

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This chapter will resolve the research question of this thesis on “**How does Indonesia Foreign Policy towards SCS issue under SBY and Joko Widodo?**”. In Chapter II, the comparison of foreign policy in SCS between SBY and Joko Widodo showed different kind of approaches with SBY settling the implications within the issue by outward foreign policy and Joko Widodo with more inward-centered policy. This explained further in Chapter III, which outlined the variables of Kai He hypothesis on how Political Legitimacy and international pressure determine leader’s behavior in their foreign policy conduct. Through the explanation, it has been found that both SBY and Joko Widodo attained high political legitimacy through replacement democratic transition and measurement of degrees of political legitimacy. Under international pressure, both presidents also received high degrees condition due to arise tension and continuous impact to Indonesia in SCS issue.

Having high political legitimacy and high international pressure resulted to external balancing behavior in both SBY and Joko Widodo Indonesia Foreign Policy. Despite both leaders have strong political legitimacy and high international pressure, which allowed them to have more power in determining foreign policy initiatives and constrained their behavior in SCS issue, **they received different opportunities and challenges.** SBY’s interest on regional stability and keeping the status quo position in SCS

challenged by the needs to maintain regional stability and keeping the status quo position. He also got the opportunities in enhancing relations with US and China and took leadership role in ASEAN, improving Indonesia's position in International realm. Meanwhile, Joko Widodo who took interest in maintaining the maritime sovereignty challenged by keeping Indonesia sovereignty over Natuna waters and expectation by ASEAN and US in taking active role to balance the position of countries that involved in the issue. Joko Widodo also attained opportunities to took assertive action towards Natuna and boosting maritime diplomacy towards relevant actors that involved. **Through this, SBY and Joko Widodo differences in their challenges and opportunities provide change of approaches in their external balancing behavior of Indonesia foreign policy towards SCS and shifted the conduct on the issue.**

Even though Kai He's International Pressure-Political Legitimacy model answered the research question of this thesis, there are other relevant variable that also influence Indonesia foreign policy in SCS issue that could not be explained further through model mechanism. Leaders interpretation on what is the best interest for Indonesia could be seen determining the role that they want to be shown internationally. SBY believed that attaining regional stability and maintaining Indonesia position as the honest broker and non-claimant would accommodate Indonesia's interest in the issue. Meanwhile, Joko Widodo was more concerned on strengthening Indonesia's maritime power and influence as a maritime country, believing that it would serve Indonesia's interest towards territorial integrity. How both leaders perceived

Indonesia's interest in SCS also gives explanation on Indonesia foreign policy towards the issue.

This thesis also come with limitations that were found alongside the process of conducting the research. First, a new variable arose while conducting the research. This variable was not included in the model that was initially used to do the analysis. Furthermore, the period that was included in this research was limited to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo's presidential leadership. However, the research found that presidential periods other than the mentioned above are also necessary in order to answer the research question. Therefore, a further research in regard of this topic with the new variables and findings are needed to be conducted.

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