AID, 2023). Nye (2004) defines soft power as the power to shape the preferences of other actors through the appeal of values and policies, rather than through coercion or material incentives.

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2. Strategy for Integrating the Global and National Agendas (Policy Alignment). Indonesia has integrated the 2030 Agenda into national development plans such as the 2020–2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) and the National Action Plan for the SDGs. This strategy ensures that international cooperation aligns with domestic development priorities and is not merely transactional. This mechanism also allows for cohesion between global targets and local needs. According to the UNDP (2022), integrating the SDGs into national policies is a crucial prerequisite for the successful implementation of the 2030 Agenda, as it provides a long-term direction for inclusive and sustainable development.
3. Strategy for Diversifying Development Financing. In addressing the significant gap in financing for the SDGs, Indonesia has developed innovative financing strategies through international cooperation. Initiatives such as SDGs Indonesia One, developed by PT SMI and Bappenas, is an integrated financing platform that pools resources from international institutions such as the ADB, World Bank, and JICA to support sustainable development projects (Bappenas, 2021). Furthermore, Indonesia has adopted the Integrated National Financing Framework (INFF) approach to map all potential public and private financing opportunities to support the SDGs (UNDP Indonesia, 2022).
4. Strategy for Strengthening Multistakeholder Partnerships (Inclusive Partnerships). This strategy emphasizes the importance of involving all stakeholders in the implementation of the SDGs: government, the private sector, civil society, academia, and development partners. The Indonesian government has established various collaborative platforms, such as the SDGs Corporate Platform for private sector engagement, the Development Partners Coordination Forum, and the Civil Society Coalition for the SDGs. According to Sachs et al. (2019), cross-sector partnerships strengthen the accountability and effectiveness of SDG implementation and enhance social innovation in addressing development challenges.
5. Strategy for Regionalization and Replication of Good Practices. Indonesia also promotes development diplomacy through regional forums such as ASEAN, by promoting harmonization of SDG indicators through the ASEAN SDG Indicators and leading the ASEAN Centre for Sustainable Development Studies and Dialogue (ACSDDSD) initiative. This strategy aims to expand development impact through knowledge exchange, horizontal learning between countries, and the dissemination of Indonesian good practices throughout the region. In this way, Indonesia plays a role as a regional norm entrepreneur, promoting a more equitable development order in Southeast Asia.
6. Data Diplomacy and International Transparency Strategy. Indonesia is developing mechanisms for open reporting and monitoring of SDG achievements through the SDG dashboard, Voluntary National Review (VNR) reporting, and technical collaboration with international statistical institutions. This strategy increases the trust of development partners and strengthens Indonesia's legitimacy in the global arena. The OECD (2021) states that transparency and data diplomacy are essential components of inclusive and evidence-based global development governance.

The Effectiveness of Indonesian Development Diplomacy in Promoting Global Partnerships Aligned with SDG 17 Principles

In an era of globalization marked by the complexity of cross-border development challenges, development diplomacy has become a crucial instrument for developing countries, including Indonesia, to forge global partnerships. Indonesia's development diplomacy plays a role in strengthening the country's position as an active actor in supporting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda, particularly Goal 17 (SDG 17): Partnerships for the Goals, which emphasizes the importance of multistakeholder collaboration in achieving sustainable development.

Indonesia conducts development diplomacy through various bilateral, regional, and multilateral platforms, focusing on strengthening South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC), technology transfer, development financing, and institutional and human resource support.

Through the Indonesian Agency for International Development (Indonesian AID), established in 2019, Indonesia seeks to strengthen its role as an emerging donor. Indonesian AID serves as the primary vehicle for implementing development diplomacy in various partner countries, such as Timor Leste, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and African countries. In 2021, Indonesian AID allocated approximately IDR 111 billion for international development cooperation programs (Ministry of Finance, 2021). Therefore, Indonesia's efforts to foster inclusive partnerships through the SSTC and Islamic development cooperation demonstrate consistency with the principles of SDG 17. Through the Indonesia-Japan-Africa Triangular Global Partnership, Indonesia acts as a facilitator of training in agriculture and food security. Furthermore, Indonesia is also an active member of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) platform, which emphasizes transparency and local ownership in development assistance. GPEDC (2023) notes that Indonesia is a country with a "mutual accountability" approach within the framework of global development effectiveness.

Challenges and Evaluation of Effectiveness

The effectiveness of Indonesia's development diplomacy has not been fully optimized due to several constraints, including the limited institutional capacity of Indonesian AID as a new institution still in the consolidation stage, minimal integration between development diplomacy and economic and environmental diplomacy, and the lack of results-based monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to measure the direct impact of development interventions in partner countries. Furthermore, according to the OECD

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Development Cooperation Report (2022), Indonesia needs to strengthen its indicator and reporting framework within the SSTC to ensure concrete contributions to the SDGs.

In general, Indonesia's development diplomacy has demonstrated a significant commitment to the principles of SDG 17, particularly in building inclusive, mutually beneficial global partnerships based on South-South solidarity. However, to increase its effectiveness, it requires strengthening the institutional capacity of Indonesian AID, cross-sector integration of foreign policy and development, and mechanisms for results-based evaluation and public accountability. Therefore, going forward, adaptive, collaborative, and visionary development diplomacy will be a crucial pillar in strengthening Indonesia's position as a global development actor.

The main challenges faced by Indonesia in realizing an inclusive, transparent and sustainable global partnership that is in line with the principles of SDG 17

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17 emphasizes the importance of strong, inclusive, and mutually beneficial global partnerships in achieving the entire sustainable development agenda. For Indonesia, as an influential country in the Global South and a member of the G20, its commitment to SDG 17 is realized through various forms of development diplomacy, South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC), and strengthening multistakeholder partnerships.

Although Indonesia has shown progress in building a network of development partnerships, the realization of the principles of inclusion, transparency, and sustainability still faces several structural and operational challenges.

1. **Limited Institutional Capacity and Inter-Agency Coordination.** One of the main challenges is suboptimal institutional coordination between stakeholders, both at the national and regional levels. Although Indonesia has a National SDGs Secretariat under Bappenas, there is still fragmentation of roles between line ministries, donor agencies, and regional governments. A study by UNDP and BAPPENAS (2020) showed that only 41% of regional governments have SDG action plans integrated into regional development planning.
2. **Limited Partnership Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanisms.** Inclusive and sustainable global partnerships require a robust monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system. Indonesia does not yet have a comprehensive national framework to measure the effectiveness of global partnership contributions to achieving the SDGs. The GPEDC Report (2023) states that Indonesia has not systematically reported the results of development cooperation in a results-based evaluation framework that aligns with global accountability principles.
3. **Limited Funding and Resource Mobilization.** Funding is a key element in development partnerships. Indonesia still faces a financing gap for the SDGs, particularly in sectors such as infrastructure, health, and education. Based on Bappenas estimates (2022), the SDG financing gap in Indonesia reaches IDR 3,449 trillion per year until 2030. Furthermore, domestic resource mobilization still relies on the state budget, while alternative funding innovations (such as blended finance and green bonds) remain limited in scale.
4. **Lack of Optimal Private Sector and Civil Society Engagement.** Effective multistakeholder partnerships require the active participation of the private sector and civil society organizations (CSOs). However, this sector involvement remains uneven, both sectorally and regionally. The Indonesia Business Council for Sustainable Development (IBCSO) reported in 2021 that only around 20% of large companies in Indonesia have integrated the SDGs into their business strategies. Similarly, civil society involvement in the planning and monitoring of partnership programs is often tokenistic, and it has not yet become a strategic partner for the government.
5. **Unequal Access and Representation in International Forums.** As a developing country, Indonesia sometimes faces unequal representation in global forums such as the G20 and the OECD, as well as in technical and financial cooperation negotiations. This limits Indonesia's bargaining position in designing a more equitable and inclusive global partnership model. The South Centre Report (2023) emphasizes the need to strengthen collective bargaining for Global South countries so that they become not only the objects of international cooperation schemes, but also co-designers of development models.
6. **Mismatch between International Standards and Local Context.** In many cases, global standards used by development partners (such as the OECD-DAC or the World Bank) are not fully compatible with Indonesia's local realities, whether in terms of law, culture, or governance. This creates implementation barriers and gaps in program ownership.

These challenges demonstrate that realizing an inclusive, transparent, and sustainable global partnership requires not only political will, but also strengthened institutional systems, multi-actor governance, and policy and funding innovation. To address these challenges, strategic steps are needed, including:

- a. Strengthening results-based monitoring and transparency systems.
- b. Integrating the private sector and civil society into the entire development partnership cycle.
- c. Institutional reform and increasing human resource capacity in development diplomacy.
- d. Diversifying development funding sources, including encouraging innovative financing.
- e. Advocating for Indonesia's active role in international forums to champion a fair and participatory partnership model.

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Potential for Strengthening Indonesia's Role as a Global Development Actor through a Transnational Partnership Approach within the SDG 17 Framework

SDG 17 emphasizes the importance of building strong, inclusive, and sustainable global partnerships to support the implementation of all Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this context, transnational partnerships—collaborations between state and non-state actors across borders—are a key strategy for addressing complex development challenges that cannot be addressed unilaterally.

Indonesia, as a developing country with the largest economy in ASEAN and an active member of various international forums, has strategic capital to strengthen its role as a normative entrepreneur and development actor in the global development landscape. Through a transnational partnership approach, Indonesia has the potential to become a bridge between developed and developing countries in realizing the 2030 Agenda.

1. Indonesia's Core Capital and Strategic Position

- a. **Role in South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC).** Indonesia has a long track record in SSTC and is a pioneer in solidarity-based cooperation and knowledge sharing. Since the establishment of Indonesian AID in 2019, Indonesia has strengthened its position from being a mere aid recipient to a provider of technical assistance and development funding for partner countries in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. By 2023, Indonesian AID had implemented more than 50 technical cooperation programs in more than 20 partner countries, covering issues such as food security, health, and governance. (Indonesian AID, 2023)
- b. **Active Multilateral Diplomacy.** Indonesia plays an active role in various global forums focused on sustainable development, such as: the G20, which promotes development financing architecture and global crisis response; ASEAN and MIKTA, which promote inclusive development and regional connectivity; and UNDP, UNESCAP, and the OECD, as strategic partners in SDGs programs and multi-stakeholder partnerships. This participation strengthens Indonesia's position as a policy broker and bridge between countries in the Global North and the Global South.

2. Transnational Partnership Approach as a Role-Strengthening Strategy

- a. **Multistakeholder Partnerships (MSP).** Indonesia adopts a multistakeholder partnership approach that brings together the government, private sector, civil society, academia, and development partners in implementing the SDGs. Within the framework of SDGs 17.16 and 17.17, the MSP approach opens up space for collaborative diplomacy and capacity transfer across sectors and borders. The SDGs Hub Indonesia serves as a regional model for MSP coordination and is recommended in the UNDP SDG Acceleration Lab report as a good practice for cross-sector collaboration (UNDP, 2022).
- b. **Soft Power Diplomacy and Knowledge Transfer.** Transnational partnerships also serve as a channel for Indonesia's soft power diplomacy. Through training, conferences, and expertise exchanges, Indonesia promotes the values of inclusivity, democracy, and sustainable development on the international stage. This reflects a "values-based influence" approach. The 2019 Indonesia-Africa Infrastructure Dialogue resulted in several MoUs for development cooperation between countries in the Global South.

3. Future Potential and Strategic Direction.

Through a transnational partnership approach within the SDG 17 framework, Indonesia has several strategic potentials, including:

- a. **Becoming a Regional Development Hub.** With its economic strength and active diplomacy, Indonesia can become a center for coordinating development in the Asia-Pacific region, both as a facilitator of South-South cooperation and as a partner for developed countries in triangular partnerships.
- b. **Innovator of Multistakeholder Partnership Models.** Indonesia's experience in establishing MSP institutions and SDGs Hubs has the potential to be replicated internationally as best practices, particularly in other developing countries.
- c. **Enhanced Soft Power and Global Legitimacy.** An active role in transnational partnerships based on solidarity and development effectiveness will strengthen Indonesia's image as a contributing, non-confrontational, and solution-oriented global actor.

4. Challenges to be Addressed

However, a few structural and operational challenges still limit this potential:

- Fragmented coordination between national agencies
- Limited data on cross-border collaboration
- Capacity gaps in monitoring and evaluating MSPs
- Dependence on external technical support and funding

5. Strategic Recommendations

To optimize the potential of transnational partnerships as an instrument for strengthening Indonesia's global role, the following strategies need to be considered:

- Strengthening the capacity of Indonesian AID as the primary institution for development diplomacy.
- Developing a national database of MSPs across sectors and countries, as a basis for evaluation and promotion.
- Strengthening the integration of the SDGs into foreign policy and economic cooperation.

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- Encouraging the participation of the private sector and the Indonesian diaspora in global partnership platforms.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that Indonesia's international cooperation within the framework of SDG 17 has undergone a significant transformation, from a country-centric approach to a collaborative approach based on transnational and multi-stakeholder partnerships. Strong political commitment, relatively established institutions (such as the SDGs Hub and Indonesian AID), and Indonesia's active involvement in global forums such as the G20, ASEAN, and UNDP demonstrate that Indonesia is not merely a recipient of aid but is also beginning to play a proactive role in global development.

Through its transnational partnership strategy, Indonesia not only strengthens development diplomacy but also serves as a crucial link between developing and developed countries in promoting the principles of solidarity, equality, and knowledge transfer within the 2030 Agenda. The multistakeholder partnership (MSP) model implemented by Indonesia offers significant opportunities to accelerate SDG targets, particularly by pooling capacities and resources from various sectors.

However, the effectiveness of this cooperation still faces several obstacles, such as institutional fragmentation, unequal participation, and limited data and collaborative evaluation mechanisms. Therefore, strengthening the partnership governance architecture and innovation within the cooperation model needs to be continuously improved.

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