



Indonesian Government's Policy in Managing Chinese Foreign Direct Investment for Sustainable Transport Development

Haniyah Nurafifah¹, Virtuous Setyaka¹, Diah Anggraini Austin¹

¹ Universitas Andalas, Padang, Indonesia

Corresponding author:

Haniyah Nurafifah | Haniyahafiffah@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is one of the funding sources, alongside the State Budget (APBN), that can be used to support national development. This study aims to analyze the policies implemented by the Indonesian government to achieve adequate infrastructure development in accordance with the SDGs agenda, particularly transportation infrastructure that supports global sustainability by utilizing Chinese FDI as one of its funding sources. This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive research design. Primary data were obtained through interviews with the Ministry of Investment and Downstream Industry, while secondary data were collected from reports, journals, articles, and relevant websites. Using Theodore H. Moran's concept of FDI and Development, this study analyzes how Indonesian government policies seek to achieve structural benefits in managing Chinese FDI in the transportation sector to support sustainable development. The findings show that the four main indicators of FDI and Development—transparency of payments, improvement of economic patterns, enhancement of the local business climate, and promotion of investment—have been implemented fairly well. Chinese FDI has contributed to technological transfer, skill upgrading, supporting industries, and improved investor confidence in Indonesia's sustainable transportation development.

Keywords: Chinese Investment; FDI; SDGs; Transportation Infrastructure;

ABSTRAK

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) merupakan salah satu sumber pendanaan, selain Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara (APBN), yang dapat dimanfaatkan untuk mendukung pembangunan nasional. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kebijakan yang diterapkan oleh pemerintah Indonesia dalam mewujudkan pembangunan infrastruktur yang memadai sesuai dengan agenda *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs), khususnya infrastruktur transportasi yang mendukung keberlanjutan global dengan memanfaatkan FDI Tiongkok sebagai salah satu sumber pendanaannya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain penelitian deskriptif. Data primer diperoleh melalui wawancara dengan Kementerian Investasi dan Hilirisasi, sedangkan data sekunder dikumpulkan dari laporan, jurnal, artikel, dan situs web yang relevan. Dengan menggunakan konsep *FDI and Development* dari Theodore H. Moran, penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana kebijakan pemerintah Indonesia diarahkan untuk memperoleh manfaat struktural dalam pengelolaan FDI Tiongkok di sektor transportasi guna mendukung pembangunan berkelanjutan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa empat indikator utama dalam konsep *FDI and Development*—transparansi pembayaran, perbaikan pola ekonomi, peningkatan iklim bisnis lokal, dan promosi investasi—telah diimplementasikan dengan cukup baik. FDI Tiongkok telah berkontribusi pada transfer teknologi, peningkatan keterampilan, pengembangan industri pendukung, serta peningkatan kepercayaan investor terhadap pembangunan transportasi berkelanjutan di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: FDI; Infrastruktur Transportasi; Investasi Tiongkok; SDGs.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received: September 11, 2025

Revised: October 21, 2025

Published: June 20, 2026

Copyright © 2026, Journal of Infrastructure Policy and Management

CITATION (APA 7TH)

Nurafifah, H., Setyaka, V., & Austin, D. A. (2026). Indonesian government's policy in managing Chinese foreign direct investment for sustainable transport development. *Journal of Infrastructure Policy and Management*, 9(1), 47–64. <https://doi.org/10.35166/jipm.v9i1.117>

INTRODUCTION

To direct and manage the flow of foreign investment into a country effectively, government policy is the most important tool, especially in channeling such capital into specific projects that are consistent with the country's development priorities (Lu & Biglaiser, 2020). In the case of Indonesia, the need for infrastructure is closely aligned with sustainability goals. As the UN Environment Program (UNEP) explains, sustainable infrastructure refers to the planning, construction, and operation of infrastructure systems that improve resource efficiency, use low-carbon technologies, provide social and economic benefits, and support environmental protection (UNEP, 2025).

One of the key features of sustainable infrastructure is its orientation on meeting present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own. This principle is reflected in Presidential Regulation No. 59 of 2017 concerning the Implementation of Sustainable Development Goals and is further strengthened through the 2020–2024 National Mid-Term Development Plan, which highlights sustainable infrastructure as a pathway to sustainable economic growth.

The *Anggaran Pembayaan Belanja Negara* (APBN) has limited capacity to finance these ambitious projects on its own without inflows

of foreign capital in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Indah & Istifadah, 2020). Broader regulatory and institutional mechanisms have therefore been introduced by the Indonesian government to channel this type of investment more effectively. These include the Online Single Submission (OSS) system for simplifying licensing procedures, sectoral restrictions through the Positive Investment List that prioritizes strategic industries, and fiscal incentives such as tax holidays granted to projects with meaningful sustainability value (Palguna et al., 2024).

The above mechanisms should not simply function as tools to attract investors, but also as instruments to direct investment toward projects aligned with national priorities. With its policy orientation toward welcoming foreign investment, Indonesia has found opportunities to collaborate, particularly with China, through the Belt and Road Initiative. Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) in Indonesia reached USD 8.22 billion in 2022 across several sectors. The management of FDI inflows is necessary and is carried out by the Ministry of Investment, or *Badan Koordinator Penanaman Modal* (BKPM), in collaboration with the relevant institutions and sectors.

Thus, Indonesia's challenge is not only to attract foreign capital but also to ensure that it is fully aligned with long-term sustainability goals. This issue is also relevant to broader

international debates on FDI governance. Foreign investment in the transport and energy sectors has also been debated in Kenya and Brazil, where media and political dialogue have focused on the tension between economic benefits and environmental and social responsibilities (Fall et al., 2024). Such comparative experiences reinforce the need for comprehensive policy frameworks that leverage FDI for sustainable development rather than undermine it. This places Indonesia's case within a broader global narrative of how developing economies can effectively navigate international capital flows. As a central actor, the Indonesian government needs to ensure that foreign capital is not only managed but also strategically attracted to support long-term sustainability goals and realize the benefits of FDI for infrastructure development.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Institutional Liberalism

Institutional Liberalism, also known as Neoliberal Institutionalism, is regarded as an updated version of classical liberal theory applied to international politics. Keohane (1989) describes it as an International Relations approach that highlights global institutions as a crucial dimension of cooperation among states, given that international relations are largely anarchic by nature. Like Realists, Institutional Liberals recognize states as the principal unit of analysis, namely sovereign entities pursuing national interests. They similarly acknowledge the absence of a central authority that is willing and able to regulate state behavior, yet they argue that rational states can cooperate around mutual interests.

Realists argue that cooperation is constrained by anarchy, whereas Institutional Liberals argue that cooperation is possible and can endure because of established international

institutions and regimes. These institutions provide a structure for interaction, set expectations, reduce unpredictability, and encourage compliance. Institutional Liberalism also posits that shared interests between states can result in win-win scenarios because some goals cannot be achieved unilaterally. Although Institutional Liberals recognize that hegemonic powers help sustain institutions, they also believe that institutions can function even without the direct dominance of hegemons. This perspective emphasizes the increasing interdependence of states in the economic, security, and environmental spheres, which creates opportunities for collective action across borders to address shared problems (Keohane, 1989).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Inquiries into how host countries manage foreign investors, investment promotion, domestic content requirements, and export performance standards reconstruct the measures set by their competitors (Moran, 1998), which reflects another version of Keohane's ideas. In contrast to Realism, Moran argues that the unit of analysis remains the state, but state behavior is also influenced by interaction with international institutions, an assumption that echoes Institutional Liberalism. He demonstrates the growing importance of FDI in developing and transition economies, where, over the last 15 years or so, there has been a shift from suspicion toward Multi-National Enterprises (MNEs) to a more pragmatic engagement with them in the development process.

FDI is defined as the inflow of foreign direct investment into a host country and is generally considered a long-term investment by multinational firms operating in foreign sectors within the host economy (Moran, 1998). Moran identifies several direct advantages of FDI, including clearer firm policies, secure property rights, reduced

bureaucracy, and the efficient allocation of investment to key economic sectors such as manufacturing and technology (Moran, 1998). Moreover, he stresses that the gains from FDI can be maximized by developing linkages between foreign firms and local industries and labor markets in order to create multiplier effects, such as employment generation, technology transfer, and skills development.

Moran (1998) also argues that directing FDI toward social impact depends on policy, and that managing the risks associated with it is essential to realizing the potential development benefits of FDI. However, Moran (1998) believes that immediate economic gains are not sufficient; structural gains are required for long-term sustainability. He focuses on host-country policies that use FDI as a tool for structural transformation. According to him, the consequences of FDI, both positive and negative, largely depend on the host government's policy framework. These consequences are also reinforced by industrialized countries, multilateral financial institutions, labor organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), civil society, and corporate social responsibility.

Structural Benefits of FDI

In the second generation of research, Moran (1998) further elaborates on four indicators through which FDI can improve sustainable development outcomes.

The *first* is Transparency of Payment, which relates to policies that establish transparent and publicly accessible financial flows from foreign investment while complying with anti-corruption legal regimes, such as the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).

The *second* is Economic Transformation, which concerns the shift from traditional economic patterns to modern systems driven by technology, global markets, and high-skilled manufacturing. This transformation requires FDI to move toward industries that strengthen export performance and human capital development.

The *third* is Local Business Climate Upgrades, which include regulatory and fiscal reforms that help cultivate domestic enterprises, ensure a level playing field with foreign investors, and promote public-private ventures that increase the competitiveness of local industries.

Lastly, Investment Promotion emphasizes the active role of host countries in promoting themselves to foreign investors as attractive destinations for FDI. The promotion is supported by high-quality infrastructure, investor-friendly licensing, and tax incentives (Moran, 1998).

Application to Indonesia

This framework is highly relevant in the context of Indonesia, where national priorities in FDI management have become an integral part of current development efforts and where the government acts as a planner, regulator, and facilitator of FDI. Given the current global need for sustainable infrastructure, Indonesia needs to ensure that foreign investment, especially investment aligned with strategic partnerships such as China's Belt and Road Initiative, is directed toward projects that fall within the scope of national sustainability priorities (Saraswati, 2020).

Indonesia has the opportunity to reap both the direct and structural benefits of FDI by enacting policies that enhance transparency, modernize the economy, improve the local business climate, and actively promote targeted sectors. In this way, the government

can ensure that foreign capital not only supports short-term growth but is also embedded within long-term sustainable development and economic resilience.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method to analyze the Indonesian government's policy management of Chinese FDI in the sustainable transportation sector. It is qualitative in nature because it examines complex interactions among institutions, bureaucratic procedures, and policy dynamics, which are more appropriately explored through qualitative rather than quantitative approaches (Abdussamad, 2021).

Research Design

This study employs a case study design with an observational timeframe of 2019–2024, which coincides with the implementation period of some major sustainable transportation projects, including the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway (KCIC). It integrates document review and semi-structured interviews to represent both policy perspectives and implementation experiences.

The data analysis is descriptive and analytical, drawing on Robert Keohane's Institutional Liberalism, which argues that interstate cooperation is possible through international institutional rules, norms, and supervisory mechanisms. In addition, Moran's framework is used to demonstrate how host countries can utilize the structural advantages of FDI through four main instruments: payment transparency, local economic development, business climate improvement, and investment promotion. Through this approach, the study aims at mapping the process by which Indonesia's domestic policies are integrated with international norms. The integration is a necessary phase to realize transparent, fair,

and sustainable investment governance as vital part of a transnational regime (Weltbankgruppe, 2021).

Data and Data Source

The primary data were collected through interviews with officials from the Ministry of Investment/Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM), the principal institution responsible for foreign investment governance. The interviews were conducted online on Friday, 9 May 2025, at 13:30 WIB. The participants consisted of Mr. Jilteng Pamungkas, Senior Investment Governance Officer, Directorate of Infrastructure Planning; Marton AD and Janna P. Angus Jackson, Senior Investment Governance Officers, Directorate of East Asia, South Asia, Middle East, and Africa Promotion, Investment Governance and Policy Section; and Martha, Junior Investment Governance Officer, Investment Governance and Policy Section.

The interviews addressed issues related to transparency in FDI, investment promotion agencies, bureaucratic coordination, and sustainability challenges. The questions were designed to elicit institutional practices and policy rationales directly from officials overseeing Chinese direct investment portfolios.

The secondary data were collected from several sources, including official policy documents and government regulations, annual BKPM investment reports, peer-reviewed academic literature supporting the theoretical framework, OECD and UNCTAD reports, and other credible news media sources. The diversification of these sources aimed at providing a more comprehensive view of policy narratives and external evaluations of the policies.

The collected data were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman (1994) interactive

model, which includes three simultaneous processes. The *first* is data reduction, conducted by sorting interview transcripts and documents into key themes. The *second* is data display, carried out by presenting patterns of policy interaction and outcomes. The *third* is conclusion drawing and verification, conducted by interpreting the findings in relation to Moran's indicators, namely transparency of payment, economic transformation, local business climate improvement, and investment promotion. Information related to these indicators was organized into a coding scheme that integrated interview data and documentary materials. To ensure validity, data triangulation was applied by comparing official reports, interview responses, and secondary analyses.

FINDINGS

The Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) noted that inflows of FDI from China to Indonesia from 2019 to 2023 showed fluctuating patterns. The investments

are viewed as a strategic opportunity for the Indonesian government to manage the flow of foreign investment and direct foreign capital toward sustainable infrastructure development. This is consistent with the national development agenda, which seeks to balance economic growth with social and environmental considerations while also advancing technological innovation. The following table presents the realization of Chinese FDI in Indonesia.

Table 1. Chinese FDI Realization in Indonesia

No.	Year	FDI
1	2019	\$4.744.508,6
2	2020	\$4.842.405,8
3	2021	\$3.160.380,1
4	2022	\$8.226.035,1
5	2023	\$7.438.379,1

The governance framework for managing foreign investment can be illustrated in the following diagram.



Figure 1. Governance framework of FDI in Indonesia

The diagram above depicts the roles of the actors in effectuating FDI in Indonesia. The Ministry of Investment/BKPM is the main regulator in the government side for licensing,

policy-making, investment applications, and supervision. Sustainable infrastructure will then be overseen by sectoral ministries, such as the Ministry of Public Works and Housing

(PUPR), the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), and the BUMN, which function as sectoral supervisors. The regulatory framework for FDI consists of licensing, incentives, monitoring, and evaluation mechanisms designed to attract both domestic and international investors and to direct capital toward priority sectors. Implementation is typically carried out by state-owned enterprises in partnership with private companies as operators, supported by funding from financial institutions. Civil society organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also play an important role in monitoring and evaluating the social consequences of FDI-based projects.

In addition to examining how institutions and regulations are designed to govern FDI, it is equally important to explore how these processes affect specific projects. Sustainable transportation is one of the most significant sectors in which Chinese investors have made direct investments.

Table 2. List of sustainable transportation infrastructure projects with Chinese FDI

Types of Transportation Infrastructure	FDI
Kuala Tanjung Harbor	JV Pelindo I and Zhejiang Seaport Group (China)
Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway	Joint Venture (PT KCIC) + FDI
Development of the Electric Vehicle (EV) Ecosystem	FDI, technology transfer, R&D facilities, and job opportunities

Chinese FDI in Indonesia's transportation sector has been manifested in various strategic projects that promote sustainability. The flagship project is the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway, which was developed under a 60:40 joint venture agreement between

Indonesian state-owned enterprises and China Railway International. The Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway project represents China's model of development cooperation. It combines the showcasing of China's economic and technological capacity with Indonesia's "New Developmentalism" under the Jokowi administration (Prasetyo, 2024).

In addition to providing new infrastructure, the project also facilitates technology transfer and workforce training. Chinese investment in Indonesia's transportation sector has therefore contributed not only to infrastructure development but also to the transfer of technology and the training of local workers (Quer et al., 2019).

Similarly, Chinese firms, international partners, and local contractors have been involved in construction projects under the Belt and Road Initiative framework, thereby increasing regional economic involvement in developments such as Kuala Tanjung Port in North Sumatra (Biro Komunikasi dan Informasi Publik, 2024). Progress has also been made in the development of an electric vehicle ecosystem, including the establishment of common industrial standards through partnerships with major Chinese companies such as BYD, CNGR, and CATL. This reflects the government's intention to accelerate the growth of sustainable investment.

This research also conducted direct interviews with BKPM officials to further understand FDI governance, particularly the role of the Ministry of Investment/BKPM as the lead institution. The interviews with FDI experts were conducted to obtain practical insights into policy mechanisms, regulatory challenges, and approaches to managing foreign investment, particularly from China. The key findings from these interviews are presented in the next part of this article.

The interview focuses on Chinese FDI in Indonesia in relation to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and more specifically on the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway project. The respondents emphasized that the selection of the sustainable transportation sector is situated within Indonesia's national development agenda, in which Chinese FDI serves as a strategic instrument to support long-term economic growth, ecological sustainability, and technology transfer.

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and China have become crucial determinants of investment flows. Economic cooperation has deepened since the administration of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and continued into the presidency of Joko Widodo. During this period, Indonesia introduced a moratorium on nickel exports, which was clearly aimed at attracting Chinese investment to develop local downstream industries. The broader China–Indonesia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (CSP), including the Investment Guarantee framework, reflects China's view of Indonesia as important not only in the regional context but also in the global supply chain (Siwi, 2013).

In terms of transparency, the government has regulated and limited the use of profit repatriation by requiring foreign exchange realized from exports to be placed with Bank Indonesia for a certain period. These measures are intended to enhance financial market stability, accountability, and investor protection.

In terms of investment promotion, the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) serves as the main facilitator across sectors by following up on investor engagement from the planning stage through to realization. However, the findings also indicate that Chinese investors frequently approach Indonesia independently and do not

necessarily require extensive promotion, which suggests a high level of interest in the domestic market. Thus, the government's main role is to facilitate investment and establish sufficient institutional arrangements to ensure that projects can be implemented smoothly.

The Online Single Submission (OSS) system, which involves several ministries, has also contributed to improvements in the local business climate. In the Indonesian context, the simplification and streamlining of procedures have led to more efficient government processes, lower transaction costs, and greater investor confidence in the business environment.

In addition, the socio-economic influence of Chinese FDI has been reflected in localized multiplier effects. Respondents noted important changes in communities around the investment locations, including job creation, increased local economic activity, and access to technology transfer. Tax holidays and restrictions related to cooperation with domestic companies are also policy measures used to maintain sustained investment.

The respondents also pointed out that the regulatory framework is well aligned with key sustainable development objectives. Spencer (2019) stated that the Investment Law, the Job Creation Law, and Government Regulation No. 5/2021 on risk-based licensing are key instruments that integrate SDG principles with ease of doing business, environmental protection, and legal certainty.

The KCIC project is seen as an example of sustainable transportation infrastructure in practice. In addition to reducing carbon emissions, the high-speed railway also improves interregional land transportation efficiency and mobility, as the travel time between Jakarta and Bandung has been

reduced to approximately 45 minutes. In relation to the SDGs, KCIC directly supports Goal 9 on Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure by strengthening regional connectivity within the framework of green mobility (Rohim, 2024).

Overall, the interviews highlight that Chinese FDI plays an important role in Indonesia's economic transition by providing strategic direction for infrastructure development, improving the investment climate, and supporting the integration of Chinese FDI into Indonesia's sustainable development agenda.

DISCUSSION

Sustainable transport infrastructure has become a strategic priority in global development (Nasruddin et al., 2024). UNEP defines sustainable infrastructure as resource-efficient infrastructure with low carbon output that maximizes economic, social, and environmental benefits, resting on economic, social, and environmental pillars. This trajectory was further consolidated by the transition from the Millennium Development Goals (2000–2015) to the Sustainable Development Goals (2015–2030), which broadened the focus from social issues to a universal agenda consisting of 17 goals and 169 targets, with an emphasis on multi-stakeholder collaboration (Woodbridge, 2015). In the transportation sector, sustainability is not limited to public service provision but is also discussed in the context of Life Cycle Sustainability Assessment (LCSA), as reflected in the UN's Mobilizing Sustainable Transport for Development (2016) (Onat et al., 2017).

Indonesia aligns itself with this agenda through several legal and policy instruments, including Environmental Law No. 32/2009 (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32 Tahun 2009, 2009), Presidential Regulation No. 59/2017 concerning SDGs

implementation, and the 2020–2024 National Mid-Term Development Plan (*Rencanan Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional*, or RPJMN), which focuses on building inclusive, energy-efficient, and low-emission infrastructure. This policy direction is further reflected in the Strategic National Projects (*Proyek Strategis Nasional*, or PSN), coordinated under KPPIP and the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs. These projects include airports, ports, and railways, including flagship transportation projects such as the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway, which showcases sustainable transportation through energy efficiency, low emissions, and Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) (Peraturan Menteri Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian Nomor 4 Tahun 2024, 2024). Although challenges persist, such as the continued reliance on coal in the Kalimantan Green Industrial Zone, these projects indicate a gradual shift toward greener infrastructure.

Implementation depends on a network of state actors. Construction falls under the authority of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (PUPR), planning is managed by Bappenas, fiscal support is provided by the Ministry of Finance, investment governance is handled by BKPM, and oversight is carried out by institutions such as BPK and KPK.

The global expansion of China began with the reforms of 1978, followed by the 1992 Going Global policy and the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013. This expansion has been supported by industrial overcapacity, rising production costs, stricter environmental regulations, and abundant foreign reserves, which reached USD 4 trillion at their peak in 2014 and stabilized at USD 3.2 trillion by 2024 (Gallagher & Qi, 2021). Beijing uses its seven sovereign funds, including the China Investment Corporation, and its State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) to direct FDI into

strategic sectors. In Indonesia, this ambition is reflected in projects such as Kuala Tanjung Port, the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railwas, its planned extension to East Java, and industrial parks, e.g., IMIP in Sulawesi and IWIP in North Maluku (Sarmiento, 2023).

Chinese investment has been supported primarily by FDI in the transportation sector, arranged through Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) and loans from Chinese financial institutions, including the China Development Bank. The KCIC project illustrates this model, as it is 60% owned by Indonesian SOEs and 40% by China Railway International, with 75% of its financing, amounting to USD 4.1 billion, provided by the China Development Bank. Beyond financing, these ventures facilitate technology transfer and management expertise while helping China integrate more deeply into global supply chains. Indonesia continues to offer other infrastructure projects, including toll roads, ports, airports, and renewable energy projects, which remain open to Chinese engagement (Assagaf et al., 2023).

During the period 2013–2024, Chinese FDI in Indonesia increased significantly. In 2013, China ranked only ninth among foreign investors, with a comparatively low inflow of USD 0.3 billion. This figure rose to USD 0.8 billion in 2014 and reached USD 31.8 billion cumulatively between 2020 and 2024. In 2020, China became Indonesia's second-largest investor, with USD 4.8 billion, before declining to USD 3.2 billion in 2021. It then increased again to USD 8.2 billion in 2022, USD 7.4 billion in 2023, and USD 8.1 billion in 2024, behind only Singapore and Hong Kong. These investments are concentrated in several major sectors, particularly metal processing industries (44%), transportation, warehousing, and telecommunications (20%), as well as manufacturing and mining. Flagship projects include toll roads, seaports,

power plants, and the expansion of basic metal and chemical industries (Investasi, 2025).

The Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) between Indonesia and China was not renewed after its expiration in 2014. However, investment protection continues under the ASEAN–China Investment Agreement (ACIA), which entered into force in 2009 (Xiao, 2010). This agreement provides non-discrimination, investment protection, transfer of funds, investment promotion, and investor–state dispute settlement mechanisms. The guarantees provided by PT Penjaminan Infrastruktur Indonesia (PII) for the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway project, the fiscal and non-fiscal incentives offered at the Batang Integrated Industrial Estate, and the investment insurance provided by the China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation exemplify the practical implementation of these protections.

Stronger diplomatic relations have also become a foundation for the growing inflow of Chinese FDI. China has been Indonesia's main trading partner since 2013. In 2023, total trade between the two countries reached USD 127 billion (Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia [Kemenkeu], 2025). The figure was supported by high-level visits and exchanges between the two governments. This finding is supported by previous research showing that China's outward FDI to Indonesia has become more decentralized over time. The geographical concentration index declined from 54.79 in 2006 to 48.70 in 2016, which indicates lower geographical concentration and wider investment dispersion across more provinces (Fu et al., 2018).

Domestically, Indonesia remains attractive because of its large population, growing middle class, and macroeconomic stability, which align with the competitive pricing and characteristics of Chinese consumer

products. These factors create a mutually reinforcing cycle in which FDI and trade are interconnected through market integration.

Besides, Indonesia has many natural and strategic minerals, which makes its investment in Indonesia even more interesting for China. Some of the projects that will be carried out include the processing of nickel and cobalt by Tsingshan Group to be used as a supporting battery for the Electric Vehicle (EV) sector, alongside clean energy projects such as solar power plants (*Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Surya*, or PLTS) and geothermal power plants (*Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Panas Bumi*, or PLTP) that are consistent with Indonesia's national energy transition agenda (Reuters, 2025). This process is made more robust through domestic regulatory frameworks, i.e., the Omnibus Law on Job Creation (Law No. 11/2020) and BKPM Regulation No. 4/2021, which require technology transfer and partnerships with Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and various capacity-building programs for domestic workers.

Transportation accounts for almost 20% of total Chinese FDI in Indonesia and is one of the key pillars within the broader context of sustainable infrastructure development (UNOPS, 2019). This includes strategic projects such as the development of Kuala Tanjung Port through cooperation with Zhejiang Provincial Seaport Investment Operation Group and the Port of Rotterdam Authority, as well as the establishment of an integrated electric vehicle ecosystem to support the transition toward clean transportation (Rahayu, 2019). Thus, Indonesia is now not only a regional production center but also an important part of China's "Dual Circulation" strategy, which seeks to balance the strengthening of its domestic market with the expansion of its global economic engagement (Dang & Nguyen, 2022).

Although investment sources can be diversified beyond China, Chinese FDI in Indonesia remains significant in strategic sectors. It enables Indonesia to continue utilizing Chinese expertise through strategic investment in transportation, energy, and mineral downstreaming, while allowing stakeholders to secure a greater share of development benefits. Beyond infrastructure expansion, financial transparency is also a key pillar of efficiency in public utility services because it creates space for equity and long-term sustainability (Ofosu & Sarpong, 2022). In this context, the principle of payment transparency in the provision of foreign capital becomes an important instrument for strengthening accountability in the management of external capital flows.

Moran (1998) identifies payment transparency as an important channel through which FDI may provide structural benefits, particularly because it limits opportunities for corruption and increases public access to information on financial flows. This principle is further operationalized through data disclosure, timely report, and anti-corruption measures aligning with global norms. Internationally, the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention serves as a key standard for business ethics (Leipziger, 2016). Although Indonesia has not ratified the convention, its longstanding status as a key OECD partner since 2007 and its decision to begin the full membership process in February 2024 provide strong encouragement for aligning domestic governance with international standards.

At the national level, transparency is structured through the OSS Risk-Based System, initiated by the Ministry of Investment/BKPM. This system consolidates licensing processes, defines business requirements, and enables real-time monitoring. The public can access quarterly and annual investment reports, submit

requests in accordance with the Public Information Disclosure Law, and browse raw datasets and investment data trends through the 'Satu Data BKPM' platform. These instruments provide greater investor security while also enhancing civic oversight.

However, transparency practices are still uneven. Public access to precise financial flows, concession agreements, and environmental impact analyses remains limited. Sources within BKPM indicate that certain portions of the data, particularly those related to Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), are legally protected. This limits public scrutiny and increases dependence on government narratives. Compared with international best practices, Indonesia's mechanisms are less participatory than initiatives such as the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). This aspect is important, and Indonesia need to institutionalize open data standards, strengthen research accessibility, and implement integrated sustainability reporting for each strategic FDI project.

Payment transparency can be observed in large infrastructure projects such as the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway and in joint ventures between Indonesian companies and China Railway International (Octorifadli et al., 2021). In this project, the financing mechanisms are well documented in relevant reports involving BKPM and state-owned enterprises, while the involvement of PT PII reduces investment risks and strengthens fiscal accountability. The public availability of these reports, together with scrutiny from the Audit Board of Indonesia (BPK) and civil society, demonstrates that transparency instruments do not merely function as formal procedures but also serve as active mechanisms of accountability.

To enhance the opportunities created by Chinese FDI, the Indonesian government has sought to balance foreign investment with pro-local policies aimed at improving the domestic business climate. This supports the second element emphasized by Moran (1998), which argues that international firms should be encouraged to develop local suppliers in host countries. These efforts include equalizing import taxes, improving the quality of domestic production, and encouraging joint ventures.

Various regulatory frameworks support this agenda. Through the Local Content Requirement (*Tingkat Komponen Dalam Negeri*, or TKDN), Government Regulation No. 29/2018 promotes the use of domestically produced goods, while Government Regulation No. 45/2019 and Ministry of Finance Regulation No. 128/2019 offer “super tax deductions” of up to 200–300% for firms conducting vocational training and research and development (Pemerintah RI, 2019). Omnibus Law No. 11/2020 promotes technology transfer and partnerships with Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), while Presidential Regulation No. 10/2021 establishes the Positive Investment List. This regulation provides financial incentives such as tax holidays, tax allowances, and accelerated depreciation, as well as non-fiscal facilities such as access to industrial estates through the risk-based OSS system (BKPM, 2021).

This agenda also includes improvements to fiscal facilities for import duty exemptions under Ministry of Finance Regulation No. 188/2022 and BKPM Regulation No. 4/2021 for capital goods, raw materials, and imported technology that cannot be sourced domestically. These initiatives reduce production costs, make national businesses more competitive, and encourage foreign investment in national strategic projects.

The second pillar of this policy is technology transfer. In the development of Kuala Tanjung Port, Zhejiang Seaport Group and the Port of Rotterdam collaborate with smaller local contractors. The collaboration allows them to become part of global supply chains. In the electric vehicle sector, partnerships with CRRC, Hyundai-LG, CATL, and BYD help strengthen Indonesia's EV ecosystem. Local production of electric vehicles, such as the Wuling Air EV and Neta V-II, exceeded 40% domestic content in 2024, with a total of more than 13,000 units, and is expected to reach more than 60% domestic content in 2025 (Alamsyah, 2024).

Chinese FDI played a role in transforming Indonesia's business environment through a combination of pro-local regulations, financial incentives, and technology transfer. This synergy shows that FDI is not only a source of capital but also a driver of competitiveness and sustainable economic growth (Biro Komunikasi dan Informasi Publik, 2024). Chinese FDI has also contributed to Indonesia's structural transformation, particularly through high-impact projects in transportation, commodity logistics, and downstream industries. Technology transfer and industrial upgrading have been promoted through projects such as the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Railway (KCIC) and the electric vehicle ecosystem involving companies such as BYD, CATL, and CNGR. These projects create employment opportunities and local supplier networks, thereby supporting Moran's notion of "structural benefits," as also reflected in the interview data.

However, these advantages are concentrated regionally, particularly in Java and Sumatra. This regional limitation results in limited spillover effects in peripheral regions. As seen in Kenya and Brazil, uneven BRI infrastructure investment may reinforce

existing industrial centers while leaving other regions behind, particularly in relation to spatial inequality. A similar pattern of uneven benefit and regional disparity is also found in BRI projects in Africa, where projects are geographically concentrated in areas that are already relatively well developed (Caria & Ghinoi, 2025).

Consequently, although economic restructuring is clearly visible, it remains uneven and still partly reliant on foreign expertise and technology. Future policies should therefore require more inclusive regional planning and skill localization programs to sustain these gains. Investment promotion is also a vital dimension of FDI governance in maintaining Indonesia's investment ecosystem. As emphasized by Moran (1998), the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) serves as the main agency responsible for regulation, licensing, and investor facilitation, including for Chinese investors. Promotion efforts also include encouraging local vendors and domestic suppliers, thereby enabling more active participation from national firms and local communities.

BKPM Regulation No. 4/2021 provides the basis for simplifying risk-based licensing while granting various fiscal and non-fiscal incentives, including tax holidays, investment allowances, super deductions, and exemptions from import duties and value-added tax. These incentives focus on priority sectors such as sustainable transportation, renewable energy, and high-tech manufacturing. They also aim to create linkages with MSMEs, facilitate technology transfer, and support local labor absorption. BKPM accompanies investors from the initial stage through project realization, including by facilitating access to cost-effective land, either free of charge or at reduced cost, in integrated industrial zones.

Cross-ministerial coordination among BKPM, the Ministry of Transportation, and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing is required to strengthen the local business climate through an Integrated Sustainability and Investment Coordination Mechanism. Such coordination is intended to create a business environment that supports both investment incentives and environmental protection. More than simply measuring capital flows, this approach prioritizes the quality of investment over its size.

Cross-ministerial coordination also supports this agenda in several ways. The Ministry of Transportation promotes sustainable mobility through TOD regulations, LRT/MRT development, the EV Roadmap, and green port standards. The Ministry of Public Works and Housing (PUPR) strengthens connectivity through toll roads, bridges, and non-motorized transport facilities. The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) shapes renewable energy policy and EV charging networks. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) enforces green infrastructure principles. The Ministry of Industry supports EV and eco-friendly component industries under the Making Indonesia 4.0 agenda. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Finance administers fiscal incentives and PPPs schemes in the transportation sector (Rohim, 2024).

BKPM emphasizes investment quality over quantity by prioritizing projects aligned with sustainability and SDG-related sectors, such as renewable energy, logistics, and green transportation, while supporting investors throughout the project lifecycle. This prioritization reflects a broader challenge that have been faced by Chinese development finance institutions, which continue to struggle with institutional fragmentation and the absence of a clear green strategy (Chiyemura et al., 2023). However, the

investment is mostly state-centered, as large Chinese SOEs often operate independently. To meet international standards, BKPM should integrate sustainability indicators, e.g., labor rights, carbon intensity, and community benefits, into its investment promotion and monitoring framework.

Further challenges include reliance on external financing and technology, which may limit policy autonomy, and the concentration of benefits from large infrastructure projects, such as KCIC, in urban and industrial areas. Such a challenge leaves rural regions underserved. At the local level, projects may disrupt traditional livelihoods or trigger social tensions if community and environmental needs are overlooked. This reflects common FDI patterns in which investment tends to favor more developed regions over less developed ones (Fu et al., 2018).

Moreover, previous research highlights that around 40% of BRI-linked projects that are financed by the China Development Bank in Indonesia pose some risks to biodiversity and indigenous communities because the projects implement weak domestic governance and safeguards (Simmons, 2022). Concerns about social and environmental impacts, including risks to biodiversity and indigenous communities, are also a consistent theme in analyses of Chinese projects in various developing countries, as documented in case studies from the energy sector in Africa (Shen, 2020). These findings highlight the importance of more inclusive and careful planning, stronger regulatory oversight, and balanced regional development policies to ensure that Chinese FDI supports not only Indonesia's economic growth but also the citizen's social equity and the environment's long-term sustainability.

More importantly, Indonesia's investment promotion framework, which is based on

open-access laws, investor facilitation, fiscal and non-fiscal incentives, and inter-ministerial cooperation, supports the long-term sustainability of infrastructure and energy development. Several factors strengthen this role, including improvements in the local business environment, stronger competition, and greater opportunities for MSMEs and the national workforce. In this regard, FDI can function as a supporting force for economic transformation and inclusive growth.

Investment promotion is therefore central to Indonesia's FDI governance, with BKPM serving as the main institutional actor in risk-based licensing, fiscal and non-fiscal incentive provision, and investor assistance, particularly for investors from China. Through tax holidays, super tax deductions, and import duty exemption policies under BKPM Regulation No. 4/2021, combined with sectoral priorities in sustainable transportation, renewable energy, and high-tech manufacturing, BKPM seeks to direct foreign capital toward technology transfer, MSME partnerships, and local job creation.

This framework is reinforced by cross-ministerial coordination, including the EV Roadmap and green port policies of the Ministry of Transportation, the connectivity projects of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, and the Making Indonesia 4.0 agenda of the Ministry of Industry. The involvement of Chinese companies in The Indonesian infrastructure projects shows how investment promotion can produce impacts by improving business climate, expanding local supply chains, and supporting inclusive and sustainable economic transformation.

CONCLUSION

This study presents exploratory descriptive research using qualitative content analysis as its primary methodological approach. It answers the question about 'How has the

Indonesian government articulated a policy framework to guide the attraction of Chinese outward FDI for supporting sustainable transportation development?' Based on the four indicators proposed by Moran (1998), i.e., payment transparency, economic transformation, improvement of the local business climate, and investment promotion, Indonesia has achieved partial success, although several governance gaps remain. The OSS system and quarterly investment reports have improved access to investment data, but project-level disclosure remains limited. Continuous reforms are therefore required to strengthen transparency and accountability, particularly in relation to alignment with the principles of the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention.

Chinese FDI in Indonesia has contributed to technology transfer and supported industrial upgrading. When investments are linked to Special Economic Zones, job creation, and workforce training, they generate broader multiplier effects. However, these benefits are largely concentrated in Java, which highlights the need for more balanced regional development. Despite bureaucratic overlaps and competing policies, recent institutional reforms have generally improved the participation of local enterprises, particularly through the 2020 Job Creation Law and the Positive Investment List.

In the area of investment promotion, BKPM has shifted its focus from capital volume to investment quality by emphasizing sustainability and innovation in collaboration with sectoral ministries. Chinese FDI has strengthened Indonesia's development through technology transfer, job creation, and infrastructure expansion. The policy implications of this study include the need for stronger inter-institutional coordination, the inclusion of sustainability assessments in FDI monitoring, greater transparency in Belt and

Road projects, and the integration of local participation through SME partnerships and workforce training.

At the theoretical level, this research connects Institutional Liberalism with development-oriented FDI theory. It emphasizes that effective state capacity and institutional coordination in foreign investment governance are vital preconditions for sustainability. For Indonesia, Chinese FDI is more than a source of infrastructure financing; it also helps reshape the country's economic structure, local business environment, and socio-economic outcomes. By supporting firm-level technology transfer, encouraging the integration of SMEs, and strengthening institutional capacity, Chinese FDI contributes to Indonesia's development aspirations under the SDGs and can function as a force for systemic economic and governance reform.

LIMITATION AND IMPLICATION

Although this study offers important insights, it has several methodological and empirical limitations. *First*, the data collection process was primarily based on publicly available government sources and interviews with BKPM officials, which may reflect institutional perspectives more strongly than the views of private investors, civil society, or affected communities. *Second*, the study focuses only on the transportation sector within the 2019–2024 period, making it difficult to generalize the findings to other sectors, such as energy or manufacturing.

Third, although the qualitative approach provides in-depth analysis, it does not include quantitative measurements of the sustainability outcomes of FDI.

Future research could conduct comparative analyses among ASEAN countries to examine how different governance structures produce varying FDI outcomes. Further studies could also incorporate quantitative indicators, such as green investment ratios, the number of new local jobs created, and carbon-reduction metrics, to assess sustainable development outcomes more precisely. Local-level case studies are also needed to examine community impacts and environmental governance more closely. In addition, future research should include multi-stakeholder perspectives, especially from local governments, NGOs, private-sector actors, and affected communities, in order to provide a more balanced understanding of FDI governance.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Haniyah Nurafifah, who holds a bachelor's degree in International Relations from Universitas Andalas, has strong academic interests in global political economy and sustainability studies. Virtuous Setyaka and Diah Anggraini Austin are lecturers in the Department of International Relations at Universitas Andalas. Both specialize in global political economy, with teaching and research interests focused on development, investment, and international cooperation.

REFERENCES

- Abdussamad, Z. (2021). *Metode penelitian kualitatif*. Syakir Media Press.
- Alamsyah, I. E. (2024, June 15). *Produsen mobil China pastikan Indonesia jadi hub produksi EV stir kanan untuk 54 negara*. Republika Online. <https://ekonomi.republika.co.id/berita/sf3nnt349/produsen-mobil-china-pastikan-indonesia-jadi-hub-produksi-ev-stir-kanan-untuk-54-negara>
- Assagaf, S. R., Firdharizki, A., & Wisnumurti, H. (2023). China as an alternative source of FDI: Analyzing the cases in Indonesia. *Ilomata International Journal of Social Science*, 4(3), 508–517. <https://doi.org/10.52728/ijss.v4i3.871>

- Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal Republik Indonesia. (2021). *Peraturan Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal Republik Indonesia Nomor 4 Tahun 2021 tentang pedoman dan tata cara pelayanan perizinan berusaha berbasis risiko dan fasilitas penanaman modal*. <https://jdih-storage.bkpm.go.id/jdih/userfiles/documents/2021/10/2021PerBKPM004.pdf>
- Biro Komunikasi dan Informasi Publik. (2024, May 14). *Kementerian Perhubungan telah selesaikan 25 proyek strategis nasional sektor transportasi*. Kementerian Perhubungan Republik Indonesia. <https://dephub.go.id/post/read/kementerian-perhubungan-telah-selesaikan-25-proyek-strategis-nasional-sektor-transportasi>
- Caria, S., & Ghinoi, S. (2025). Evolving and differentiated strategy? A network approach to understanding Chinese development finance. *Review of African Political Economy*. <https://doi.org/10.62191/ROAPE-2025-0022>
- Chiyemura, F., Shen, W., Burgess, M., Mulugetta, Y., & Wang, Y. (2023). A dynamic institutional analysis of China's engagement with Africa's renewable energy market. *Environmental Politics*, 32(7), 1140–1162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2023.2194773>
- Dang, H. L., & Nguyen, L. P. (2022). China's "dual circulation" strategy: Urgent needs for greater economic self-reliance. *International Journal of China Studies*, 13(2), 215–236. <https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/IJCS/article/download/45500/15977/117153>
- Fall, F., Fialho, P., & Huang, T. (2024). *Scaling-up infrastructure investment to strengthen sustainable development in Brazil* (OECD Economics Department Working Papers No. 1790). OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/47d65b26-en>
- Fu, Y., Supriyadi, A., & Wang, T. (2018). China's outward FDI in Indonesia: Spatial patterns and determinants. *Sustainability*, 10(12), Article 4632. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10124632>
- Gallagher, K. S., & Qi, Q. (2021). Chinese overseas investment policy: Implications for climate change. *Global Policy*, 12(3), 260–272. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12952>
- Investasi, K. (2025). *Wawancara bersama Kementerian Investasi dan Hilirisasi (BKPM)*.
- Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia. (2025, May 26). *Pemerintah Indonesia perkuat kerja sama ekonomi strategis dengan Tiongkok lewat dua memorandum baru*. <https://www.kemenkeu.go.id/informasi-publik/publikasi/berita-utama/mou-indonesia-tiongkok-25-mei-25>
- Keohane, R. O. (1989). *International institutions and state power: Essays in international relations theory*. Westview Press.
- Leipziger, D. (2016). The OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions. In *The corporate responsibility code book* (3rd ed., pp. 307–329). Greenleaf Publishing. https://doi.org/10.9774/gleaf.9781783530670_18
- Lu, K., & Biglaiser, G. (2020). The politics of Chinese foreign direct investment in the USA. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 55(2), 254–272. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909619874816>
- Moran, T. H. (1998). *Foreign direct investment and development: The new policy agenda for developing countries and economies in transition*. Institute for International Economics.
- Nasruddin, N., Radam, I. F., Mahyuni, M., Riadi, S., Hadi, I. K., Dewi, D. H., & Rahmawati, R. (2024). Sustainable transportation infrastructure development: Case study of Tanah Bumbu Regency. *Jurnal Geografika: Geografi Lingkungan Lahan Basah*, 5(1), 85–92. <https://doi.org/10.20527/jgp.v5i1.12790>
- Octorifadli, G. P., Puspitasari, A., & Azzqy, A. A. R. (2022). Kepentingan Tiongkok terhadap Indonesia melalui Belt and Road Initiative dalam pembangunan Kereta Cepat Jakarta-Bandung periode 2015–2020. *Balcony*, 5(2), 175–186. <https://jom.fisip.budiluhur.ac.id/index.php/balcony/article/view/261>
- Ofosu, G., & Sarpong, D. (2022). China in Africa: On the competing perspectives of the value of Sino-Africa business relationships. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 56(1), 137–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00213624.2022.2020025>
- Onat, N. C., Kucukvar, M., Halog, A., & Cloutier, S. (2017). Systems thinking for life cycle sustainability assessment: A review of recent developments, applications, and future perspectives. *Sustainability*, 9(5), Article 706. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su9050706>

- Palguna, I. D. G., Santosa, A. A. G. D. H., Shara, M. C. P., & Karunian, A. Y. (2024). The regulation impact of foreign ownership on the cooperation projects air transportation. *BESTUUR*, 12(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v12i1.79217>
- Peraturan Menteri Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian Nomor 4 Tahun 2024. (2024). *Tata cara penyampaian usulan, verifikasi, evaluasi, penetapan, pemantauan, dan pelaporan perubahan daftar proyek strategis nasional*. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/315220>
- Prasetyo, K. C. (2024). Global South responses to China's BRI projects: A case study of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Railway Project. *Global South Review*, 5(2), Article 7. <https://doi.org/10.22146/globalsouth.90951>
- Quer, D., Rienda, L., & Andreu, R. (2019). Chinese investments in Latin America: An analysis of host country determinants. *Journal of Evolutionary Studies in Business*, 4(2), 45–67. <https://doi.org/10.1344/jesb2019.2.j060>
- Rahayu, J. T. (2019, November 14). *Pelindo I gandeng Belanda-China garap fase 2 Pelabuhan Kuala Tanjung*. ANTARA News Sumatera Utara. <https://sumut.antaranews.com/berita/257799/pelindo-i-gandeng-belanda-china-garap-fase-2-pelabuhan-kuala-tanjung>
- Reuters. (2025, February 5). *Chinese firms control around 75% of Indonesian nickel capacity, report finds*. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/chinese-firms-control-around-75-indonesian-nickel-capacity-report-finds-2025-02-05/>
- Rohim, H. A. A. (2024, January 29). *Pembangunan infrastruktur dorong pertumbuhan ekonomi Indonesia*. Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia. https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/pembangunan_infrastruktur_dorong_pertumbuhan_ekonomi_indonesia
- Saraswati, N. M. V. (2020). Menilik perjanjian Indonesia-Cina dalam kerangka Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) dalam perspektif ketahanan nasional. *Jurnal Lemhannas RI*, 7(2), 55–72. <https://doi.org/10.55960/jlri.v7i2.72>
- Sarmiento, P. (2023, September 1). *Belt and Road takes ties to "next level"*. China Daily Global. <https://epaper.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202309/01/WS64f119f7a31020d7c67bc4a8.html>
- Shen, W. (2020). China's role in Africa's energy transition: A critical review of its intensity, institutions, and impacts. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 68, Article 101578. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101578>
- Simmons, B. A. (2022, January 11). *Domestic policies and practices could increase social and ecological risks along the BRI: Insights from Indonesia*. Boston University Global Development Policy Center. <https://www.bu.edu/gdp/2022/01/11/domestic-policies-and-practices-could-increase-social-and-ecological-risks-along-the-bri-insights-from-indonesia/>
- Siwi, A. P. (2013). Bilateral free trade: Hubungan perdagangan Indonesia-China dalam kerangka ACFTA. *Jurnal Analisis Hubungan Internasional*, 2(3), 111–127.
- Spencer, D. A. (2019). Economics and "bad" management: The limits to performativity. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 43(6), 1455–1472. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/bez033>
- Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32 Tahun 2009 tentang Perlindungan dan Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup. (2009). <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/details/38771/uu-no-32-tahun-2009>
- UNEP. (2025). *Sustainable infrastructure investment*. <https://www.unep.org/topics/finance-and-economic-transformations/transforming-economies/sustainable-infrastructure>
- United Nations Office for Project Services. (2019). *The critical role of infrastructure for the Sustainable Development Goals*. The Economist Intelligence Unit. https://content.unops.org/publications/The-critical-role-of-infrastructure-for-the-SDGs_EN.pdf
- Woodbridge, M. (2015). *From MDGs to SDGs: What are the Sustainable Development Goals?* ICLEI Briefing Sheet: Urban Issues, 1(1), 1–4.
- World Bank. (2021). *World development report 2021: Data for better lives*. <https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1600-0>
- Xiao, J. (2010). The ASEAN-China Investment Agreement: A regionalization of Chinese new BITs. *Society of International Economic Law Working Paper No. 2010/10*.