



**Parahyangan Catholic University**  
**Faculty of Social and Political Sciences**  
**Department of International Relations**

*Accredited A*  
*SK BAN –PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019*

**Unit-Level Explanation on Indonesian Foreign Policy**  
**under Joko Widodo Presidency (2015-2019): Study Case**  
**Illegal Fishing**

Undergraduate Thesis

By  
Miftahul Choir  
2016330170

Bandung  
2020



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Bandung  
2020

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik  
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Miftahul Choir

## Abstract

Nama : Miftahul Choir

NPM : 2016330170

Judul Skripsi : Unit-Level Explanation to Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Joko Widodo's Presidency (2015-2019): Study Case Illegal Fishing

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Neo-realism predicted the state will choose a certain balancing strategy accordingly to the given strategic environment and the relative power of respective states. Since Southeast Asia recognized as informal and norm-based regionalism, state balancing strategy will maximize the regional organization as a means to restraining member state's behavior and managing basic interaction within states. However, neo-realism unable to explain why states would not adopting the expected balancing strategy despite already obtained necessary international pressure and relative power. This condition occurred in Indonesia's foreign policy toward ASEAN, especially on combating illegal fishing disputes. Ever since the foundation of the regional group, Indonesia has applied the ASEAN-led mechanism as a means to the dispute. However, the regional distribution of power and Jakarta's relative power do not change but Indonesia's balancing strategy does. To explain such conditions, this research will employ neo-classical realism to examine why Indonesia not adopting an institutional balancing strategy. Neoclassical-realist argued that it is the intervening variable that determined the state's balancing strategy. This research will analyze Indonesia's intervening variable using Randall Scwheller's elite consensus framework and found out the shift of Indonesia's balancing strategy occurred due to elite dissensus on how perceiving ASEAN as a regional group

*Keywords: Balancing strategy, ASEAN Way, illegal fishing, sinking the vessel, foreign policy*

### Abstrak

Name : Miftahul Choir  
Student Number : 2016330170  
Tittle : Ekspansi Agensi terhadap Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia dibawah Pemerintahan Joko Widodo (2015-2019): Studi Kasus Illegal Fishing

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Teori neorealisme memprediksikan negara akan memilih strategi *balancing* tertentu yang *diberikan* oleh lingkungan internasional mereka dan kekuatan relatif yang dimiliki oleh negara. Asia Tenggara dikenal sebagai organisasi yang mengedepankan norma, nilai dan aturan serta penggunaan organisasi regional, ASEAN, sebagai strategi *balancing* negara. Meskipun telah menentukan parameter strategi yang harus diambil negara, neo-realism gagal menjelaskan kenapa negara gagal melakukan strategi tertentu padahal kondisinya sudah mencukupi. Hal inilah yang terjadi pada Indonesia. Dalam menyelesaikan kasus *illegal fishing*, Indonesia seharusnya menggunakan strategi *institutional balancing*, namun yang Indonesia lakukan justru memilih kebijakan penenggelaman kapal. Untuk menjelaskan fenomena tersebut, tulisan ini akan menggunakan pendekatan neoclassical realisme untuk menjelaskan kenapa Indonesia lebih memilih kebijakan penenggelaman kapal. Menurut pendekatan neoclassical realisme, variabel intervensi perlu dianalisa lebih lanjut untuk mengetahui kenapa negara tidak memilih kebijakan yang seharusnya. Menggunakan kerangka berpikir elite consensus yang diperkenalkan oleh Randall Schweller, riset ini menunjukkan adanya ketidaksepakatan antara pembuat kebijakan terkait kebijakan apa yang harus diambil.

*Keywords: Balancing strategy, ASEAN Way, illegal fishing, sinking the vessel, foreign policy*

## PREFACE

The debate on Indonesia's future in ASEAN has been one of the main discussions in the study of Indonesia's foreign policy after Rizal Sukma published his op-ed in Jakarta Post in 2009. The debate becomes tenser after Sukma became one of President Joko Widodo's foreign policy advisers and successfully influenced Jakarta's foreign policy under Jokowi's presidency. Especially as the president national strategic plan include a nationalist sentiment that welcomes scholars debate whether this will be suitable to Indonesia's foreign policy to ASEAN.

This study serves minor contributions following Sukma's and scholars' debate on the future of Indonesia's foreign policy and leadership in ASEAN. Due to the vast amount of work between Indonesia and ASEAN, this study focused on the issues of illegal fishing. Especially as the issue provides substantial debate due to its contradictory to traditional ASEAN-led mechanism on managing conflict. This study also contributes by bringing agency as the level of analysis to understand the debate within the government whether Jakarta should opt to ASEAN-led mechanism or using other necessary means.

The author would like to thanks Randall Schweller, Gideon Rose, Colin Elman, and Norrin Ripsman for providing digestible pieces of literature on neoclassical realism that helped the writer formulating a framework to analyze Indonesia's foreign policy. This research also will not be complete without Adrianus Harsawaskita, as the writer's supervisor on this research. *Mas Adri's* knowledge and understanding of Indonesia's foreign policy and neoclassical realism and his intellectualism inspired the writer to maximize this research.

To study in The Department of International Relations, Parahyangan Catholic University is a huge privilege for the writer. Therefore, the writer would like to thanks Syueb Abuhanifah and Chairum Rahmi as author's parents that give tangible and intangible support for this four-year study. I wish this thesis would bring the writer's far and fulfill your aspiration. Mutya Hanifah, as writer's sister

who contributed on proofread this thesis and Bobby Syahputra, the writer's brother.

The writer's study in IR Unpar would not be enjoyable without friends and colleagues that helped the writer's during this four-year studies. The author glad to meet *Paanci* since day-1; Fransiska Andita, Halimah Anjani, Joe William, Akmal Septyadana, Alifa Shalsabila, Michelle Patricia, Robby Cahyadi and Ezra Permana. The writer will always remember the spontaneous group discussion, talk at Gembul, and other stuff over this past for four-year.

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The peak of the writer's college life is undoubted during the period in *Pusat Studi Ilmu Kemasyarakatan Parahyangan*. The platform that the author has been longing since freshman. Similar to Media Parahyangan, this is the platform where the author developed his idealism and exploring the advocating fields. Pusik also helped the writer decided his future study after Unpar, as the discussion in Pusik mainly revolving around the political ideology of Indonesia and the post-reformation democratization process. All of this, would not happen without the author's political and ideological mentor, Budi Yogasoebandi Permana. I wish *Bang Yoga* better health and able to see better and democratic Indonesia in the future. I would also like to thank the new member of Pusik: Vicentia, Satria Negarawan, Taffarrel Montero, Eric Cihanes, Vicentia Vahistha. I wish you could maximize your time in Pusik and learn as much as you can.

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Author  
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**ABBREVIATION**

ADMM	<i>ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting</i>
AICHR	<i>ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights</i>
AIPR	<i>ASEAN Institute of Peace and Reconcilliatin</i>
AMF	<i>ASEAN Maritime Forum</i>
AMS	<i>ASEAN Member States</i>
APSC	<i>ASEAN Political-Security Community</i>
ARF	<i>ASEAN Regional Forum</i>
ASA	<i>Association of Southeast Asia</i>
ASEAN	<i>Association of Southeast Asia Nations</i>
Bakamla	<i>National Coordination Body for Maritime Security</i>
BIN	<i>National Intelligence Body</i>
CBM	<i>Confidence Building Measures</i>
CSIS	<i>Centre for Strategic and International Studies</i>
DCA	<i>Defense Cooperation Agreement</i>
DPR	<i>The House of Representative of Republic Indonesia</i>
EAMF	<i>Extended ASEAN Maritime Forum</i>
EAS	<i>East Asia Summit</i>
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ESDM	<i>The Ministry of Energy and Resources</i>
EU	<i>European Union</i>
FAO	<i>Food and Agriculture Organization</i>
G20	<i>Group of Twenty</i>

GDP	<i>Gross Domestic Product</i>
Gerindra	<i>National Movement Party</i>
GMF	<i>Global Maritime Fulcrum</i>
IORA	<i>Indian Ocean Rim Organization</i>
Kemenkeu	<i>Ministry of Finance</i>
Kemenko Maritim	<i>Coordinating Ministry on Maritime Affairs</i>
Kemenpar	<i>Ministry of Tourism</i>
Kemhub	<i>Ministry of Transportations</i>
Kemlu	<i>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</i>
KKI	<i>National Sea Policy</i>
KKP	<i>Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries</i>
MCS	<i>Monitoring, Control and Surveillance</i>
MK	<i>Supreme Court</i>
NATO	<i>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</i>
NTN	<i>Fisherman Revenue Index</i>
PDIP	<i>National Democratic Part</i>
Polair	<i>Water Police</i>
PSDKP	<i>Directory of Supervising and Managing Fisheries and Maritime Resource</i>
Renstra	<i>Strategic Plan</i>
RPJMN	<i>National Long Term Strategic Plan</i>
Satgas 115	<i>Task Force 115</i>
SOM	<i>Senior Official Meeting</i>

TAC	<i>Treaty of Amity and Cooperation</i>
TNI-AL	<i>National Navy</i>
TOC	<i>Transnational Organized Crime</i>
UNCLOS	<i>United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea</i>
ZOPFAN	<i>Zone of Peace, Free and Neutrality</i>

## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background**

Since its foundation in 1967, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been the priority of Indonesian foreign policy, despite the regime change and domestic political reformed. This evidenced by the regional bloc placed on the core of Indonesian concentric circle foreign policy<sup>1</sup> ahead of Western Europe, North American, East Asia that brings Jakarta material benefits or Africa that has a historical bond with the country. Indonesia placing ASEAN as the core concentric circle based on Indonesian free and active foreign policy that was coined by the country's first vice-president, Mohammad Hatta. The free and active doctrine mandated Indonesia to be actively promoting world peace and Indonesia needs to be friends with other nations.<sup>2</sup> This is also in line with *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*, as Indonesia's highest constitution that states the objective of the foundation of Indonesia is to create world peace. Hence, actively participating and becoming the leader of ASEAN is suitable and obligatory according to Indonesian national philosophy. ASEAN placed as the core concentric circle also sourced from Indonesia's position as one of the founding members of ASEAN and has contributed to the regional bloc advancement.

Indonesia commitment to maintaining ASEAN as the core of foreign policy also stipulated in the country's 2005-2025 Long Term National Strategic

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<sup>1</sup> Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "Indonesia Foreign Policy after the Cold War," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1994, p. 148

<sup>2</sup> Mohammad Hatta, "Indonesia between the Power," *Foreign Affairs* 36, no. 3 (1958): pp. 483-484



Plan (RPJMN), in which Indonesia needs to display its active participation in international fora and Indonesia should start from ASEAN to manifest its activeness:<sup>3</sup>

*“Enhancing effectivity and expanding networks of cooperation to solidify The Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) in political, economic, socio-culture, and security areas toward the establishment of a solid ASEAN community.”*

During Joko Widodo (Jokowi) first term presidency, his commitment to Jakarta active participation and leadership in ASEAN manifest by its support on establishing and displaying regional norms. Particularly as ASEAN is an informal regional bloc, unlike the highly bureaucratized European Union (EU), Indonesian leadership characterized by Jakarta's effort to implementing an ASEAN-led mechanism known as ASEAN Way on mitigating regional disputes.<sup>4</sup> ASEAN Way shows its importance to the regional bloc as it becomes the antidote to regional problems during its foundation in the cold war period. Therefore, Indonesia needs to follow the ASEAN-led mechanism as a means to fulfill its national mandate on achieving world peace. However, ASEAN Way should not be understood only as of the organizational norm, instead, it is becoming the obligatory norms of how the ASEAN Member States (AMS) conducting

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<sup>3</sup> “Visi Dan Arah Pembangunan Jangka Panjang (PJP) Tahun 2005-2025,” Badan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia, p. 76, accessed October 2, 2019, <https://www.bappenas.go.id/id/data-dan-informasi-utama/dokumen-perencanaan-dan-pelaksanaan/dokumen-rencana-pembangunan-nasional/rpjp-2005-2025/rpjp-2005-2025/>

<sup>4</sup> Pattharapong Rattanaseeve, “Leadership in ASEAN: The Role of Indonesia Reconsidered,” *Asian Journal of Political Science* 22, no. 2 (2014): pp. 117-120

international relations.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in bilateral disputes within AMS, the countries remain committed to using ASEAN Way to prevent conflict escalation.

Indonesian effort in implementing the ASEAN-led mechanism also displayed in an intertwined between international or national issues such as combating illegal fishing. According to the ASEAN Way, despite illegal fishing international dimension remains a contested concept, the member states should manage the dispute by consultations, dialogue, Track-II diplomacy, and renunciation the use of assertive actions.<sup>6</sup> The AMS is also able to use the regional forum to build trust and confidence to prevent the escalation of the issue. Forums such as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Maritime Forum (AMF), and East Asia Summit (EAS) have contributed to ASEAN cooperation on combating illegal fishing under the framework of ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC). Therefore, these forum's role in combating illegal fishing consists of providing inter-institutions meeting, sharing experiences, and formulating regional agreement on combating illegal fishing.

## **1.2 Problems Identifications**

### ***1.2.1 Problems Description***

According to Jokowi's official statement and national documents, ASEAN remains maintained as the priority in Indonesian foreign policy during Jokowi's first term presidency. However, Indonesia's actions show

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<sup>5</sup> Amitav Acharya, in *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 60

<sup>6</sup> "The ASEAN Charter", Association of Southeast Asian Nations, p. 3-7, accessed October 2, 2019, <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>

the contrary and displaying stark differences from the traditional Indonesian foreign policy to ASEAN. Ever since Soeharto to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) presidency, Indonesia maintains its low profile nature in ASEAN but keeps contributing to managing regional disputes.<sup>7</sup> Those governments also view ASEAN as a constructivist organization that serves as 'norm entrepreneur' rather than material gain. This low profile persona needed to shows that Indonesia has no intention to dominate the region and prove it as the commitment to the ASEAN-led mechanism.

However, Indonesia's participation in ASEAN must collide with Jokowi's '*Nawacita*' national aspiration to reinforce Indonesia's sovereignty. Thus, indicating Jokowi sees international relations in a more aggressive nature. Jokowi's aggressive nature manifests itself in his decision to 'sink the vessels' to reclaim Indonesia maritime resources that have been causing Indonesia maritime income deficit and loss of fishermen welfare, despite its position as maritime archipelagic state and its abundant maritime resources.<sup>8</sup> Through this policy, Jokowi is disregarding ASEAN-led mechanisms as Jakarta is becoming more assertive, showing its military superiority in the region, preventing

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<sup>7</sup> Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, "Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Era Order Baru," in *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Di Tengah Pusaran Politik Domestik*, ed. Ganewati Wuryandari (Jakarta: LIPI, 2008), pp. 119-120

<sup>8</sup> Sekretaris Kabinet RI, "Arahan Presiden RI Joko Widodo Pada Penerimaan Peserta Program Pendidikan Regular LEMHANAS, Di Istana Negara, Jakarta, 18 November 2014," Sekretariat Kabinet RI, November 18, 2014. Accessed 29<sup>th</sup> October 2019 <https://setkab.go.id/arahan-presiden-ri-joko-widodo-pada-penerimaan-peserta-program-pendidikan-reguler-lemhanas-di-istana-negara-jakarta-18-november-2014/>

confidence-building measures, and disregarding the multilayered context of the issues. The action also contradicts to Indonesia's commitment as a 'peace-loving nations' that manage conflict with peaceful means rather than coercive.<sup>9</sup>

During Jokowi's five-year tenure, sinking the vessel policy has successfully sunk 556 foreign vessels from Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and China.<sup>10</sup> Most of the actions performed in the remaining disputed territory. This has led to diplomatic friction especially as Indonesia has not yet finished maritime border negotiations with Vietnam and Malaysia. Jakarta has also just finished the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) negotiations with The Philippines in 2019 and is still waiting for the ratification. Due to the decision, Hanoi protested Indonesia's actions and recalled the Indonesian Ambassador to Hanoi.<sup>11</sup> While there is no official statement, Thailand also questioned Indonesia's decisions on illegal fishing and blamed Indonesia for the decline in its fish stocks.<sup>12</sup> Indonesia also saw as hurting the current Continental Shelf Agreement with Vietnam as both Jakarta and Hanoi have not agreed on the

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<sup>9</sup> Chairun Nasirin and Dedy Hermawan, "Kontroversi Implementasi Kebijakan Peneggelaman Kapal Dalam Rangka Pemberantasan Illegal Fishing Di Indonesia," *Spirit Publik* 12, no. 1 (n.d.): pp. 11

<sup>10</sup> Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan, "Dari Natuna, Menteri Susi Pimpin Peneggelaman 19 Kapal Ilegal Di 3 Kota," Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan, October 8, 2019. Accessed 29<sup>th</sup> October 2019 <https://kkp.go.id/artikel/14331-dari-natuna-menteri-susi-pimpin-peneggelaman-19-kapal-ilegal-di-3-kota>)

<sup>11</sup> Prashanth Parameswaran, "Vietnam 'Deeply Concerned' by Indonesia's War on Illegal Fishing," *The Diplomat*, August 21, 2015, accessed 8<sup>th</sup> January 2020 <https://thediplomat.com/2015/08/vietnam-deeply-concerned-by-indonesias-war-on-illegal-fishing/>)

<sup>12</sup> Bangkok Post, "Fishing Fleets Warned of Sinking Threat in Indonesia," *Bangkok Post*, December 11, 2014. Accessed 8<sup>th</sup> January 2020 [Bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/449034/thai-trawlers-warned-indonesia-will-sink-illegal-fishing-boats](http://Bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/449034/thai-trawlers-warned-indonesia-will-sink-illegal-fishing-boats))

Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ). If Jakarta wants to maintain its informal leadership in ASEAN, then Jokowi needs to maintain on displaying ASEAN-led mechanism on solving regional disputes and resolving frictions diplomatic means.

The incompatibility of sinking the vessel to Indonesia's foreign policy to ASEAN occurred due to Indonesian foreign policy being distorted by Jokowi's nationalistic-materialist agenda, thus leading Indonesian foreign policy to ASEAN becoming seen as incoherent. Indonesian foreign policy should be based on RPJMN and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Kemlu*) national strategic plans. However, ministries and institutions interpreted Indonesia's activity and leadership' differently and worsened by Jokowi's variety of strategies of foreign policy during his five years tenure. The Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) and Indo-Pacific show no concrete strategic guidance and inconsistent explanation, leaving the ministries and institutions to interpret the strategy.

In regards to the 'sinking the vessel' decisions, the incoherencies evidenced by *Kemlu* viewing the issues as diplomatic problems and interpreted Jokowi's ambition as maritime diplomacy through the ASEAN Forum. The Ministry of Maritime and Fisheries (KKP) viewed Jokowi's ambition as maritime sovereignty and required strong law enforcement at sea. The coordinating body among those two ministries shows no differences as the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs (Kemenko Maritim) interpreted Jokowi's '*nawacita*' as building maritime

infrastructure to achieve maritime connectivity. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) noted that these conditions contributed to Indonesian fading away from ASEAN, especially with the growing competition between *KKP* and *Kemenko Maritim* on opting for assertive or cooperative strategy to combat illegal fishing.<sup>13</sup> This shows disagreement within ministries on perceiving ASEAN, leading to issuing a policy that not in line with the ASEAN-led mechanism. The policy that prevails depends on which one is given Jokowi's support. In this case, the 'sink the vessels' policy matters but Indonesia still needs to shows its traditional leadership in ASEAN.

### ***1.2.2 Problems Limitation***

This research will focus on disagreement among ministries in Jokowi's first term (2014-2019) concerning the policy option to answer the illegal fishing issues. The ministries consist of *Kemlu*, *KKP*, and *Kemenko Maritim* as these are related to the 'sink the vessels' policy and Indonesia's foreign policy to ASEAN in general. Therefore, this research will not be discussing the *locus standi* of sinking the vessel but rather how the policy suitability to ASEAN-led mechanism and how ministerial and institutions disregarding the mechanism.

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<sup>13</sup> Fitriani and Vido Chandra Panduwinata, "Analisis Kinerja Kementerian Luar Negeri (2015-2018)," CSIS Working Paper, no. 3 (2019): pp. 32-35

### ***1.2.3 Research Questions***

To understand current Indonesia's foreign policy toward ASEAN that contrasts with predicted maximum balancing strategy, this research will answer the question of ***why Indonesia opts to sink the vessel policy on responding to illegal fishing issues?***

## **1.3 Objective and Purposes**

### **1.3.1 Research Objective**

This research will focus on how the domestic agents translated the international environment into policy options. Especially on illegal fishing, previous research has mainly focused on legal debates about policy and Jokowi's idiosyncrasies that led to the decisions and Indonesia's strategic environment. Those researches, however, were unable to explain the existing ASEAN policy, its lack of strategic guidance which led to multiple interpretations, and especially the debate within Indonesia's government on which policy should prevail. This research shows that elite consensus and elite perception towards external conditions contribute to Indonesia's character of not following ASEAN-led mechanisms. Including sub-national actors in the study is relevant since post-political reformation Indonesia means foreign policy became politicized and actors other than *Kemlu* and the head of state became involved. Especially, in this context KKP - which was traditionally not involved in foreign policy – became a determining factor.

### **1.3.2 Research Purpose**

For foreign policy practices, this study could act as a reference for evaluating the implementation of Indonesian foreign policy and as a consideration when creating future policy, especially if the government wishes for coherence in its foreign policy. For International Relations (IR) studies, this research will reference related Indonesian foreign policy through the lens of neoclassical realism. For IR students, this research could be a reference for future research.

### **1.4 Literature Review**

Various attempts have been made to explore sinking the vessel policy relations to Indonesian foreign policy. Study such as the impact on relations with neighboring states, the motivation to implement the policy, and the legal standing ranging from various studies such as Public Administration, Law, and Fisheries Studies. However, despite large numbers of studies, there is still a sufficient amount of publication examining the action in the international relations strand. Mostly the study on international relations limited to the impact and international law perspectives. Unit-level analysis or neoclassical realism, in general, has not been included in the pool of literature on illegal fishing. The systemic and unit-level analysis is important to understand how Indonesia's foreign policy decisionmaker perceives and calculated existing policy options. Thus, it provides an understanding of how ASEAN placed compare to another strategy.

The studies on the incoherencies of Indonesia policymaker on sinking the vessel policy have been made by Chairun Nasirin on his article titled "*The*



*Controversial Implementation of Sinking Ship Policy in the Attempt of Eradicating Illegal Fishing in Indonesia*” that published in Spirit Publik. Coming from the Public Administration strand, Nasirin attempt to examine the reality of sinking the vessel policy implementation, seeing the action invested with institutional and parochial interest, thus becoming a public controversy.<sup>14</sup> Nasirin argued that public policy is a systemic process that fosters interaction among actors that also include institutional interest. However, the interest will be constructed by the value respective institution obtained. Leading to disagreement and policy incoherencies.

Throughout his article, Nasirin contributed to the study of sinking the vessel policy by concluding the existence of policy incoherencies within ministries and justifying the inclusion of values on the interest made. Due to disagreement within ministries, this leading to the head of the state need to instruct and discipline the ministries to follow his objective. The conditions also exist due to the lack of clear guidance and implementation strategy regarding the policy. However, despite similarity on using the agency as the unit of analysis, this study unable to explain the debate within agencies on which policies should prevail.

The neo-realist explanation of Indonesia's strategy in ASEAN has been made my Keyza Agustina and Fitra Shaumi Azzahra on their article titled *“Indonesia Middlepowermanship: Comparative Study on Indonesia Response to*

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<sup>14</sup> Chairun Nasirin and Dedy Hermawan, “Kontroversi Implementasi Kebijakan Penenggelaman Kapal Dalam Rangka Pemberantasan Illegal Fishing Di Indonesia,” Spirit Publik 12, no. 1 (n.d.): pp. 9-24

*Illegal Fishing and South China Sea Dispute*” that published in *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*. Agustina & Azzahra explained Indonesia assertive sinking the vessel action that targeted neighboring countries, while at the same time Indonesia only able to change South China Sea name into "*North Natuna Sea*". The literature argued that international pressure contributed to Indonesia's limited actions. Indonesia able to performed sinking the vessel due to small economic interdependencies within AMS and similar military power.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Agustina & Azzahra applied institutional balancing views on international pressure in Southeast Asia. However, despite its contribution to explaining the suitable balancing strategy in Southeast Asia, the literature leaving behind the importance of ASEAN-led mechanism as unique regional input to balancing strategy. Neoclassical realism in this paper will also be giving input to the lacking of unit-level examination on how the policymakers transmitted the international pressure.

Similar to the previous article, Auliya & Sulaiman also give a contribution to the systemic analysis of Indonesia's foreign policy toward ASEAN. Using liberal-institutionalism perspectives, the article argued that Indonesia committed to big ambition in GMF, but having limited power. Therefore, the rational action of Indonesia should be relied on ASEAN, especially to increase Indonesia's diplomatic clout on promoting Indo-Pacific strategy.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, this literature rejects the claim that Indonesia fading away from ASEAN. Auliya & Sulaiman

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<sup>15</sup> Keyza Agustina and Firtra Shaumi Azzahra, "Indonesia Sebagai Kekuatan Menengah: Komparasi Respon Indonesia Terhadap Illegal Fishing Dan Laut Tiongkok Selatan," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 10, no. 2 (December 2017): p. 62

<sup>16</sup> Putri Auliya and Yohanes Sulaiman, "Indonesia, ASEAN Centrality and Global Maritime Fulcrum," *Global Strategis* 13, no. 1 (2019): p. 80

explain such as growing US-China competition in the region, regional distrust, and domestic limitation of lacking clear guideline and implementation strategy contributed to Indonesia's translation of international and domestic pressure. However, the paper disregarding the empirical evidence that Indonesia creating substantial distrust within AMS thus will be limiting the Indonesia Indo-Pacific aspiration. If Jakarta views the importance of ASEAN and as even as it is complementary to the Indo-Pacific strategy, Indonesia should be committed with the ASEAN-led mechanism.

Specifically, on the unit-level contribution of Indonesian foreign policy, Mangadar Situmorang argued that factors such as international pressure, the dynamic of domestic politics, idiosyncracies contributed to the orientation of Indonesian foreign policy.<sup>17</sup> Especially on personal and sub-national analysis, Situmorang argued that it potentially brings resistance and compromise, therefore urged the policy to be comprehensive. The role of Kemlu and the head of state are also essential to examine how international pressure would be transmitted to the policy.

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

This research will use the variant approach of neoclassical realism to explain the shifting balancing strategy that Indonesia has applied to its foreign policy related to ASEAN. Neoclassical realism was coined by Gideon Rose as a complementary explanation of neo-realism. Rose argued that neo-realism was

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<sup>17</sup> Mangadar Situmorang, "Orientasi Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Di Bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi-JK," *Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* 11, no. 1 (2015): pp. 67-84)

limited in determining which balancing strategy the country will adopt given the existing international pressure, but was unable to explain in detail how effectively the state — especially at the unit level — responded to the pressure.<sup>18</sup> Lobells and Ripsman added while neorealist set the parameters of how states define their interests and pursue particular ends, neoclassical realist examine the existing policy options and how leaders define the international pressure while compromising with domestic structure.<sup>19</sup>,

Therefore, neoclassical realism is the intervening variable to link international pressure (the dependent variable) and the policy option (the independent variable). As Rose explained in his article:<sup>20</sup>

*"The scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy are driven by its place in international systems and specifically by its relative material power capabilities. The impact of power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex because systemic pressure needs to be translated through intervening variables at the unit level."*

The approach seeks to explain the failure of neo-realism's expected balancing strategy. The responsibility goes to the unit-level that becomes the

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<sup>18</sup> Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (October 1998): p. 145-147

<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey Taliaferro, Steven Lobell, and Norrin Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy," in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 28

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy p. 146

transmission belt to translate the international pressure to foreign policy options.<sup>21</sup> The consequences are foreign policy choices made by political leaders, thus their perception of international pressure and domestic capabilities is what matters.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, to analyze the linking variable between the dependent and independent variables, one needs to examine the context and the leader's perception of power and international pressure. Power sources, political dynamics, and the structure of the state also need to be examined since the leader has no maximum freedom to translate international pressure.<sup>23</sup>

Specifically, to examine the intervening variable, this research will implement Randall Schweller work from his book, 'Unanswered Threat'. Schweller highlighted the way states respond to their external environment turns on the preferences of relevant political and social actors and the unique structural characteristics of society and government that constitute constraints to these actors.<sup>24</sup> The domestic variable consisting of *the willingness* or an actor's preferences derives from domestic demands and *the ability* constituting the potential domestic political risk and costs of certain balancing strategies.<sup>25</sup> Schweller further emphasizes four variables that determine the transmission belt willingness and ability, consisting of elite consensus, elite cohesion, regime vulnerability, and social vulnerability. However, this research will be limited to an elite consensus as to the intervening variable.

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 147

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy p. 147

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 147

<sup>24</sup> Randall Schweller, *Unanswered Threat* (Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 46-47

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, *Unanswered Threat* p. 47

Schweller defined elite consensus as to the similarity of elite preferences over outcomes and their beliefs about the preferences and anticipated actions of others.<sup>26</sup> Schweller argued that the state was only able to implement a coherent balancing strategy if the elite agreed to do so; otherwise, the strategy would be incoherent or using the previous status-quo strategy. To examine the elite consensus, Schweller provides variables such as elite agreement on the existing threat, nature, and extent of the threat, agreement on policy remedy, and domestic risks and costs.<sup>27</sup> In a democratic regime, it is also important to acknowledge which perceptions of policy matter.

Since the intervening variable is unit-level threat perception, this research will use Janice Gross Stein's model of threat perception. According to Stein, threat perception could be derived from psychological and non-psychological factors.<sup>28</sup> The non-psychological factors include shifting the balance of power that leads to an inability to making credible commitments, security dilemmas that begin on a mutual misperception of defensive intentions, institutional interest, socio-culture, domestic society such as nationalist values and norm violation.<sup>29</sup> Despite including values on non-psychological attributes, this is not to be confused with constructivism. Rathburn argued idea able to distort the decision maker's role as an intervening variable, especially with the uncertainty and

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, Threat p. 47-49

<sup>28</sup> Janice Stein, "Threat Perception in International Relations," in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. Leonie Huddy, Jack Levy, and David Sears (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 364-394

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

complexity of the environment.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the use of ideas distinct to constructivism that made it as a dependent variable. Furthermore, to explain the outcome of threat perception, Schweller categorized threats into *actual* threats that existed evidenced by the clear signal of intent, *potential* threats of which the evidence existed but had not materialized into danger and *imagined* threats that had no evidence of an existing threat.

To explain the set parameter of the international environment, especially in the context of ASEAN which the realist school traditionally opposed, this research will apply Kai He's work of realist institutional balancing. Kai, He stated that institutional balancing is the rule and norm-based balancing which states can apply to international organizations and practice norm-setting and agenda controlling to constitute basic interactions among states, restraining the member state's behavior and preventing the rise of dominant actors.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the ASEAN-led mechanism was suitable to be placed as international pressure using this approach, especially as Kai He stated the distribution of power in the institutions was measured by the leader's perception.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, the research also needs to conceptualize the balancing strategy option Indonesia did due to foreign policy incoherencies and certain agency's perception matters. Instead of institutional balancing Indonesia adopted an

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<sup>30</sup> Brian Rathbun, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism," *Security Studies* 17, no. 2 (June 14, 2008): pp. 311-318

<sup>31</sup> Kai He, "Does ASEAN Matter? International Relations Theories, Institutional Realism, and ASEAN," *Asian Security* 2, no. 3 (2006): pp. 195-196

<sup>32</sup> Kai He, "Institutional Balancing and International Relations Theory: Economic Interdependence and Balance of Power Strategies in Southeast Asia," *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 489 (2008): pp. 493-495

overbalancing strategy in ASEAN. Schweller defined this as the condition where the state misperceives other states as a threat, leading to the state becoming defensive and enhancing its security.<sup>33</sup> To answer the motivation to overbalance, one needs to determine whether the state is dissatisfied with the international order. The international order is defined as the nature of workable arrangements and limits the acceptable means to resolve the conflict that will arise in a competitive and self-help nature<sup>34</sup> it is competitive and influenced by security dilemmas as it also assumes the state will conflict because of the constant conditions of scarcity in terms of raw materials, markets, social goods, and security.<sup>35</sup>

The rising conflict and threat perception lead the state to question the relevance of international order and is motivated to change the order. Alastair Iain Johnston provided variables to determine whether the state is dissatisfied and whether it has the motivation to change the international system. The variables consists of the degree of an actor's participation in an international organization, whether there is any history of the actor breaking regional norms, attempting to change international norms, attempting to change the distribution of power, and the use of military power.<sup>36</sup> This concept could be used to explain Indonesia's assertive move on ASEAN and how President Joko Widodo perceived the regional group

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, Unanswered Threat p. 10

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27-28

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 121

<sup>36</sup> Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?," *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): pp. 11-12)



## 1.6 Research Method

This research is qualitative research, which attempts to find correlations between theory and reality, focusing on understanding social worlds through meaning interpretation and understanding interactions between actors.<sup>37</sup> Qualitative research will also analyze the phenomena and conclude the data and its propositions.<sup>38</sup> Due to its interpretative nature, the qualitative approach is focused on intangible data rather than quantitative data.

This research used *the grounded theory* as the method for analyzing data and answering the research questions. Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser defined *grounded theory* as a research method that focused on gathering data and developing it into a theory or proposition.<sup>39</sup> The writer will focus on meaning and correlations among the data. The process will include formulating a research question, theory sampling, collecting data, coding, comparing, and reaching a conclusion.<sup>40</sup> The output of *grounded theory* in this research will be the categorization of ministries concerning ASEAN and the 'sinking the vessels' policy. The categorization will follow Schweller's elite consensus variable.

The data will be sourced from government official documents, news, and official statements, particularly statements from ASEAN summits, statements that mentioned the 'sink the vessels' policy and annual policy statements. The author

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<sup>37</sup> Alan Bryman, "The Nature of Qualitative Research." In *Social Research Method*, New York: (Oxford University Press, 2012). p. 380

<sup>38</sup> John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches.* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), p. 174

<sup>39</sup> Anselm Strauss, Barney Glaser, "Generating Theory." In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, 21–25. AldineTransaction, 1967.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, *The Nature of Qualitative Research* p. 578

also conducted a personal interview with government officials in *Kemlu* and *Kemenko Maritim*. The data will be combined in a table and subjected to a coding process.

### **1.7 Research Structure**

The author will divide the research into four chapters. *First*, this research will explore the background, problem identification, literature review, theoretical framework, and research method. This section will highlight the writer's focus on dissensus among ministries on perceiving illegal fishing and how ASEAN positioned each ministerial policy.

The second chapter will highlight Indonesian ideal institutional balancing strategy related to ASEAN and explaining Indonesia's foreign policy decision-makers as the unit of analysis. To explore the strategy, this chapter will explain ASEAN-led mechanisms that were sourced from the Bangkok Declaration, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), the ASEAN Charter and the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC). ASEAN forums on maritime security issues such as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asia Summit (EAS) and ASEAN Maritime Forum (AMF) will also be highlighted, especially to prove that Indonesia should maintain its institutional balancing strategy. The next section will discuss Jakarta's current overbalancing strategy related to ASEAN, which perceives the AMS as threatening Indonesia maritime resources, especially seeing the countries suffer substantial losses due to illegal fishing. To explain the institutions in charge of the 'sink the vessels' policy and who can influence

Indonesian foreign policy, this chapter also will explore the decision-making process of foreign policy and the 'sink the vessels' decision in particular.

The third chapter will analyze the dissensus using Schweller's framework of elite consensus; the perception of a strategic environment, the nature and extent of the threat(s), policy remedies, and domestic political risk. This chapter will explain each variable affecting the head of state, *KKP*, Kemlu, and Kemenko Maritim. Chapter four will conclude the dissensus on perceiving ASEAN and illegal fishing that leading Jakarta to opt for sinking the vessel instead of traditional institutional balancing strategy and explain the obstacles of the research as well as recommending areas of potential future research.

