

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

Neorealists predicted that states will adopt a certain balancing strategy to contain the rise of great power or to managing its relations with the neighboring countries. The most relevant balancing strategy like Southeast Asia's strategic environment is institutional balancing. Especially as the regional group founded to answer regional distrust through managing its cooperation using norms and cooperation forum rather than the use of force. Therefore, institutional balancing is the strategy Indonesia should opt to manage its relations with Southeast Asia nations. This means that if Indonesia falls into a dispute with neighboring countries, Indonesia should use the ASEAN-led mechanism as a guideline to resolve the conflict. Neorealism also predicted domestic preconditions that influencing the state's balancing strategy. Jakarta's preferences on institutional balancing also came from the principle and doctrine of foreign policy and the country's willingness to play a low profile to maintaining regional stability.

Neorealism, however, failed to explain why Indonesia opt for an assertive balancing strategy despite the strategic environment and domestic pressure already compatible with institutional balancing. Therefore, the main theme of this research is Indonesia's foreign policy behavior of opting for overbalancing as a balancing strategy, shifting from the traditionally institutional balancing strategy instead of institutional balancing strategy. Using the framework of neoclassical realism, this research examined the intervening variable that links international pressure with foreign policy options. According to neoclassical domestic politics

realists, the unique structure of the system and the leader's perception are what matters on translating the international environment and contributing to the policy option applied by the state's leader. To examine how the intervening variable perceived the international pressure, the writer used the elite consensus framework approach proposed by Randall Schweller that seeks elite perception of nature. By using neoclassical realism framework, this research focused on threat perception of the agencies rather than the existing strategic environment and the set parameter.

This research found the foreign policy elites that consists of the President, KKP, Kemlu, Kemenko Maritim, and KKP faced disagreement on how to combat illegal fishing issues, and therefore, Jakarta failed to opt for institutional balancing strategy as a mechanism to manage the illegal fishing issues. Despite Kemlu already clear stating that Jakarta should opt for an ASEAN-led mechanism, President and KKP did not see that the strategy is effective in combating illegal fishing. This leads to Indonesia opt for sinking the vessel strategy. Therefore, the threat remains answered but failed to meet the expected strategy due to elite disagreement and certain perception matters. The disagreement exists on how each agency views the threat and how they perceive the international environment, in particular how they see ASEAN as a regional bloc that used to manage the conflict.

Neoclassical realist contribution in this research also able to found that Jokowi, as the head of state that also obtaining its role as a transmission belt that links the international environment to policy options. This occurred due to the

head of the state had no freedom to translate international pressure. Using the J.G. Stein threat perception framework, Jokowi views of international perception distorted by public demands and political pressure that leads him to opt for nationalistic-materialistic policy options. Jokowi also needs to ensure that his strategic options applied to his ministries. Therefore, the conclusion is that due to his inability to translate the international pressure and his top-down approach of policymaking, his ability to force certain policies increased. Leading to certain ministries, Kemlu, and Kemenko Maritim in this regard, to forcibly follow Jokowi's balancing strategy.

What does this research implicated to future Indonesia foreign policy or Indonesia foreign policy to ASEAN in particular? This research argued that during the second term of Jokowi's presidency, his policy remains matter after he successfully consolidate his political coalition in 2019 and his final terms mean he will seek for the legacy to end his term. However, this does not mean that Jokowi will opt for an assertive strategy as in this term Jokowi will seek cooperation to complete infrastructure development rather than triggering diplomatic quarrel through the assertive move. Jokowi nationalist-materialist views of foreign policy also will continue and impacting to zero-sum actions to ASEAN and focusing to economy rather than political-security issues. This research also implied that as the head of state influenced to foreign policy remain strong, Indonesia still not fully reformed its foreign policy. Kemlu still the minor actors, on the other hand, other relevant ministries that important to government strategic plan will have more superior role in foreign policy.

Future research needs to further examine the debate revolving Indonesia's foreign policy to ASEAN that currently debating that Indonesia 'leaving the ASEAN', on a more various study case and perspectives. In regards to the intervening variable examination, future research could study the impact of Jokowi's idiosyncrasy on the threat perception, the cartelization culture of Indonesian politics, the role of democratic institutions, and the impact of Islamic Populism to Jokowi realist nature of the foreign policy.

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