



Parahyangan Catholic University

Faculty of Social and Political Science

Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN -PT NO: 451/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/XI/2014

Indonesia Foreign Policy towards South China Sea Issue

from SBY to Joko Widodo Era

Thesis

By

Naifa Rizani

2015330032

Bandung

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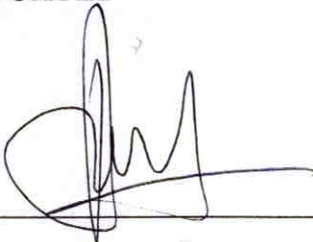


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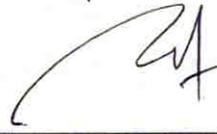
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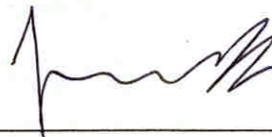
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Hereby stated that this thesis to be the result of my own writing on scientific paper and has never been proposed to achieve an academic degree by others.

Any quoted opinion is written based on the scientific rules that applies.

This statement was written under my full responsibility and I am ready to receive any consequences if this statement would be proven to be false.

Bandung

Naifa Rizani

Preface

This thesis is made as a completion of the undergraduate education in International Relations. Entitled “*Indonesia Foreign Policy towards South China Sea Issue from SBY to Joko Widodo Era*”, the purpose of this thesis is to analyze Indonesia’s foreign policy towards South China Sea issue and determine the behavior from the state of leaders’ political legitimacy and international pressure to explain the conduct of its foreign policy.

Several people have supported the process of this thesis, either practically or academically. The author would therefore firstly like to thank the advisor Mr. Idil Syawfi who has helped throughout the process of research and investing his time for meaningful discussion and valuable input and knowledge. Furthermore, the author would also like to express gratitude for friends that working together in achieving bachelor’s degree. Finally, the most gratitude goes to the family and Sumantra’s for endless support and love that is irreplaceable and cannot be forgotten.

This thesis still has many shortcomings, both in data collection and processing techniques. Realizing there are areas to be improved, the author is open to any comments and suggestions in regard to this thesis in the future.

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The author of this research would like to thank the following persons for the assistance extended to them:

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Matter&Research Division of IREC, the first place I have ever had in UNPAR. Maria, Ali, Dhea, Vidi, Eldi, Alana, and Kezia, as the best persons I am grateful to know with every heated discussion and arguments that we encountered every time we met;

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Abstract

Name : Naifa Rizani
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Title : Indonesia Foreign Policy towards South China Sea Issue
from SBY to Joko Widodo Era

This thesis aims to analyze Indonesia foreign policy towards South China Sea issue under SBY and Joko Widodo era by using Kai He's model of Foreign Policy. Generally, Indonesia has shown its consistency regarding South China Sea as the honest broker and non-claimant in this issue. In the other hand, scholars have been stated that there are significant changes between SBY and Joko Widodo in handling the issue. This thesis uses Kai He's foreign policy model that determined leaders influence in state's foreign policy by looking on political legitimacy position and international pressure that occurred. This research found that Indonesia conducting external balancing in towards South China Sea issue within SBY and Joko Widodo presidency era in their own circumstances.

Keywords: Indonesia foreign policy, South China Sea, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Joko Widodo

Abstraksi

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Tulisan ilmiah ini menganalisa kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia pada isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan dalam masa kepresidenan SBY dan Joko Widodo dengan menggunakan model kebijakan luar negeri oleh Kai He. Secara umum, Indonesia telah menjaga posisi sebagai *honest broker* dan *non-claimant* dalam isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan. Akan tetapi, beberapa peneliti sosial berargumen bahwa ada perubahan bentuk dari kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia dari kepemimpinan presiden SBY ke Joko Widodo. Penelitian ini menggunakan model kebijakan luar negeri Kai He yang melihat pengaruh pemimpin negara dalam kebijakan luar negeri melalui legitimasi politik dan kondisi tekanan internasional yang ada. Melalui proses analisa Kai He, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa SBY dan Joko Widodo sama-sama melakukan kebijakan luar negeri pada isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan dengan sikap *external balancing*.

Kata Kunci: Laut Tiongkok Selatan, Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia, Joko Widodo, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARF	<i>ASEAN Regional Forum</i>
ASEAN	<i>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</i>
COC	<i>Code of Conduct</i>
EEZ	<i>Exclusive Economic Zone</i>
GMF	<i>Global Maritime Fulcrum</i>
SCS	<i>South China Sea</i>
SBY	<i>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono</i>
UNCLOS	<i>United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea</i>
US	<i>United States</i>

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Due to hundreds year historical records of activity in the South China Sea (SCS), Chinese government pointed out the list of islands that under the authority of China in nine-dash line. The claimed territory had breached the sovereignty with several Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, from Nansha islands that issued in 1949 belonged to Philippines and Malaysia and Spratly Islands on which Vietnam and Brunei also acclaimed for.¹ The dispute had manage several negotiations with ASEAN efforts in conducting series of meeting and produce documents on processing the dispute to end with the discretion of all parties involved, including China.

In the process of consolidation, Indonesia has been playing the role that bridging ASEAN countries and China towards the dispute settlement.² The country has been actively holding to that role since the launch of workshop process on Managing Potential Conflict in the SCS in 1989 under the premise to uphold Indonesia's free and active foreign policy principles.³ To keep good relations with Southeast Asian Countries and managing diplomatic relations with China, Indonesia stating its role as the honest broker

¹ Zhiguo Gao, Bing Bing Jia, "The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, Status, and Implications", American Society of International Law, Vol 107, No.1 (January 2013): 100.

² Indonesia, Rencana Strategis 2015 – 2019 (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia: 2015): [http://www.kemlu.go.id/AKIP/Rencana Strategis Kemlu 2015-2019.pdf](http://www.kemlu.go.id/AKIP/Rencana%20Strategis%20Kemlu%202015-2019.pdf).

³ Hasjim Djalal, "Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea: Lessons Learned", Preventive Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Context: A Workshop for the ASEAN Regional Forum 9-14 September 2001, (2001): 89, <https://www.asean.org/uploads/archive/arf/9ARF/Preventive-Diplomacy/Doc-7.pdf>.

in the purpose for persevering inter-regional peace and stability and developing Indonesia's leadership in the region.⁴ Indonesia interest in SCS dispute lies on *Wawasan Nusantara*, a concept of Indonesia's early geopolitics as archipelagic state that hold historical value in respecting border within territory from its archipelagic waters.⁵ Indonesia's effort in managing the potential conflicts came from believing that cooperation was better than confrontation as it would encourage understanding between participants and resulted with good will policies.⁶

SCS has always been part of Indonesia concern with strategic sea trade routes and rich natural resources and stand by its position to respect with the law of the sea. Indonesia refuse to acknowledge nine-dash line proposed by China as it is not aligned with United Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and believing that the regulation affected greatly in giving jurisdiction over the authority of ocean resources towards national development.⁷ Indonesia realize the needs to achieve common ground in SCS dispute to keep relations towards China and ASEAN as Indonesia's national interest also relied on good relations to both of them. These interests served as basis of Indonesia foreign policy conduct towards SCS issue.

⁴ Derry Aplianta, "Indonesia's Response in the South China Sea Disputes: A comparative analysis of the Soeharto and the post-Soeharto era", *Journal of ASEAN Studies* Vol.3 No.1, (CBDS Bina Nusantara University and Indonesian Association for International Relations: 2015): 2, <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/27001-EN-indonesias-response-in-the-south-china-sea-disputes-a-comparative-analysis-of-th.pdf>.

⁵ Hasjim Djalal, *Perjuangan Indonesia di Bidang Hukum Laut*, (Jakarta: Binacipta, 1997): 121.

⁶ Hasjim Djalal, "Indonesia and the South China Sea Initiative", *Ocean Development & International Law*, (Taylor & Francis: England, 2014): 98.

⁷ Phiphat Tansubkul, Frances Lai Fung-Wai, "The New Law of the Sea and Development in Southeast Asia", *Asian Survey* Vol. 23, No. 7 (July 1983): 859.

Indonesia has been consistent in keeping the role as the honest broker while also maintain the non-claimant position. In 1993, Chinese took the area of Natuna Islands as part of claimed area of SCS, threatening Indonesia position towards to “unwilling participants”.⁸ Indonesia took response in quiet manner through a diplomatic note that implied against acknowledging the credibility of Chinese claims⁹ Ali Alatas as the appointed foreign minister at that time continued to minimize the significance of the issue by repeating that there are no claim in the Natuna Islands.¹⁰ In other part, Indonesia kept effort in strengthening regionalism within ASEAN partners while also improving relationship with China aside from the issue.¹¹ Through this efforts, Indonesia stayed away from being the claimant of the dispute and keeping the relations between China and ASEAN.

1.2 PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

1.2.1 Problem Description

Indonesia position in SCS issue has been unchanged since the first involvement as the honest broker and non-claimant. Even for the newest president, Joko Widodo has stated the interest to remain the honest broker position.¹² As the dispute escalated, Indonesia position continue being challenged. In Joko Widodo presidency, Indonesia for the first time showed direct counter action towards Chinese assertiveness in Natuna waters by

⁸ Douglas Johnson, “Drawn into the Fray: Indonesia’s Natuna Islands Meet China’s Long Gaze South”, *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 3, (Taylor & Francis Group: 1997): 153, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30172716?origin=JSTOR-pdf>.

⁹ Douglas Johnson, 155.

¹⁰ Douglas Johnson, 156.

¹¹ Douglas Johnson, 159.

¹² Prashanth Parameswaran, “No, Indonesia’s South China Sea Approach Has Not Changed”, *The Diplomat*, accessed on July 12, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2015/03/no-indonesias-south-china-sea-approach-has-not-changed/>.

utilizing military operations towards illegal trespassing fishing vessel and coast guard vessel.¹³ This sparks variation of perspective that analyzed the distinction in the conduct of Indonesia foreign policy before and after Joko Widodo took presidency.

Aaron L. Connelly in his article titled “Indonesia in the SCS: Going it Alone” discussed Indonesia’s foreign policy decision making under Jokowi in SCS and described three aspects that undermine significant changes on Indonesia’s position in SCS. Connelly took comparison from SBY era stating his foreign policy focus in establishing alliance and concerned in maintain good relationship with parties involved rather than establish stricter attitude in maritime border.¹⁴ Joko Widodo took approach that gives opposite focus in maintain good relationship. First, Jokowi’s visit to Natuna in 2016 that shown clear messages for China that Indonesia will put sovereignty rights in its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) as prominent interest on the dispute.¹⁵ Second, as Jokowi’s foreign policy stresses heavily on territorial integrity, Indonesia seek to manage the distribution of power in Southeast Asia.¹⁶ Nonetheless, distribution of power in Southeast Asia arguably lessening Indonesia significant role in ASEAN which influence the decision making process towards SCS.¹⁷ Third, despite Jokowi focus in maintaining maritime

¹³ Associated Press, “Indonesian navy fires shots, seizes Chinese fishing boat near disputed South China Sea”, *South China Morning Post*, accessed on July 12, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/article/1959643/indonesian-navy-fires-shots-seizes-chinese-fishing-boat>.

¹⁴ Aaron L. Connelly, 6.

¹⁵ Aaron L. Connelly, “Indonesia in the South China Sea: Going It Alone”, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia: Lowy Institute, 2016): 2, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10155>.

¹⁶ Aaron L. Connelly, 6.

¹⁷ Aaron L. Connelly, 10.

border, he also seeks to maintain good relations with China for investment purposes.¹⁸ This leads to complex relationship with China as there are border dispute in Natuna Island despite improvement in trade relations between two countries.

Joko Widodo foreign policy conduct also considered shifting Indonesia's role in SCS. According to Donald E. Weatherbee in "Re-Assessing Indonesia's Role in the South China Sea", the incident where an Indonesian Maritime Affairs and Fisheries patrol ship intercepted a Chinese trawler sparked first maritime disputes between China and Indonesia.¹⁹ The action that Indonesia chose to take give negative impacts to bilateral interests in the relations with China and Indonesia's "honest broker" position not being considered anymore.²⁰ As Joko Widodo approach threatened Indonesia long-standing position in SCS, he took stronger public position than SBY's.²¹ Joko Widodo assertiveness even caused wariness that it would took the wrong turn in keeping Indonesia's interests in the SCS.²²

The significant differences also can be seen from how Joko Widodo and previous president utilize the Middle-Power diplomacy in SCS. Even though both presidents took action in protecting Indonesia territorial integrity against the dispute, they took different strategies.²³ SBY prioritized peaceful

¹⁸ Aaron L. Connelly, 2.

¹⁹ Donald E. Weatherbee, "Re-Assessing Indonesia's Role in the South China Sea", Perspective Issue: 2016 No. 18, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016): 10, https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2016_18.pdf.

²⁰ Donald E. Weatherbee, 5.

²¹ Donald E. Weatherbee, 5.

²² Donald E. Weatherbee, 12.

²³ Rizky Alif Alvian, Ganesh Cintika Putri, Irfan Ardhani, "Haluan Baru Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia: Perbandingan Diplomasi 'Middle Power' Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Joko Widodo", Jurnal Hubungan Internasional Vol. 6, No. 2 (Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang: Malang 2017-2018): 8,

dispute settlement, building dialogues and minimize the tension between countries.²⁴ While Joko Widodo adopted more confrontative measures with the claimant countries in order protecting the sea sovereignty. This resulted to different respond from international realm and both presidents received different approach. In responding to Joko Widodo assertiveness, countries involved in SCS seen as threatening regional peace and stability.²⁵ Meanwhile in SBY era, Indonesia received overwhelming support as his action being perceived as commitment to peace and regional stability.²⁶

Several perspectives that stated the significant changes Joko Widodo in conducting Indonesia foreign policy in SCS towards Indonesia's position and its interest showed opposites approach than what should be taken before his leadership. This raise concern on how the conduct of Indonesia foreign policy in SCS under Joko Widodo compared to its previous President and whether it raised differences against the initial Indonesia's interest and purposed action towards SCS issue.

1.2.2 **Research Scope**

This thesis is focusing on Indonesia foreign policy towards SCS issue limited to time scope from SBY to Joko Widodo presidency era. The discussion will build factors that determine Indonesia foreign policy in SCS dispute from SBY two-decades of presidency and Jokowi presidency from 2015. The research scope ended in 2018 based on last performance report

<https://www.neliti.com/id/publications/260778/haluan-baru-politik-luar-negeri-indonesia-perbandingan-diplomasi-middle-power-su>.

²⁴ Rizky Alif Alvian, 8.

²⁵ Rizky Alif Alvian, 9.

²⁶ Rizky Alif Alvian, 9.

from Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs that explains the implementation of the Ministry in conducting its function.

1.2.3 **Research Question**

The research question proposed for this thesis is; *‘How does Indonesia conducts its foreign policy towards SCS issue under SBY and Jokowi?’*

1.3 **PURPOSE AND PRACTICAL USE OF THE RESEARCH**

1.3.1 **Purpose of the Research**

The purpose of this research is to analyze Indonesia’s foreign policy in SCS dispute from Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to Joko Widodo by using Kai He’s foreign policy method to see factors that determine the behavior and explain the conduct of their foreign policies.

1.3.2 **Practical Use of the Research**

Main practical use of the research will be as the provision to achieve a bachelor’s degree in Parahyangan Chatolic University. This research also hopes to be use as academical source under Parahyangan Chatolic University and also contributes as the reference of educational purposes, especially for those who interested in Indonesia foreign policy in SCS. This research can also be the reference for policymakers to consider all the existing variables and factors that explain Indonesia foreign policy in SCS.

1.4 **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The conduct of Indonesia foreign policy in SCS developed alongside the rising tension of the dispute. At first, Indonesia involved by growing interest and awareness in maintaining the stability of the Southeast Asian

region.²⁷ As Indonesia aware of the possibility of conflict that would arise, the threat against Indonesia's interest on security and territorial integrity alongside with economic interest and ASEAN unity.²⁸ According to Derry Aplianta, the approach after the post-Soeharto regime towards SCS issue took different turn with extending the capacity to execute its foreign policy in giving growing response to SCS and turned into an active bridge builder.²⁹ Evan Laksmana argued that in the midst of fluctuating geopolitical, geo-economics and geostrategic conditions in the Indo-Pacific, Indonesia believed that bringing peace in the SCS is an imperative for economic development and domestic stability.³⁰ Indonesia's SCS policy under SBY focused on diplomacy where Indonesia acted as a confidence-builder and entrusted in projecting peaceful manner of conduct.³¹ The approach of Indonesia foreign policy was seen as to reflect on the continuity rather than giving fundamental change in Indonesia's overall solving the issue in SCS.

Indonesia foreign policy under Joko Widodo towards SCS issue has been argued differently. According to Mangadar Situmorang, Joko Widodo's approach to SCS is based on inward-looking orientation.³² In arising situation

²⁷ Derry Aplianta, "Indonesia's Response in the South China Sea Disputes: A comparative analysis of the Soeharto and the post-Soeharto era", *Journal of ASEAN Studies* Vol.3 No.1, (CBDS Bina Nusantara University and Indonesian Association for International Relations: 2015): 5, <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/27001-EN-indonesias-response-in-the-south-china-sea-disputes-a-comparative-analysis-of-th.pdf>.

²⁸ Derry Aplianta, 6.

²⁹ Derry Aplianta, 18

³⁰ Evan A. Laksmana, "Drifting towards Dynamic Equilibrium: Indonesia's South China Policy", in *Aspirations with Limitations: Indonesia's Foreign Affairs under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono* (Singapore: ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute, 2018): 153.

³¹ Evan A. Laksmana, 161.

³² Mangadar Situmorang, "Orientasi Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi-JK", *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional Vol.11, No.1*, (Bandung: Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, 2015): 69.

of the issue, Joko Widodo pursued diplomatic route that served only for the interest of Indonesia.³³ Dave McRae also pointed how Jokowi displayed nationalism in handling the confrontations at the sea, shifting the effort in persevering the status quo in Indonesia's control of the waters surrounding the Natunas and maintains good relations with China and ASEAN.³⁴ The government under his leadership also seek to reshape the International order in the favour over domestic political conditions.³⁵

Based on those debates, this research recognizes that there are significant differences on scholars in viewing Indonesia foreign policy in SCS before and after Joko Widodo took presidency. First things to note, Evan Laksmana and Derry Aplianta have the same perspectives on how Indonesia foreign policy in SCS took action by focusing on external foreign policy action, such as taking the role as a confidence-builder. Meanwhile, Mangadar Situmorang and Dave McRae seen Indonesia foreign policy in SCS took different turn towards Indonesia position and interest in the issue. Through reviewing scholars' perspectives in Indonesia foreign policy, this research seeks to analyze the conduct of Indonesia foreign policy towards SCS issue by comparing Joko Widodo era with SBY as the previous president.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory of Neoclassical realism expands the pattern of nations' foreign policies over time that determine by a dominant factor. It argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven first and

³³ Mangadar Situmorang, 74.

³⁴ Dave McRae, "Indonesia's South China Sea Diplomacy: Policy Illiberal Turn?", *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, (Routledge, 2019): 17.

³⁵ Dave McRae, 17.

foremost by its place in the international system and its relative material power capabilities.³⁶ In the context of foreign policy, as the relative power rises, states will seek more influence abroad and encourage their actions and ambition accordingly.³⁷ Based on that power, political leaders freedom to control the relative material power constrained by systemic pressures that push leaders to acknowledge the strength and structure that surrounds state's conduct in foreign relations.³⁸ The systemic pressure significantly limits the menu of foreign policy choices that can be considered by state's leaders. Decision-makers' perceptions filtered systemic pressures as distribution of power become apparent in international system.³⁹ Through this, the existence of necessity from the outside constrain foreign policy to become under-balancing.

Kai He formulates foreign policy model based on neo-classical realist approach that accommodate the connection between relative power and systemic pressure.⁴⁰ In his model, relative power from neo-classical realist are described in the power of political legitimacy that state's leader has within his legislation. Political legitimacy is relevant as relative power where he introduces it as intervening variable to connect international pressure and foreign policy behavior.⁴¹ Kai He concludes that foreign policy initiatives in

³⁶ Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* Vol. 51 No. 01 (Cambridge University Press: 1998): 146, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25054068>

³⁷ Gideon Rose, 152.

³⁸ Gideon Rose, 147.

³⁹ Gideon Rose, 157-158.

⁴⁰ Kai He, "Indonesia's foreign policy after Soeharto: International pressure, democratization, and policy change", *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* Volume 8 (2008): 51.

⁴¹ Kai He, 51.

democratic state will be constrained and shaped by different degrees of political legitimacy.⁴² The conclusion was backed up by Shain and Linz's observation on their book "Between states : interim governments and democratic transitions" that said political legitimacy constitutes normative and practical challenge to a new democratized regime.⁴³ In the era where democratic country arise, the condition help to alter alliances and economic relationships as foreign policy outcomes reflected through the domestic balance of threats.⁴⁴

As Rose also recognize that state's leader is the one that determine the relative power, Kai He further explains by the legitimacy that state's leader has in affecting how foreign policy is perceived and conducted. To recognize what kind of political legitimacy that state leaders has, Kai He recognizes Huntington democratic transition which summarizes democratic transition into three types: transformation, replacement, and trans-placement.⁴⁵ Transformation occurred at the first stage of democratization where the state's leader took the lead in bringing the democracy from authoritarian regime.⁴⁶ Replacement happened differently resulted by opposition groups overthrown authoritarian regime to collapse.⁴⁷ Trans-placement happened from the government and opposition groups as they both in power.⁴⁸

⁴² Kai He, 51.

⁴³ Yossi Shain, Juan José. Linz, and Lynn Berat, *Between States: Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1995): 9.

⁴⁴ Yossi Shain, 276-277.

⁴⁵ Kai He, "Indonesia's foreign policy after Soeharto: International pressure, democratization, and policy change", *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* Volume 8 (2008): 52.

⁴⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracies Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 2 No. 2, (1991): 114.

⁴⁷ Samuel Hutington, 114.

⁴⁸ Samuel P. Huntington, 114.

As Kai He's foreign policy model rotated under democratic regime, he measured political legitimacy based on 'free and competitive election' by Robert Dahl that measured different degrees of political legitimacy in the context of three types of democratization. By these degrees, political legitimacy is considered high under replacement transition because 'free and competitive' election empowers the democratic forces by overthrowing the old regime.⁴⁹ In opposite, under transformation, political become less legitimate because the election is controlled by elites to protect their political interest.⁵⁰ Lastly, under trans-placement, the political legitimacy is medium as the democratization process shared by old and new elites.⁵¹ Through this, political legitimacy dictates the nature of state's foreign policy based on the condition during democratic transition. The level of political legitimacy based on the types of democratization by Huntington and degrees of political legitimacy by Dahl conclude

Beside political legitimacy, international pressures also matter in dictate state's behavior based on their foreign policy. International pressure is the systemic pressure that rose include in the factor to explain foreign policy. The condition of International pressure is manifested through state-to-state relations, where the distribution of power between them will

⁴⁹ Kai He, "Indonesia's foreign policy after Soeharto: International pressure, democratization, and policy change", *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* Volume 8 (2008): 52.

⁵⁰ Kai He, 52.

⁵¹ Kai He, 53.

determines the degree of the pressures.⁵² So, depending on where the pressure comes from, one's state may behave and respond differently.⁵³

Kai He creates hypotheses to determine the patterns of state behavior based on the international pressure and political legitimacy that state has;

1. States will compromise in deeds when political legitimacy is low and international pressure is high,
2. States will compromise in words when both political legitimacy and international pressure are low,
3. States will balance externally when both political legitimacy and international pressure is high,
4. States will balance internally when political legitimacy is high and international pressure is low.⁵⁴

As international pressure also generated by the system, Kai He acknowledges distribution of power that variates state's action depends on where the pressure come for. In here, he conceptualizes compromising behaviors as balancing measures of state behavior where the state has incomparable power against the international pressure; compromise in deeds by giving up real interests and compromising in word by concession without substantial loss.⁵⁵ In another hand, where the state has enough power to face up the external pressure, it will choose to have balancing behavior against the strong; by internal balancing with increasing domestic economic and military

⁵² Kai He, 51

⁵³ Kai He, 51

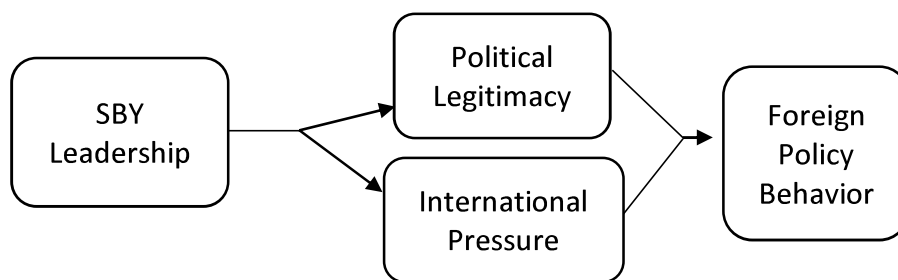
⁵⁴ Kai He, 54.

⁵⁵ Kai He, 51.

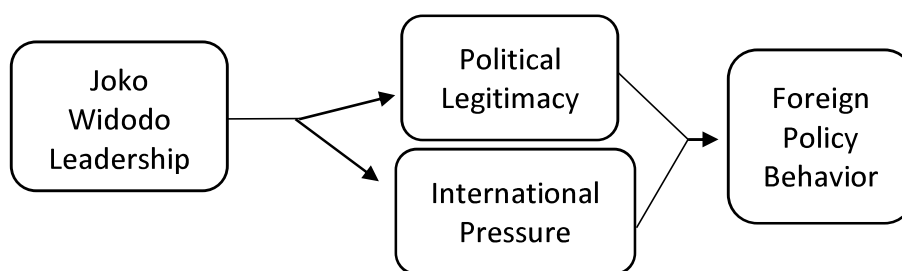
capabilities, and external balancing by forging alliances or any kind of alignments towards security.⁵⁶

Through this Kai He's foreign policy model is summarized by how international pressure constrain state behavior and challenge leaders' political legitimacy, all political leaders attempt to enhance political legitimacy after democratic transitions, and international pressures that provide both opportunities and challenges for leaders to enhance their political legitimacy.⁵⁷ The foreign policy model analysis explains this research by following the pattern below:

Figures 1.1 SBY Model Analysis



Figures 1.2 Joko Widodo Model Analysis



⁵⁶ Kai He, 51.

⁵⁷ Kai He, 53.

1.6 RESEARCH METHOD AND DATA COLLECTING

This research is using qualitative research methodology to analyzed the SBY and Jokowi foreign policy in SCS.⁵⁸ Qualitative research defined as an approach to social research that looking on the relationship between theory and research through an examination of the interpretation of world by words from its participants and implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individual instead the phenomena that separating those involved in the construction.⁵⁹ The method outlined into six steps. First, establish general research questions to shape social control in the research. Second, adjust the research into selection of relevant site(s) and subjects. Third, researcher decide to collect relevant data to be interpreted in step four. Fourth, data being interpreted to find key findings. Fifth, create conceptual and theoretical work to further interpreting the data within two actions; tighten specification of the research question(s) or collecting further data. Lastly, writing conclusions to convince the credibility and significance of the research.⁶⁰

Through qualitative method, this research is compiled by using documents as sources of data. The search of documents seen as relevant for this research to create a considerable interpretation to answer research question.⁶¹ Documents that used in the process of this research consists of official documents and output from mass-media. Official documents could

⁵⁸ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* 4th Edition, 4th ed. (United States: Oxford University Press, 2012): 383

⁵⁹ Alan Bryman, 380.

⁶⁰ Alan Bryman, 37.

⁶¹ Alan Bryman, 543.

derive from state such as it produces a great deal of information with textual material of potential interest and also from private sources such as publications, annual reports, mission statements, or any public relations material on public domain.⁶² Other types of document is mass-media outputs, which consists of newspapers and magazines, that used in qualitative research to analyze the discussion entails within the documents.⁶³

After data being collected, the research is investigated by using analytic induction. This approach analyzing data in which the researcher seeks universal explanations of phenomena by collection of data until the phenomenon are found.⁶⁴ The process of analytic induction goes by defining the research question and giving hypothetical explanation of the question. Then it continued with examination of cases, where the research will find whether the hypothesis confirmed or not. If it is not confirmed, the research will reformulate the hypothesis or redefined the hypothetical explanation to exclude the deviant case. In other hand, if the hypothesis confirmed, it will be the end of the examination.⁶⁵

1.7 **THESIS STRUCTURE**

The research is organized through several sections and arranged by different substantial matters. Chapter I will be the introduction what provide the background of the issue and how the research being conducted. Then, the Chapter II explain further of the issue with comparing Indonesia foreign policy towards SCS under SBY and Joko Widodo era by dividing into two

⁶² Alan Bryman, 549.

⁶³ Alan Bryman, 553.

⁶⁴ Alan Bryman, 567.

⁶⁵ Alan Bryman, 566.

parts. The first parts tell the interest of Indonesia in SCS and the second part unravel how the foreign policy comparison between SBY and Joko Widodo. After looking on the comparison of Indonesia foreign policy, the next chapter analyze factors within Indonesia foreign policy in SCS through Kai He's model that determined by variables from international pressure and political legitimacy. Within the Chapter III, the first section discusses the international pressure that existed in each presidency. The section continued with elaborating both presidents' political legitimacy with types of democratic transition by Huntington and measurement of degrees of political legitimacy by Robert Dahl. The last section unfolds Kai He hypothesis by looking the degree of political legitimacy and international pressures in Indonesia Foreign policy in SCS under SBY and Jokowi. The research will finally be concluded in fourth chapter by summarized the previous chapters and answer the research question on the explanation behind Indonesia foreign policy towards SCS dispute under SBY and Jokowi.