

印度尼西亚的公共舆论与外交决策：雅加达-万隆高铁项目的案例  
研究（2008-2015）

**Public Opinion and Foreign Policy-Making in Indonesia: A Case Study  
of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project (2008-2015)**

作者姓名：Farid Ramadhony

专业名称：国际关系

指导教师：刘德斌 教授

吴雁飞 教授

学位类别：全日制硕士

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作者签名：

指导教师签名：

年      月      日

作者联系地址（邮编）：吉林大学公共外交学院（130012）

作者联系电话：0431-85166795

## 中文摘要

本文的主题是印尼外交决策，同时通过雅加达-万隆高铁项目的案例研究，探究了公共舆论在多大程度上影响外交政策，并使中国成为最终的项目合作伙伴。本文解释了公共舆论如何影响印尼外交政策，并导致最终的外交政策输出。在这个案例中发现，公共舆论对外交决策过程施加了影响。社会和媒体的相互关联也影响到政府及其外交决策过程。

本文从印尼视角来看印尼与中国关于重大基础设施和战略设计的合作。使用印尼视角意味着将从印尼的立场来解释外交政策成果。选取此视角的主要原因在于很少有从国内政治环境，或者更具体来说是从公共舆论的角度来分析印尼外交决策成果的公共外交研究。

本文采用定性法来分析问题。研究基于慎重的案例分析和数据收集。辅助研究的数据基本采取科学文献的形式。二手渠道得来的数据和文献主要来源于参考书和网络。本文同时还应用了公共舆论学来更好地理解其对外交决策的影响。

理论和方法论是本文的基础。本文的第一章详细阐述了使用的理论和方法论，并且简单介绍了案例研究的背景。文献综述部分展示了关于中国和印尼关系研究的著作中所使用的理论和方法论的不同。

第二章集中于印尼国内政治，包括 21 世纪初的政治变化。尽管从 1998 年苏哈托政权倒台后，印尼的民主实践只进行了二十年，它仍然是一个民主体制的国家。1998 年显然是一个转折点，印尼经历了苏哈托“新秩序”体制下的半独裁政权向随后的民主变革的变迁。因此，公共舆论成为政府决策前的重要考量。本章简要介绍了新秩序时期后印尼的民主背景。同时，说明社会对公共舆论的影响。

第三章主要为苏西洛·班邦·尤多约诺时期的外交决策过程与公共舆论。高铁项目发起于苏西洛时期，日本是当时极具潜力的合作对象，但是在外交决策过程中没有得到实现。有几个因素可以解释为什么在此案例中政策选择的投入没有达到相应的产出。苏西洛时期的国内政治环境是国际主义的，从它“广交友不树敌”的外交政策可以看出来。但是种种因素使得这个时期的印尼没能借助这种国际化趋势在国际社会站稳脚跟。由于当时国内的另一重大政治事件吸引了媒体的注意，高铁项目没有得到媒体重视。以精英为基础的传统媒体会影响公共舆论，但不是所有的精英成员都听从于在职政府人员。因此，媒体分为了

两派：一派支持与精英利益有关的政府议程，而另一派则持反对态度。

第四章主要阐述佐科·维多多时期的印尼外交决策过程。尽管高铁项目最初是在苏西洛时期提出的，却是在佐科政权时期得到实施。此前日本是项目合作伙伴最有竞争力的候选人，但外交政策产出却是中国成为了最后的选择。在这个案例中出现了外交选择在下达的过程中发生改变的情况。

最后，第五章展示了本文的成果和发现：在佐科·维多多领导的孤立主义社会和国家经济发展中，公共舆论影响了外交决策。在雅加达-万隆高铁项目中，为了表示对前政府的不满，在 2014 年大选中社会没有对议会进行重选，最终导致了新孤立主义和新决策的产生。媒体主要由利益集团（Elite）组成，而大部分的利益集团与孤立主义议程有内在关联。媒体根据精英利益，以或消极，或积极，或中立的方式来构造新闻报道。

**关键词：**

印尼国内政治；印尼公共舆论；雅加达-万隆高铁项目；佐科·维多多外交政策；印尼利益集团；印尼媒体框架

# ABSTRACT

This thesis wants to focus around topic Indonesia foreign policy-making also answering the research question about to what extent the public opinion influence foreign policy-making in Indonesia through the case of Jakarta-Bandung high-speed rail project, which results in the foreign policy decision, to nominated China as a project partner. This thesis is explaining to how public opinion in Indonesia is affecting its foreign policy decision-making. Which, resulting in its foreign policy output. This thesis find that public opinion has influence in foreign policy decision-making process, in the case of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project. The society and media relate each other consequently influenced government, and its foreign policy decision-making process.

This thesis employs Indonesian outlook approach towards its foreign policy outcome to cooperate with China for significant infrastructure and strategic project. The use of Indonesian outlook means this thesis explains the foreign policy outcome from Indonesian point of view. The main reasons to employ Indonesian outlook due to limited numbers of research that analyze and the issue of Indonesian foreign policy outcome from domestic political environment more specifically the influence of public opinion in the subject of foreign policy-making process.

In analyzing the research problem, this thesis is using the qualitative method. Analysis of the research conducted by collecting data by the case study studied. The forms of data are generally in the way of scientific documents and literature for supporting research. The materials and documentation took in the type of secondary data collected through textbooks and internet resources. Also, this thesis applies the theory of public opinion to grasp the process and its influence in foreign policy decision-making.

Theory and methodology is the based foundation for this thesis. In chapter one, of this thesis elaborate and explain the theory and methodology used. Also, the brief background of the case study. The literature review showed the gap between discourse on the topic of Sino-Indonesia relations and the theory and methodology used in this thesis.

Chapter two focused on Indonesian domestic politics, and show the political changes in the early 2000s. Indonesia is one country that adopted democracy into the national political system, although the principle of democracy just been practice over past 20 years after Suharto regime was a collapse in 1998. It is evident that 1998 is the year that has been a transition of the political system in Indonesia, from the semi-authoritarian regime in Suharto “New Order” to “Reformation”

following that. Consequently, the rule of public opinion became more critical as government consideration before making a policy decision. This chapter introduces a brief background of Indonesian democracy after the new order period. Also, show the society role in influencing public opinion.

Chapter three consist of foreign policy decision-making process and public opinion in Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono period. The initiation of the project started during the SBY period, Japan is a strong candidate to project partner, but the foreign policy process didn't make its output in SBY period. Several factors can explain why in this case the input of policy options do not make its policy output. These factors according to the analyzing tools are an internationalist tendency in a domestic political environment of Indonesia at the SBY period, does not support SBY policy because he failed to achieve Indonesia strong standing position in the international community caused SBY a Million Friends Zero Enemy policy. Accordingly this issue of high-speed train-project not essential enough to get attention in new media, there is another domestic political issue in more significant scale which gets new media users attention. So, traditional media which based on an elite player they role in influencing public opinion. Besides, the elite does not really affiliate with the incumbent government, so media is divided by supporting and opposing the government agenda which relate to elite interest.

Then in chapter four of this thesis is consist of foreign policy decision-making process and public opinion in Joko Widodo period. Although the initiation of the project started during the SBY period, the foreign policy decision has done during Jokowi period. Previously Japan is a strong candidate to project partner, but the foreign policy output has changed to nominated China as a project partner. In this case, occur that policy option has changed when the policy issued.

Finally, in chapter five show the result and findings of this thesis. The result of this thesis finds the evidence that public opinion has influence foreign policy-making, during the Joko Widodo administration isolationist society wants the national economic development. Regarding the case of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail project, society way punishing the previous government, by not re-electing it. Consequently, the new isolationist establish and decision has made. The media is owned by an Interest Group (Elite), which majority of them inline with new isolationist agenda. Media act based on elite interest, and work by framing the news broadcast either in negative, positive, or neutral manners.

**Key words:**

Indonesia Domestic Politics, Indonesian Public Opinion, Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project, Joko Widodo Foreign Policy, Indonesian Interest Group, Indonesian Media Framing



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# Chapter I Introduction

## 1.1. Background of Information

This research wants to focus around Indonesia foreign policy-making also answering the research question about in what extent the public opinion influence foreign policy-making in Indonesia through the case of Jakarta-Bandung high-speed rail project, which results in the foreign policy decision, to nominated China as a project partner.

First high-speed train project in Indonesia initiated during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Period, in 2008 Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Council) and Kementerian Perhubungan (Ministry of Transportation) was appointed to designing Jakarta-Surabaya High-Speed Rail Project in cooperation with Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) for a feasibility study. With Following the victory of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) as the elected president of the Republic of Indonesia in 2014, Jokowi have nine priority of development that concludes in the *nawacita* program<sup>1</sup>. One of development priority is increasing people's productivity and international competitiveness, actualizing this priority then Jokowi considering with the idea to continue to build high-speed train railroad connected Jakarta to Surabaya<sup>2</sup>, but in the first term build the high-speed railroad between Jakarta and Bandung is a more reliable option. Japan was interested in involving in this project since JICA conducts the feasibility study, Japan with Shinkansen technology is advance for high-speed rail project since they develop this technology during 1960th. Meanwhile, in another side, half of the world railroads were built in China within past decade, bring China as one of a significant player in high-speed railroad technology in the world. However, after bidding process then finally President Jokowi decide to choose China counterparts as a partner on Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project.

Joko Widodo is starting his first official overseas visit to China in November 2014 less than a month after he takes office to attend APEC summit, he also visits industrial zone in Tianjin<sup>3</sup>. Following that momentum in 2015, both countries agree to establish cooperation in energy and

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<sup>1</sup>Sanskrit term of nine priority of development of Jokowi Cabinet including socio-cultural, economic, politic, and education.

<sup>2</sup> Surabaya is second largest city in Indonesia, located in eastern part of Java island

<sup>3</sup> Joko Widodo visit China for his first Presidential official overseas trip on November 2014 (Supriadi & Armenia, 2014)

infrastructure sector starting in January 2015. Indonesian side chooses China counterpart to Optimization of Coal Power Plants Assets - Fast Track Program 1, and on March 2015 again Indonesian side choose China counterpart to execute one vital infrastructure project Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project during the same occasion also both sides have signed a memorandum of understanding on infrastructure and industrial cooperation. According to a memorandum of understanding on infrastructure and industrial cooperation between Indonesia and China, there is four vital infrastructure cooperation that both sides agree to cooperate, that include: Railway (high-speed train); Road/toll road/highway; Harbor/seaport/ferry terminal; Airport<sup>4</sup>. Jakarta-Bandung High-speed Rail project is not the first projects that Indonesian Government chooses China to cooperate in infrastructure development sector.

## **1.2. Research Motives**

Research on Indonesia and China relations mainly focused on the outlook of China and Indonesia towards economic factors and its position in Southeast Asia in the framework of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (hereafter ASEAN), such as China interest in ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (hereafter ACFTA). Moreover, there is only limited number of research that focuses on the public opinion toward its influence to foreign policy decision-making process in Indonesia. This thesis is explaining to what extent public opinion in Indonesia is affecting its foreign policy decision-making. Which resulting its foreign policy output, using the primary case of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed rail project as a case studies.

## **1.3. Research Purposes**

The primary purpose of this thesis is to analyze and explain in what extent public opinion, has influenced the foreign policy decision-making in Indonesia. The primary case studies of this thesis are Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail project which represents the current foreign policy decision.

## **1.4. Research Approach**

This thesis employs Indonesian outlook approach towards its foreign policy outcome to cooperate with China for significant infrastructure and strategic project. The use of Indonesian

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<sup>4</sup> Memorandum of Understanding on Infrastructure cooperation between the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises of The Republic of Indonesia and The National Development and Reform Commission of The People's Republic of China (Document attached)

outlook means this thesis explaining the foreign policy outcome from Indonesian point of view. The main reasons to employ Indonesian outlook due to limited numbers of research that analyze and explaining the issue of Indonesian foreign policy outcome from domestic political environment more specifically the influence of public opinion in the subject of foreign policy-making process. Therefore, a literature review most likely based on approach towards ASEAN or (ACFTA) and China-Indonesia relations towards the Southeast Asian region, which based on international political economy rather than foreign policy analysis.

Literature review argues that Indonesia-China relations based on economic interest within the trade and investment (Wu, 2011);. Meanwhile, some article still captures relations base on economic but with a larger area with the framework of ASEAN within focus on ACFTA (Booth, 2011); (Alexander & Lucky, 2011); (Misra & Sari, 2010); (Maddaremmeng, 2015). Slightly different outlook captured that domestic elite could be reshaping Indonesian foreign policy outcome (Johanes, 2017). Furthermore, another article explicitly mentions the importance of leaders point of view in the decision of Indonesian foreign policy with China (Hafid, 2016). Also, there is a link between public opinion and foreign policy decision-making in Indonesia (Gindarsah, 2012).

Based on literature review mentioned above, research using the outlook of Indonesian domestic public opinion approach still far behind the international political economy outlook research. Furthermore, this thesis will fill the gap between that approach and contribute to the research about Indonesia foreign policy decision making from Indonesian public opinion approach. Also, Indonesian domestic political environment outlook elaborates the climate and dynamics of Indonesian public opinion, that related to leader consideration in issuing foreign policy decision-making.

In analyzing the research problem, this research using the qualitative method. According to Alan Bryman qualitative research is a research strategy usually emphasizes the words and not on the quantification in the dataset and analysis. Its nature is inductive, constructive, and interpretive though researchers qualitative does not always include these three elements<sup>5</sup>. (Alan, 2004)

Analysis of the research conducted by collecting data by the case study studied. The forms of data are generally in the form of scientific documents and literature for supporting research. The documents and literature took in the form of secondary data collected through textbooks; political

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<sup>5</sup> Alan Bryman, *Social Research Method*. (Bryman, 2004).

reports of China and Indonesia; political and economic journals. Mature statistical data from the official website, or publication of the National Election Commission Republic of Indonesia; Presidential Office of the Republic of Indonesia; Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia; as well as political and economic news article.

This data obtained from several libraries such as School of International and Public Affairs Jilin University, Central Library Jilin University, National Library of Indonesia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic Indonesia Library Jakarta, the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia, the official website of the National Election Commission Republic of Indonesia, papers, journals and online newspapers, and several other sources.

### **1.5. Research Question**

Based on the background of information and literature review mentioned above current public opinion in Indonesia has viewed government initiation positively to make strategic economic cooperation with China especially infrastructure project. This thesis aims to analyze the foreign policy decision of Indonesia towards its strategic cooperation with China, using the case of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed rail project as a case study. Moreover, to answer the question :

1. To what extent public opinion influence foreign policy decision-making in Indonesia in the case of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed rail project?

### **1.6. Literature Review**

Two major approaches exist among scholars in the disclosure of Indonesia-China Relations: International Political Economy Factors and Domestic Political Factors. Most scholars argue that Indonesia-China Relations includes the aspect of economic interest, energy source, market demand, and Free Trade Agreement in the ACFTA framework. Their argumentation mainly limited to the case of Indonesia-China relations within the part of China-ASEAN relations in the most generic way. On the other side, there is also some scholar contend the idea of domestic politics and leadership approach is matter in fluctuation of Indonesia-China Relationship especially leader's decision towards some crucial or essential event. However, also, only a few research focused on public opinion influence in reshaping of Indonesian foreign policy decision-making. Consequently, research about Indonesia-China relations with Indonesian outlook, more precisely using the tools of public opinion as an instrument of analysis remain inadequate.

## International Political Economy Factors

The first argument is economic Interest, scholars on this approach portray the international political, economic outlook. The growth of China is resulting the economic interest to improve their economic capacity. Followed by an interest to sell their product to big market such as Indonesia. There is also a deficit of energy and raw material from Chinese sides, which results in importing their demand for energy and raw material from other countries. In this case Indonesia. Wu<sup>6</sup> argues that at least four factors that improve both countries relationship. First, is trade and investment and Chinese Government actively has promoted the strategy of “going out,” and encourage enterprises to go international. Especially to invest in ASEAN countries including Indonesia; second, China needs to secure their energy and raw material consumption from the source outside. China has a massive demand for oil consumption, according to the US Energy Information Administration forecast that China demands oil will increase by 130%, reaching 12.8 million barrels a day by 2025, and that reality will force China to find a new source to fill the gap of their consumption. Indonesia has oil production of 9 billion barrels in oil reserve, as well as 9.3 billion tons of coal, and 188 trillion cubic feet of gas (Guerin, 2005). Third, Indonesia position as a larges country and economy in Southeast Asia, with the Population 260 million Indonesia also large market to deal, China, Japan, and the US aspire to strengthen their influence in Indonesia. Fourth, Indonesia welcomes investment from China, mainly manufacturing capital flows into Indonesia.

Anne Booth<sup>7</sup> argues that economic downturn and recovery in Indonesia was affecting China-Indonesia economic relations. During the last period of Suharto regime following the financial crisis in 1997. After the political transition in 1998, Indonesian economy is recovering, and the economic relationship with China was getting more stable. The rapid growth also happened because ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA), but part of the concern of Indonesian public opinion is most Indonesian agricultural and manufacturing goods are incredibly uncompetitive against China's. Many Indonesian perceive ACFTA as an instrument to strengthen the interdependence of the ASEAN region with China.

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<sup>6</sup> Wu Changbo, “Forging Closer Sino-Indonesian Economic Relations and Policy Suggestions”, *Ritsumeikan International Affairs Vol.10*, 2011, p. 129 (Changbo, 2011)

<sup>7</sup> Anne Booth, “China's Economic Relations with Indonesia: Threats and opportunity”, SOAS University of London, October 2011 (Booth, 2011)

Rahul and Irfa<sup>8</sup> capturing that Indonesia-China relations still shape up by ASEAN-China relations. If China remains its position to involve in Indonesian domestic politics, the relationship between both countries will stay firm. Furthermore, Indonesia and China already sign strategic partnership cooperation. Consequently, bring more opportunities for a satisfyingly economic relationship. They so argue that during Barrack Obama administration, US foreign policy is turning to approach Asian countries, especially Southeast Asia thru ASEAN framework. Either China or the US cannot neglect the reality that Indonesia is the most abundant economy in ASEAN.

Alexander and Lucky<sup>9</sup> have skeptical argumentation, about Indonesia-China Economic relations in ACFTA framework; they argue that Indonesia is yet not ready, for free trade arrangement. Public opinion in Indonesia overlooks that government cannot implement this FTA to boosting the domestic economy. In Indonesian side, market flooded with cheap goods from China; they also argue that Indonesia should take this opportunity to more engage with China to accelerate Indonesian domestic economy.

Maddaremmeng<sup>10</sup> equally concludes that Indonesia is unprepared for such free trade arrangement suchlike FTA in the framework of ACFTA. Albeit its bilateral relationship between both sides is relatively good in term of economy and politics, the Indonesian government is still unable to satisfy their domestic economic condition comprehensively. He also argues that despite the current Indonesia economy, prospects of an economic relationship with China will be transcending if Indonesia is joining in China initiation on one belt one road, is an excellent opportunity to developing infrastructure in Indonesia. Consequently, domestic economic will arise. Moreover, public satisfaction to government undoubtedly increase.

### Domestic Politics Factors

In the late 90s Indonesia entering a new stage in the domestic political system to adopt the western style democracy in its constitution and this factors no doubt that affecting Indonesian foreign policy in many ways.

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<sup>8</sup> Rahul Mishra and Irfa Puspita Sari, "Indonesia-China Relations: Challenges and Oppurtunies", IDSA Issue Brief, November 22, 2010 (Misra & Sari, 2010)

<sup>9</sup> Alexander C. Chandra and Lucky A. Lontoh, "Indonesia-China Trade Relations: The deepening of economic integration amid uncertainty?", International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2011. (Alexander & Lucky, 2011)

<sup>10</sup> Maddaremmeng A. Panennugi, "ASEAN-China Economic Relations: A View from Indonesia", Working Paper in Economic and Business, Vol. V No.2/2015, University of Indonesia, 2015. (Maddaremmeng, 2015)



During the Suharto period, Indonesia severed its diplomatic relations with China, because of the political tension among them. Meanwhile, in Soekarno period Indonesia and China relationship is reasonably good. Hafid argues that the change of foreign policy direction in Indonesia during the Suharto period is because the personal perception of Suharto that China involvement in 1965 incident<sup>11</sup> could be a threat for Indonesia. Suharto's allegations regarding Chinese involvement in the 1965 coup must not only be based on historical evidence about the Chinese involvement in the past but also reinforced by the evidence of the political dynamics that took place in the late Sukarno government. The 1965 incident, therefore, created a deep impression on the part of the military, especially Suharto on China's involvement in the event. The assessment of Chinese involvement inextricably linked to the evidence that the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) was attempting to form the Fifth Force, seeking China assistance by Sukarno's consent<sup>12</sup>.

Suharto's perception influenced by his belief system formed by Javanese customs and reinforced by his judgment of "what happened." 1965 event that had previously been colored by Sukarno's policy of sending a delegation to China to obtain light weapons aid to strengthen the Fifth Force, and "what should happen," Suharto's view that requires Indonesia to avoid interaction with China<sup>13</sup>. Hafid argumentation is capturing the process of foreign policy decision making in the degree of personal approach. In this case is Suharto decision to severance Indonesia diplomatic relations with China.

Another example of how domestic politics is affecting the Indonesian foreign policy delivered by Johaness<sup>14</sup>, his argumentation base on one positive and negative side of majority pribumi elite. There is three central section of elite views: elite outside the government who see the relationship with China could bring negative impact, another elite outside government who see that it could bring positive income to Indonesia, and elite inside the government circle.

The *Pribumi*<sup>15</sup> elite views on Indonesia-China relations are divided. Firstly, it informs us that the government's wish to develop a much closer relationship with China not unanimously supported. Secondly, at the government level, the presence of suspicious attitudes toward China, even if only

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<sup>11</sup> Rivalries between the Indonesian military and the Communist Party came to a head when six generals were killed in an overnight attack by soldiers allegedly sympathetic to the communists.

<sup>12</sup> Pradana, *Op.Cit.*, P.40. (Hafid, 2016)

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Johaness Herlijanto, "*How the Indonesian Elite Regards Relations with China*", Perspective, Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, 2017. (Johaness, 2017)

<sup>15</sup> A person of any ethnic group other than Chinese and Indo-European see definition in *ibid.*,

among a few government officials, has slowed down the Jokowi's attempt to develop an intimate relationship with China. Thus, the impact of these negative perceptions may not be in policymaking, but on goal realization. It becomes a challenge that the president's inner circle needs to overcome<sup>16</sup>. Johannes argumentation reflecting that elite has a strong influence to reshaping the government foreign policy decision-making process.

Iis Gindarsah<sup>17</sup>, a researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Defense Jakarta also portray Indonesian foreign policy decision-making from the domestic political point of view. In his article, he elaborates connection between a democratic system that Indonesia adopts in the early 2000s and Indonesia foreign policy decision-making. Using the case study of Iranian Nuclear sanction on the period of Indonesian non-permanent membership in United Nations Security Council, Gindarsah manages to find evidence that public opinion undoubtedly influenced government foreign policy decision-making into its output of foreign policy.

**Table (1.1) Summary of Literature Review**

<b>Writer(s) Name</b>	<b>Argument</b>	<b>Approach</b>	<b>Level of Analysis</b>
<b>Wu</b>	A good Relationship between Indonesia and China is based on Economic Factors	International Political Economy	3rd Level of Analysis
<b>Anne Both</b>	The rapid economic growth in Indonesia is because of ASIAN-China Free Trade Area	International Political Economy	3rd Level of Analysis
<b>Rahul and Ifra</b>	Indonesian-China Relations still shape by ASEAN-China Relations	International Political Economy	3rd Level of Analysis
<b>Alexander and Lucky</b>	Indonesia-China Relations still shaped within ASEAN Framework	International Political Economy	3rd Level of Analysis
<b>Maddaremmeng</b>	The bilateral relationship still relatively good but Indonesia is not ready for FTA	International Political Economy	3rd Level of Analysis

<sup>16</sup> Herlijanto, *Op Cit.*, p.7

<sup>17</sup> Iis Gindarsah, *"Democracy and Foreign Policy-Making in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Iranian Nuclear Issue, 2007-08"*, Contemporary Southeast Asia, ISEAS-Yusuf Ishak Institute, Singapore, 2012. (Gindarsah, 2012)

<b>Hafid</b>	Personal approach to Suharto leadership Style affecting Indonesia-China Relations	Domestic Politics	1st Level of Analysis
<b>Johanes</b>	Elite may affect the bilateral relationship between Indonesia-China	Domestic Politics	2nd Level of Analysis
<b>Gindarsah</b>	Domestic Politics and Public Opinion may affect FPDM in Case Study of Iran nuclear sanction	Domestic Politics	2nd Level of Analysis

*Source: from the literature review*

## 1.7. Theoretical Framework

In general, two types of theory can use in explaining the phenomenon of international politics. The theory of the first type is the reductionist theory, which is the theory that focuses on the individual or national level. While the second type theory is a systemic theory, the theory that focuses on the explanation of the international system (Waltz, 1979). The Foreign policy analysis is a type of theory at the national level and focuses on the explanation of the policy-making process and the reasons behind the actions undertaken by a country<sup>18</sup>.

Foreign policy is a policy formulated and taken to regulate the relations of a country with other countries. However, foreign policy cannot separate from domestic politics. According to Fearon<sup>19</sup>, domestic politics has a crucial role in explaining the foreign policy of a country. Foreign policy is a tool for establishing of International politics, where foreign policy itself is an extension of domestic politics that embodies the national interests and objectives. Therefore, is it essential to analyze the foreign policy of a country from the domestic political situation of the country. (Fearon, 1998)

Fearon describes two theories for understanding foreign policy: systemic theory and domestic political theory. Systemic theory views the state as a rational and united actor<sup>20</sup>. This theory

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.72

<sup>19</sup> James D. Fearon, "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theory of International Relations", University of Chicago, 1998 (Fearon, 1998)

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.291

explains that the actors of international relations actors are always connected to each other so that one country will consider the behavior of other countries before adopting specific policies<sup>21</sup>. A country has a perception of the actions taken or will be taken by other countries so that the state must give attention and response to the international environment<sup>22</sup>.

#### Domestic Politic Theory

Domestic political theories argue about the specific characters of the relevant state to explain the various policy options or specific political interactions that bring about the diversity of policy implementation. Suboptimal policies explained by additions related to a country's point of view that is not related to the units involved in foreign policy formulation and decision-making, such as the applicable regime or the specific purpose of the policy. For example, suboptimal policies can be traced from the underlying principles of foreign policy or from the decision-making chief's preference to retain power. Analysis of foreign policy through the level of domestic political analysis becomes vital because domestic politics causes a country to adopt a suboptimal policy, both for the sake of its own country and for influencing the international environment. The domestic political analysis is also essential to understand how different political institutions, cultures, economic structures, or goals of a country's leadership, affecting foreign policy decision<sup>23</sup>.

Foreign policy not only influenced by the international environment but also influenced by the dynamics occurring in a domestic environment of the country itself. Therefore, domestic politics can use as one level of analysis in analyzing foreign policy. If the systemic level of analysis explains how a country takes the foreign policy to respond to the international environment, then the level of domestic political analysis essentially explains why and how domestic factors influence the formulation and decision of foreign policy. The domestic level political analysis becomes essential when the level of systemic analysis alone cannot explain the relationship between a country's policy and its environment so that internal dynamics is used to track the underlying incentives of the policy.

Domestic politic it is very dynamic and diverse environment. Indeed that political affiliation either is democratic or authoritarian is a vital role in understanding its behavior nature of domestic politics. Indonesia has changed its domestic political system from authoritarian model to adopt

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

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.298

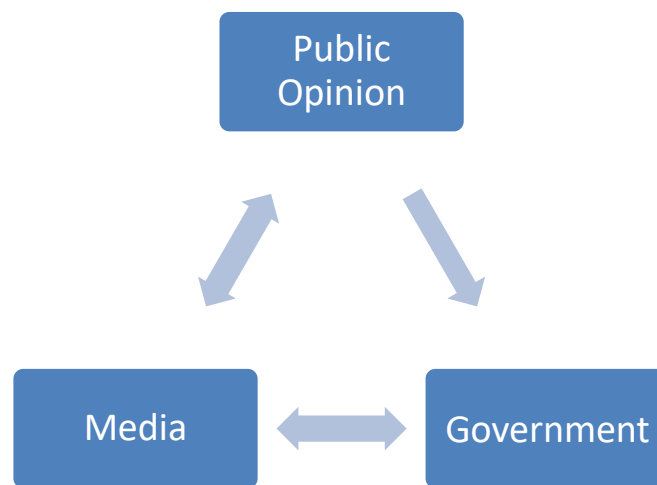
<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.299-300

democracy system in the past two decades precisely when Suharto regime fell in 1998. Since then, political transition has to mature Indonesian democratic system. The milestone was presidential elections in 2004. When many Indonesians approximately 114 million, who are eligible to vote, present in the polling place to cast their ballots in the first national direct presidential election.

#### Public Opinion Theory

Democratic system undeniably has a substantial impact on Indonesia domestic political environment. Freedom of speech and accountability of government bring a slit for public opinion role in national policymaking. Accordingly, it is possible to use public opinion as primary tools for analyzing foreign policy decision-making in Indonesia.

In this, regarding the case, Robinson in book sections of foreign policy: Theories, Actors, Cases published by Oxford University Press argues that outlook to supporting public opinion has divided into two categories, namely pluralist model and the elite model<sup>24</sup> (Robinson, 2012).

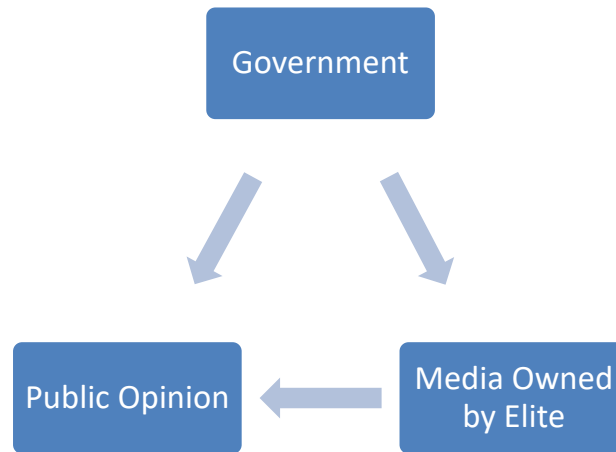


#### *Pluralist Model*

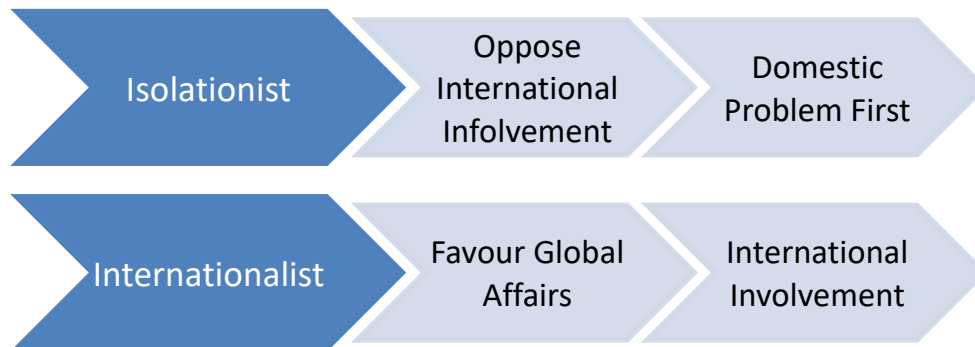
Pluralist model premise is society has its power. Hence, society (public and media) has higher power than a government which consequently affecting foreign policy decision-making. Therefore in pluralist model believe that public opinion is standing independently without the influence of the government, besides the government should counting public opinion to policy decision-making process.

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<sup>24</sup> Two prespective dominate academic debate, the Pluralist model and the elite model. (Robinson, 2012, hal. 169)

*Elite Model*

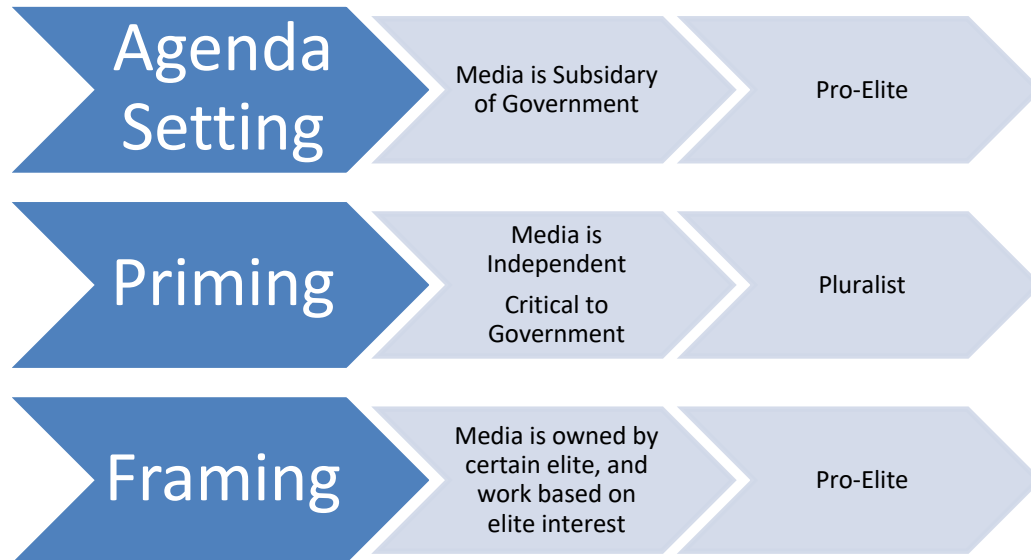
Meanwhile, the elite model premise is the axis of power is dominantly condense within the elite group, where they have the more significant influence on foreign policy decision-making. In this model, the government takes control of public opinion. Media as irreplaceable pairs of public opinion act as the government agent to drive their agenda, and gain support from the public. To some extent in authoritarian government, media act as tools of propaganda for the government policy. The democratic political system is related to the pluralist premise that society has its power, and government action as the mandate of society to ruling the country administration. In doing so, the government needs to satisfy public opinion to maintain their political position within the democratic political system.

*Isolationist & Internationalist Model In Society*

Robinson also defines public opinion into two categories, Isolationist and Internationalist using the US citizen as his analogy. Isolationist categorize as a citizen who opposed their government involvement in global affairs. Paradoxically, internationalist is a citizen who favors an active government role in global affairs<sup>25</sup>. (Robinson, 2012, hal. 170)

<sup>25</sup> The US public opinion has traditonally catagorized US citizen as either Isolationist or Internationalist, *see ibid* page 171 (Robinson, 2012, hal. 171)

Media is irreplaceable pairs of public opinion, whenever they are actively independent act as a *watchdog* to the government performance, or a subordinate of government to influence public opinion to ensure their political interest and support from the public. Hereafter, Robinson classifies how media works to influence public opinion either in the act who are more pro-pluralist *vis-a-vis* pro-elite manners namely as *Agenda Setting*, *Priming*, and *Framing*<sup>26</sup> (Robinson, 2012, hal. 176).



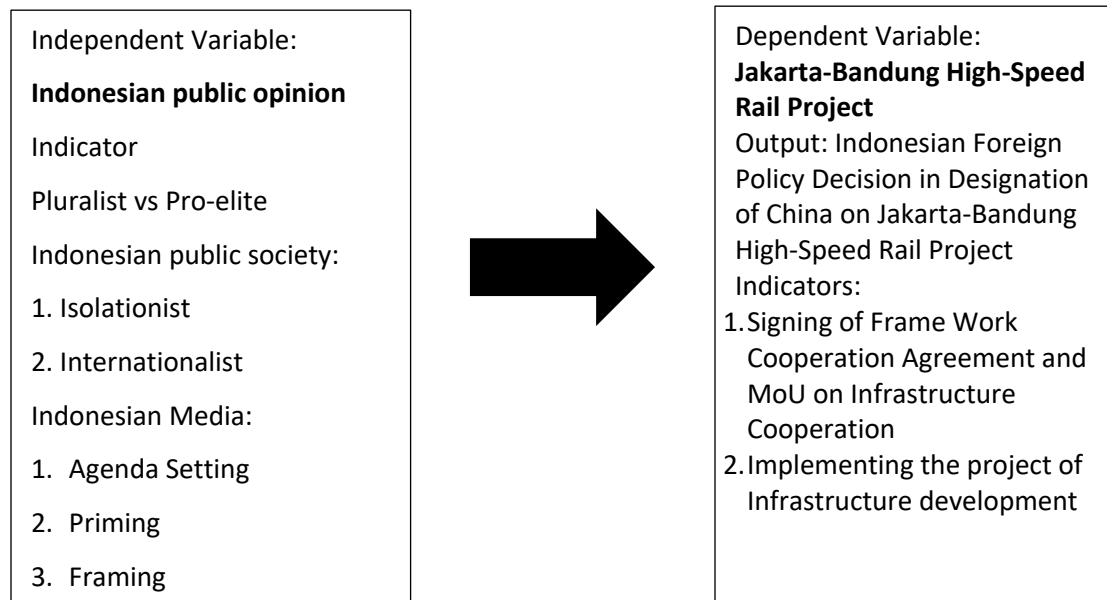
*Agenda Setting, Priming, Framing Model In Media*

*Agenda Setting* refers to media role as a subordinate to the government which more pro-elite. Media try to influencing public attention to awareness and support an agenda of the government in particular issue. Conversely, in *priming*, media is trying to oppose government by criticizing government policy and gain public awareness to push government and either to abort their current policy decision nor canceling the discourse of policy decision making. Last is *framing*, in this manners, media works fluctuate from times to times either pro-pluralist or pro-elite. Media is capturing the issue from a different angle to influence the public opinion. So, in the same particular issue, the content and standing of the media could be remarkably different. Consequently, public opinion reactions also different in concerning issue that in reality is same.

It is confusing to using realist approach, where the state is the leading actor who has power in international relations to analyzing case using public opinion as tools of research. Most possible way to execute a case using public opinion analysis is through liberalism approach which relates to democracy. In this manners, public opinion has recognized as a primary consideration of

<sup>26</sup> See *ibid* page 176.

government formulating foreign policy. Meanwhile, the critical approach focusing on socio-economic class and government as its subsidiary, media is tools for some elite to manipulate public opinion for their interest.



The analytical model above is used to explain this research; this research begins by studying the independent variables to classify Indonesian public opinion. Are they tend to be pluralist or pro-elite. The indicator of Indonesian public society will deepen the analytical process to the subject which is the public itself. Finally in which way media in Indonesia are standing, are they independent or just subordinate of government. Consequently, these variable independent variable influenced foreign policy decision-making. Resulting, in the dependent variable output of foreign policy decision.

## 1.8. Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this research is public opinion influence on Indonesia foreign policy decision in Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail project is relatively significant. Because previously Japan was appointed to making feasibility study in this project. Democratic system has succeeded to take public opinion into government consideration. Hereafter, influence the government foreign policy decision-making, which resulting China as a project partner.



## **1.9. Thesis Arrangement**

The Thesis organizes as follow:

### **Chapter I Introduction**

1. Background of Information
2. Research Motive
3. Research Purpose
4. Research Approach
5. Research Question
6. Literature Review
7. Theoretical Framework
8. Hypothesis
9. Thesis Arrangement

### **Chapter II Indonesian Domestic Politics and Public Opinion**

1. Fallen of Suharto's Regime
2. Rising of Democracy in Indonesia
3. Media role in Indonesia Public Opinion

### **Chapter III Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project Initiation in SBY Period (2008-2014)**

1. Society pattern in general elections 2009
2. Internationalist domestic politics and SBY "*thousands friends zero enemy*" Policy
3. The road to presidential and general elections 2014 SBY and Legislature
4. Media running by elite

### **Chapter IV Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project Implementation in Jokowi Period (2014-2015)**

1. Society pattern in general elections 2014
2. Isolationist domestic politics and Jokowi "*Nawacita*" Policy
3. The road to presidential and general elections 2019 Jokowi and Legislature
4. Media running by elite

### **Chapter V Conclusion**

## Chapter II Indonesian Domestic Politics and Public Opinion

Indonesia is one country that adopted democracy into the national political system, although the principle of democracy just been practice over past 20 years after Suharto regime was a collapse in 1998. It is evident that 1998 is the year that has been a transition of the political system in Indonesia, from the semi-authoritarian regime in Suharto “*New Order*” to “*Reformation*” following that. Consequently, the rule of public opinion became more critical as government consideration before making a policy decision. This chapter introduces a brief background of Indonesian democracy after the new order period. Also, show the society role in influencing public opinion.

### 2.1. Fallen of Suharto’s Regime

The process of political transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Indonesia does not happen, but various conditions trigger it. At least four pre-conditions can be mapped to understand the process of political transition in Indonesia.

*First*, the material (economic) crisis triggered by the regional economic crisis. The economic crisis in various countries, especially in Asia, such as Thailand, Philippines, South Korea, and Malaysia and stop in Indonesia, destroy the hope and optimism of the world economy, including Indonesia. This economic downturn weakened the spirit of Suharto's power, as the economic support base filled with corruption, collusion and nepotism opened the gap for the emergence of a spirit of civil society against Suharto's authority and his entire support base. Given this economic crisis, Suharto lost the source of legality and legitimacy of his power. The economic crisis that occurred in Indonesia is very severe because the way of economic management led by Suharto is ambivalent. This concept of harvesting mixes systematic patrimonialism, in which Suharto himself becomes the center of control for the domestic and international bourgeoisie, for families, relatives, friends and loyalist groups in Golkar party, Bureaucracy, and Military with the technocratic approach in designing economic system. Meanwhile, the technocrats who were behind the table of economic formulas were not able to apply their economic strategy, because they were confused by Suharto who had the power to carry out what was right in his mind. It was this ambivalent economic strategy that caused a prolonged economic crisis with rampant corruption and led to delegitimation of Suharto's destruction and movement to democracy.

*Second*, the crisis of legitimacy of Suharto's rule, during which Suharto ruled, in his favor of legitimacy to material incentives of rank, title, class, and property to his followers, therefore he endured the issue of chronic legitimacy. The legitimacy of Suharto is a mixed between charismatic, and legal-rational, legitimacy.

*Third*, the strong demand of civil society wishing to overthrow or end the Suharto regime, by adopting a concept of "Succession of National Leadership." The emergence of a massive influx of demonstrators, when a student demonstration of approximately 15,000 people succeeded in occupying the DPR / MPR building<sup>27</sup> which caused the national political paralysis. The primary mission of the reform movement is the succession of national leadership, especially the leadership of President Suharto, who has conquered for 32 years. They opposed Suharto because of public dissatisfaction with the performance of Suharto and its support machines, the widespread injustice, arbitrariness and human rights violations committed by Suharto with his power machines.

*Fourth*, Suharto suffered a collapse caused by

- a) the occurrence of treachery and panic among the Suharto support elite and the destruction of Suharto's machinery of supporters due to the swift currents of demonstrators' pressure;
- b) the military, the bureaucracy, the Golkar Party and the Suharto technocrats, abused as an instrumental of Suharto's martial arts who worked incompetently,
- c) Suharto was incapable of controlling his political machinery, especially the military, bureaucracy, and Golkar Party which experienced very reasonable internal conflicts as a result of preference to Suharto's survival or favor of reformers, and;
- d) at the same time also emerged opportunistic figures who initially sided with Suharto, then switched to revile Suharto, making Suharto lost his patience to get off the stage of his power.

Due to enormous pressure from within the country and internationally, on May 21, 1999, through the National TV broadcast, President Suharto declared a resignation as president and handed Habibie to be sworn in as President, before the Supreme Court. The surrender of power marks the seconds of the transition of power in Indonesia, after 32 years of the Suharto regime in power (T.R, 2016).

Although many still doubt the legality and legitimacy of the process of transition of power from Suharto to B.J. Habibie, procedurally-based on the constitution of the 1945 Constitution

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<sup>27</sup> Indonesian House of Representative

which was enacted at that time-then the process of transition of power at that time can be declared valid as well as acknowledged that Prof. Dr. Ir. Eng. BJ. Habibie is the third President of the Republic of Indonesia.

## **2.2. Rising of Democracy in Indonesia**

After the overthrow of the New Order (Suharto) era conducted at the urging of students more known as the era of *reform*. In this era of reform, Indonesia is trying to regenerate the values of democracy in social and political life. After that, the Indonesian government is trying to reinforce democracy in its system. The patrimony left by Suharto New Order government is still carrying out, namely corruption in the sectors of government. After the presidential election in 2004 where the first time in the history of Indonesia the public elected its president directly. The election is said to be the government of the people, for the people and by the people. A democratic government can run its elections. Within ten years of democratic governance after this reform, the state administration was made as transparent as possible so that the public could monitor the performance of their elected government.

The process of running democracy today is a process of community self-reliance in running the democratic state. Inevitably democracy brings about changes in the social and political life of society. People can uphold the value of diversity, the values of freedom of expression also have a more appropriate space, and the value of freedom in issuing opinions and participating in overseeing the government. These values of freedom upheld after this reform era.

In running the life of the nation and the state of democracy is a system that is upheld and given a decent place in the community. Indonesian society upholds the value of democracy, but in today's democratic political system in Indonesia, it is sometimes still challenging to implement a full democracy. Constraints faced are a constraint inherited from the previous government.

In the Indonesian political system, the period of reform is also giving an enormous change. The government is more transparent and accountable to the people because the government is the mandate of people and therefore the society serves as the supervisor for the government. The criticism that uprise public opinion became the suggestion and input for the sovereign government today. While during the New Order period, it was delicate for the public society to voice their rights moreover it is difficult to control the government. Is because the government during the New Order did not provide a significant public space for the community in participating politics. Government becomes very dominant and uncontrollable, deviations that are administration also

occur. Mainly people experience a significant change in social and political. The government also upholds freedom in politics. The public may become a member of the council and also act as a supervisor through the institutions that have been provided and acknowledged their existence.

In 1998, Indonesia underwent reform, and the constitutional basis of Indonesia became the amended 1945 Constitution. In the reform era, there have been many changes, especially in the realm of democracy. The fall of Suharto became a turning point for small parties and other organizations to take part in politics. Indonesia returned to the multi-party system, and in the 1999 election, the party participants reached 48 parties with 21 parties entering the DPR. 21 parties to the House of Representatives are parties that have successfully passed the electoral threshold requirement. The PDIP won the 1999 election. Then in 2004, the election participants were reduced to 24 parties with seven parties in the House of Representatives namely Golkar Party, PDIP, PKB, PPP, Democrat Party, PKS, and PAN. The decrease in the number of parties participating in this election caused by the increasingly tight requirements that applied through 2 stages of selection. First, the selection made by the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights and the second stage, the selection made by the General Election Commission (KPU). The Golkar Party won the 2004 election. (Budiarjo, 2010)

### **2.3. Society Role in Indonesians Public Opinion**

In a democratic country, elections are primary tools to legal society mandate to the government; parliament represents society to assess government policy into the law. Meanwhile executive put the law into action. As democratic country elections, data result is reflecting society and public opinion characteristic and pattern. Moreover, data is accountable and accessible to the public. Consequently, its possible to used election data as research tools.

Since the first national direct election 2004, there is a list of the big party that has a strong influence in government. In general, the spectrum of political environment can divide into according to political ideology namely Islamist or nationalist. Alternatively, based on political ideology Liberalist, Socialist, or Conservative. Since the national election 2009, General Election Commision uses 2,5% electoral vote percentage for any party that eligible for a parliament seat. Referring to the law on the 2009 general election of the members of the People's Representative

Council<sup>28</sup>, Provincial Regional House of Representatives<sup>29</sup>, and the House of Representative's Regencies/municipalities. In the article I verse 27 mentioned:

*“The number of votes for the House of Representatives, hereinafter BPP DPR, is the number obtained from the division of the total valid votes of all political parties participating in the election minus the number of votes of the political party not meeting the 2.5% (two point five percent) the national legitimate vote with the number of seats in an electoral district to determine the number of seats of the election participating political parties and the election of members of the People's Legislative Assembly.”* (Indonesia P. R., 2008)

Following that in national election 2014 the law on 2014 election updated by people's representative council from 2,5% in 2009 to 3,5% in 2014 election. It mentioned in article 208 the law number 8 2012 regarding general election 2014 of the members of the people's representative council, regional representative council, and representative district council. The article states:

*“Participating Political Parties shall meet the threshold of vote acquisition of at least 3.5% (three point five percent) of the total national valid votes to be included in the determination of seats of members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Provincial Regional House of Representatives and the House of Representative's Regencies/municipalities.”* (Indonesia P. R., 2012)

However, hereafter the law sued by 14 political parties, the Constitutional Court then set a 3.5% threshold that only applies to Parliament and excluded for DPRD (the House of Representative's Regencies/municipalities). This provision is effective immediately since the 2014 Election.

Regarding that matters, It is possible to classify merely the composition of parliament representative based on their political party. Consequently, the pattern of political ideology also visible, which led to concept application. The tools to analyze this case is using primary data of parliamentary election, officially issued by General Election Commision.

## **2.4. Media role in Indonesia Public Opinion**

In Indonesia media is divided by traditional media, such as Television, Newspaper, Tabloid, and Journal. The other is new media, which cause by the grown high number of internet users in Indonesia. The birth of new media is a milestone in the history of public opinion in Indonesia. Because, unlike the traditional media, new media more specifically social media using the direct interaction among its users. Moreover, the other traditional media namely newspaper and

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<sup>28</sup> National level of Representative Council

<sup>29</sup> Second level/province level of Representative Council

television have transformed to its new digital format. Furthermore giving more variety option for the public to choose.

a. New Media

Indonesia is one of the countries with the most significant number of social media users in the world. Users of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and others from Indonesia occupy a significant portion of the total users of social media. Social media in Indonesia began to rapidly follow the development of internet access to users in Indonesia, especially with the development of Internet infrastructure in Indonesia such as wifi access, fiber networks and so forth.

Based on the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII) survey in 2017, approximately 143 million Indonesians connect to the internet or 54.68 percent of the country's 262 million inhabitants. The methodology used is Multi-Stage Cluster Sampling with 2,500 number of respondents. The margin of error is 1.96 percent, and the level of confidence is 95 percent. One of the most tributary argument, why it can happen, is because mobile internet devices are more affordable for the people to allow for higher network penetration. (Jamaludin, 2018)

From now on, according to APJII survey the majority of internet users as much as 72.41 percent still from the urban community. Utilization is further, not only to communicate but also to buy goods, order transportation, to do business and work. As many as 49.52 percents of internet users in Indonesia are those aged 19 to 34 years. In the second position, as many as 29.55 percents of Indonesian Internet users aged 35 to 54 years. This group is at the age of productive and adaptable to change. Adolescents aged 13 to 18 years occupy the third position with a portion of 16.68 percent. Finally, senior citizen over 54 years old only 4.24 percent who use the internet. (Bohang, 2018)

Educational factors also affect internet penetration in Indonesia. A total of 88.24 of those holding Master and Ph.D. connect to the internet. The majority of undergraduate and diploma graduates have also used the internet, which is 79.23 percent. In some universities and vocational colleges, the Internet has indeed become an essential part of the teaching and learning process. For those with high school, junior high school, elementary, and non-schoolers, the percentage of internet users is 70.54 percent, 48.53 percent, 25.10 percent and 5.45 percent, respectively. (Bohang, 2018)

From the economic level can also be distinguished, in which the majority of internet users come from the middle to lower class. Of the 143 million Indonesians already connected to the

Internet, there are about 62.5 million lower-middle-class people who use the internet. While the upper class of 2.8 million people. (Bohang, 2018)

Currently, social media is not only used as a communication and socialization platform, but it also used for political, governmental, and other purposes as in the case of presidential elections in 2014, most of the massive campaigns conducted through the internet and social media. The construction of the social reality of particular information or event is straightforward to do with social media.

Indonesians are getting more and more active in the world of social media, with penetration rates reaching hundreds of millions of people, so that any content can be viral easily as unique events down to the little things that might never think of before viral. Online petitions are also increasingly prevalent. Showing that social media users are not only aware of the function of social media to interact, but also to perform movements or support specific ideas. So, that they can contribute to regulating the development of surrounding communities, such as the petition to stop the television broadcasts that do not educate, the dissolution of certain mass movements and so forth.

b. Traditional Media

Media involvement in political activities characterizes domestic politics in Indonesia. Media, in this case, is broadly defined, i.e., all the means associated with the delivery of messages, both real and symbolic, from political institutions to the public. Media, in this case, maybe a TV, radio, magazines, and newspapers. The use of mass media as an instrument to communicate ideas, messages, and programs of political work is because the media can be used to convey a message to the public at a relatively low cost.

With its ability to reach a broad mass, information from the mass media can penetrate a large population as well. When political forces want to discredit the opposing political image, what needs to do is to only flood the information in the mass media with the bad things that political opponents do. Moreover, vice versa, when it wants to form a positive image of the public, just by flooding the mass media with the positive things of a party or candidate.

Is it easy to identify the traditional media affiliation to domestic politic in addition to public opinion as well, comparing to the new media who which tend to be more internationally recognized. Classification using the indicator is the independent factor of media, affiliation with a political party or elite group. Also the platform of media its self.



Table (2.1) Major Media in Indonesia

MEDIA NAME	PLATFORM	AFFILIATION	CONCEPT APPLICATION
KOMPAS	Daily Newspaper, News Channel	Independent	Pluralist
REPUBLIKA	Daily Newspaper	Independent	Pluralist
SINAR HARAPAN	Daily Newspaper	Independent	Pluralist
SUARA PEMBARUAN	Daily Newspaper	Independent	Pluralist
MNC GROUP	Daily Newspaper, 24 Hours TV News Channel	Harry Tanoesoedibjo, a billionaire businessman, and politician, Chinese Indonesian Elite.	Neither of It
MEDIA INDONESIA GROUP	Daily Newspaper, 24 Hours news Channel.	Surya Paloh former Golkar official, which now establish <i>NasDem Party</i> , pribumi elite	Pro-Elite
BAKRIE GROUP, UNDER ITS SUBSIDIARY VIVA GROUP	24 Hours news Channel	Aburizal Bakrie, Politician, Chairman <i>Golkar party</i> , pribumi elite	Pro-Elite
CT GROUP	24 Hours News Channel	Chairul Tanjung, Technocrat, former Coordinating Minister for Economics during SBY period in 2014, pribumi elite	Neither of It
TVRI	News Channel	Government-owned	Pro-Elite

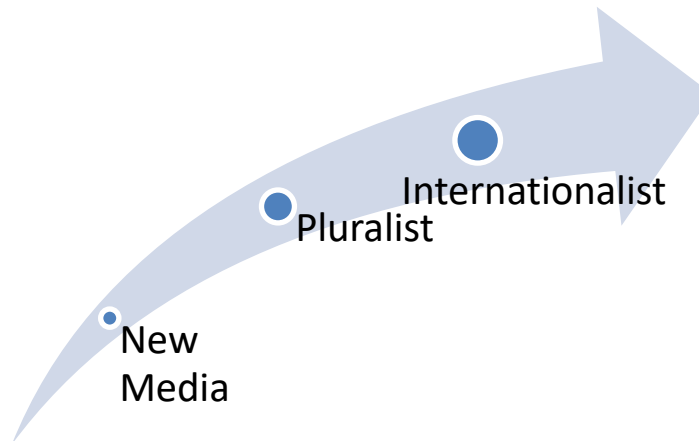
Data generated from many sources<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Harry Tanoe joining Hanura Party: news article published in Kompas. (Rastika, 2013)  
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/02/17/1640276/Ini.Alasan.Hary.Tanoe.Bergabung.dengan.Hanura>  
 NasDem party sign for 2014 national election: news article published in Kompas. (Arsil, 2013)  
<https://entertainment.kompas.com/read/2013/01/26/22444328/surya.paloh.nasdem.siapa.kompetisi.dalam.harm>  
[oni](#)

From data classification of major Indonesia traditional media, four daily newspaper belong to independent category and belong to pluralist, meanwhile two daily newspaper (*Hairan Sindo* and *Media Indonesia*) having a political/elite affiliation. Surprisingly, all four primary 24 hours news channel (*INews*, *Metro TV*, *TV One*, *CNN Indonesia*), which television shared a significant number of viewers compared with newspapers is none of them are independent. Only *Kompas TV* from Kompas Group which remain independent, following that *TVRI* is the only government-owned news channel that also obviously non-independent. All those media is Pro-Elite except four daily newspaper mentioned above.

c. Implication

According to Nilsen survey conducted in 2014. Overall, media consumption in cities. In both Java and Outer Java, shows that television is still the main medium consumed by Indonesians (95%), followed by the Internet (33%), Radio (20%), newspapers (12%), Tabloid (6%) and Magazine (5%). However, when viewed further, there is an interesting difference between the pattern of media consumption in cities in Java when compared with cities outside Java. Television media consumption is higher outside Java (97%), followed by Radio (37%), Internet (32%), Newspaper (26%), Cinema (11%), Tabloid (9%) and Magazine (5%). (Nilsen Indonesia, 2014)



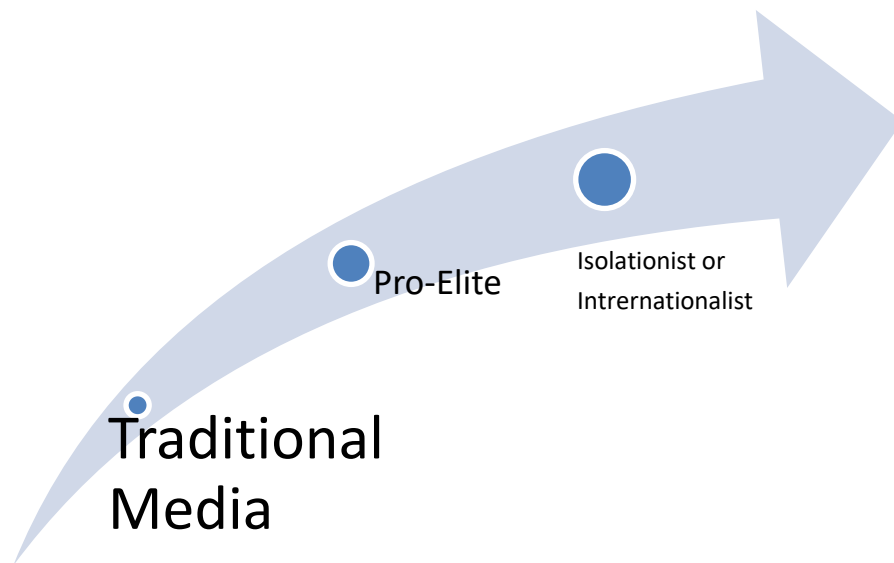
Aburizal Bakrie inaugurated as Secretary General of Golkar Party period 2014-2019: news article published in Kompas. (Akuntano, 2014)

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/12/04/07544291/Hari.Ini.Aburizal.Bakrie.Dilantik.sebagai.Ketum.Golkar.2014-2019>

Chairul Tanjung Appointed as Coordinating Minister for Economics: news article published in Kompas (Asril, Presiden SBY Tunjuk Chairul Tanjung Jadi Menko Perekonomian, 2014)

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/16/1525179/Presiden.SBY.Tunjuk.Chairul.Tanjung.Jadi.Menko.Perekonomian>

To conclude this part, media in Indonesia divided into two categories, new media, and traditional media. New media take in social media such as facebook, twitter, and Instagram, are dominantly used among Indonesians. More than half country citizen connect to the internet according to the current survey, so it will be easier to gain public opinion in this categories independently without much government or elite intervention. So in the categories of new media, specifically in social media platform, it is difficult to operate *Agenda Setting*, *Priming*, nor *Framing* (Although also not impossible) because new media tend to be pluralist and works quietly different compared to traditional media. The level of education and age range also play an important factor. Those people in this range mainly exposed to the international news, and global trend, so they favor internationalist.



Traditional media in Indonesia dominated by elite, either *Pribumi*<sup>31</sup> or Chinese elite. Meanwhile, only a few numbers of the newspaper which can identify as independent media. Also, the share percentages are relatively low compared with 24 hours news channel, Indonesian society favor TV rather than a newspaper. It is evidence that the traditional media tend to be more pro-elite, on this manners media is subsequent of elites to achieve their influence by influenced public opinion. The media act as agenda setting, and it is possible to framing or priming one particular issue. They can lead public opinion to Isolationist or internationalist based on the elite interest or agenda.

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<sup>31</sup> A person of any ethnic group other than Chinese Indonesian and Indo-European

## Chapter III Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project Initiation in SBY Period (2008-2014)

The initiation of the project started during the SBY period, Japan is a strong candidate to project partner, but the foreign policy process didn't make its output in SBY period. Several factors can explain why in this case the input of policy options do not make its policy output. These factors according to the analyzing tools are an internationalist tendency in a domestic political environment of Indonesia at the SBY period, does not support SBY policy because he failed to achieve Indonesia strong standing position in the international community caused SBY *a Million Friends Zero Enemy* policy. Accordingly this issue of high-speed train-project not essential enough to get attention in new media, there is another domestic political issue in more significant scale which gets new media users attention. So, traditional media which based on an elite player they role in influencing public opinion. Besides, the elite does not really affiliate with the incumbent government, so media is divided by supporting and opposing the government agenda which relate to elite interest.

### 3.1. Society pattern in general election 2009

According to data issued by General Election Commission 9 political party who are eligible to represent in People's Representative Council on period 2009-2014. Namely *Democrat Party* (Demokrat) represented 26,4% of total votes, *Golkar Party* (Golkar) represented 18,9% of total votes. *Democratic Indonesian Party-Struggle* (PDI-P) represented 16,8% of total votes. *Prosperous Justice Party* (PKS) represented 10,2% of total votes. *National Mandate Party* (PAN) represented 8,2% of total votes. *United Development Party* (PPP) represented 6,8% of total votes. *National Awakening Party* (PKB) represented 5% of total votes' *Gerindra Party* (Gerindra) represented 4,6% of total votes. Moreover, *Hanura Party* (Hanura) represented 3% of total votes. The other 0,1% votes do not present in House of Representative due to 2,5% parliamentary threshold. (Kompas.com, 2009)

**Table (3.1) Recapitulation Data General Elections 2009**

<b>PARTY NAME</b>	<b>RANK/PERCENTA GES IN GE 2009</b>	<b>IDEOLOGY</b>	<b>CONCEPT APPLICATION</b>
<b>DEMOKRAT</b>	26,4 %	Nasionalist-Liberalist	Pluralist/ Internationalist
<b>GOLKAR</b>	18,9 %	Nasionalist-Liberalist	Pluralist/ Internationalist
<b>PDI-P</b>	16,8 %	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>PKS</b>	10,2%	Islamist-Conservative	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>PAN</b>	8,2%	Islamist-Liberalist	Pluralist/ Internationalist
<b>PPP</b>	6,8%	Islamist-Conservative	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>PKB</b>	5%	Islamist-Liberalist	Pluralist/ Internationalist
<b>GERINDRA</b>	4,6%	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>HANURA</b>	3%	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>NOT IN HR</b>	0.1%	No Data	No Data

*Data issued from General Elections Commission Indonesia Published by Kompas 9 May 2009.<sup>32</sup> (Kompas.com, 2009)*

The table appears that Indonesians society mainly tends to be Internationalist in general election 2009. The indicator is top two party in parliament who represent 45.3% total voters while also elected incumbent President SBY also from Democrat Party which his policy approach is Pluralist. If combined with another party, which has also represent Pro-Internationalist voters the percentages increased to 58.5%. Meanwhile, although the party who represent pro-Isolationist voters on the 3rd rank (PDI with 16,8%), the total is 41,4% which fairly behind Pro-Internationalist. The other 0,1% votes do not present in House of Representative due 2,5% parliamentary threshold.

<sup>32</sup> <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2009/05/09/22401496/inilah.hasil.akhir.perolehan.suara.nasional.pemilu>

### **3.2 Internationalist domestic politics and SBY Million Friends Zero Enemy Policy**

SBY's promised regime in the 2009 presidential campaign will make Indonesia's role increasingly improved internationally. Take an active role in creating world peace. However, the reality during the reign, this SBY regime has failed in fulfilling one of these political promises. At the opening of the 1945 Constitution paragraph, I and paragraph IV has been explained the legal basis for the implementation of foreign policy in Indonesia. Indonesia as an independent and sovereign State shall have the right to determine its own destiny and shall have the right to regulate cooperative relations with other States. The definition of Indonesian foreign policy is contained in Law Number 37 the Year 1999 article 1 paragraph (2), namely the policy, attitude and steps of the SBY regime is taken in relation with other countries, international organizations and other international legal subjects in order to face international problems in order achieve national goals.

Under the constitution, the SBY regime must implement a foreign policy called free-active politics. Meaning, Indonesia is free to determine the attitude related to the international world, impartial to one of the blocks. Active, so come to contribute both in the form of thinking and resolving various conflicts and problems of the world. Active indicates the obligation of the SBY regime to fulfill the mandate of the 1945 Constitution to participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. However, the SBY regime has the idea of "a Million Friends, Zero Enemies," to be a foreign policy vision. In his motto "thousand friends, zero enemies" emphasized that the State of Indonesia is a country of peace love, firmly opposed to all forms of colonialism in the world. Many critics appear to this motto. The cases used as the basis for the assessment of the SBY regime with "motto" are seen as less assertive against external threats, namely: 1. Annexation of the Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia. SBY has allowed the annexation of Indonesia's border region by Malaysia to create "zero enemies." Indonesia to be lost territory of the country should be defended with all his might. Defending the whole of Indonesia's blood spill is a sacred duty as a sovereign nation. 2. The deployment of 2500 US Marines in Darwin, Australia.

According to the data in previous sections concerning the result of general election 2009. It is evident that the tendency of the majority of people favors the internationalist. Following that, the parliament proportion also dominated by a candidate from the party whom its ideology inclined

to internationalist. Besides, SBY is *Million Friends Zero Enemy* policy priority is to increasing Indonesia role in the international community.

### 3.3. The road to Presidential and General Elections 2014 SBY and Legislature

Following the victory of the presidential election in 2009, SBY is entering his second period of government. Since Indonesia adopted democracy into the government system, the incumbent president is not eligible to apply for the next presidential elections for another one period. Consequently, these factors gain *the interest of SBY* for leaving some legacy from his presidency period.

High-Speed Rail-Project is indeed a “*Legacy*” project fabricated by SBY to gaining support from the public so his name will be remembered. The reality of majority member of parliament is from coalition party which the party that has major shared in government also play a role in this case. Remains entirely an of unclear stand for the legislature, each party have its interest, and opposition party also have a quite big shared in parliament. Meanwhile, the opposition don’t have any representative in executive cabinet.

**Table (3.3) SBY Cabinet Composition 2009**

NO	NAME OF MINISTER	MINISTRY	AFFILIATION
1	Djoko Suyanto	Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs	Technocrat
2	Hatta Rajasa	Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs	PAN
3	Agung Laksono	Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare	Golkar
4	Sudi Silalahi	Ministry of State Secretariat	Technocrat
5	Gamawan Fauzi	Ministry of Home Affairs	Technocrat
6	Marty Natalegawa	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Technocrat
7	Purnomo Yusgiantoro	Ministry of Defense	Technocrat
8	Patrisalis Akbar	Ministry of Justice and Human Rights	PAN
9	Sri Mulyani	Ministry of Finance	Technocrat
10	Darwin Zahedy Saleh	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources	Democrat Party
11	MS Hidayat	Ministry of Industry	Golkar
12	Mari Elka Pangestu	Ministry of Trade	Technocrat
13	Suswono	Ministry of Agriculture	Technocrat
14	Syarif Hasan	Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs	Democrat Party
15	Freddy Numberi	Ministry of Transportation	Democrat Party

16	Fadel Muhammad	Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries	Golkar
17	Muhaimin Iskandar	Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration	PKB
18	Djoko kirmanto	Ministry of Public Works	Technocrat
19	Nila Afansa Moeloek	Ministry of Health	Technocrat
20	Muhammad Nuh	Ministry of Education	Technocrat
21	Suryadharma Ali	Ministry of Religious Affairs	PPP
22	Jero Wacik	Ministry of Tourism and Culture	Democrat Party
23	Suharna Surapranata	Ministry of Research and Technology	PKS
24	Salim Segaf Al'jufrie	Ministry of Social Affairs	PKS
25	Gusti Moh Hatta	Ministry of Environment	Technocrat
26	Zulkifli Hasan	Ministry of Forestry	PAN
27	Linda Agum Gumelar	Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection	Technocrat
28	EE Mangindaan	Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment	Democrat Party
29	Helmy Faisal Zaini	Ministry of Acceleration of Development of Disadvantaged Regions	PKB
30	Armida Alisjahbana	Ministry Planning and Development	Technocrat
31	Mustafa Abubakar	Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises	Golkar
32	Tifatul Sembiring	Ministry of Communication and Information	PKS
33	Suharso Momoarfa	Ministry of Public Housing	PPP
34	Andi Mallarangeng	Ministry of Youth and Sports	Democrat Party
35	Sutanto	Head of the State Intelligence Agency	Technocrat
36	Gita Wirjawan	Head of Investment Coordinating Board	Technocrat

Source published in Kompas 21 October 2009 data as of 21 October 2009 (Hertanto, 2009)

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2009/10/21/08243630/inilah.calon.menteripejabat.tinggi.versi.sby-boediono>.

From data above it indicates that most of the cabinet member is from *acquiescence* Party background, some party who have a coalition in parliament also have a seat in presidential cabinet namely: Golkar, PKB, PPP, PAN, and PKS. Together combine with PDI-P and Golkar this coalition got the majority share in parliament or 58.05%. (See table 3.1)

### 3.4. Media Running by Elite

According to a survey by Nilsen<sup>33</sup> published in May 2014 majority of people in Indonesia still, choose Television as media to get information. At least more than 95% of Indonesians use it.

<sup>33</sup> See Capter 2 Part 4 point C regarding Implication



Consequently, television is the natural source to spread any information to the public. Meanwhile, the credibility of independent amongst Television Channel in this case 24 Hours news channel doubted. Considering the Nilsen survey, the primary 24 Hours News television media still owned by the elite. Namely Surya Paloh (Media Indonesia Group, *Metro TV*) and Aburizal Bakrie (Bakrie Group, Under Its Subsidiary Viva Group, *TVOne*).

**Table (3.4) Correlation Between Media Elite and Political Party**

Name	Affiliation	Party Status in Government	Pro-Government or Opposition
<b>Surya Paloh</b>	NasDem	New Party	Oppose Government
<b>Aburizal Bakrie</b>	Golkar-Chairman of the Board of Trustees	Coalition Party, Government Party	Pro-Government

*Data generated from the same source as in table 2.3 in Chapter II (see footnote)*

Before the 2009 election, some Golkar officials made some political maneuvers. Two senior Golkar cadres behind military and field generals initiated the formation of two new parties. A four-star general, Wiranto, who was also a former Commander of army and a former presidential candidate who was promoted by Golkar in 2004, on 14 November 2006 Wiranto established a new party called Hanura (People's Conscience) and another General Lieutenant General Prabowo Subianto established the Party Gerindra (Greater Indonesia Movement) on February 6, 2008. In the 2009 legislative elections, the two parties established by two former senior cadres of Golkar are equally capable of winning over 3% votes, with seats in the House of Representatives (DPR) seized by Hanura as many as 18 seats and Gerindra as many as 26 legislative seats.

At the end of 2009 (07 November), after the implementation of the legislative election stages, Golkar held a National Assembly to elect a new chairman in Riau. Jusuf Kalla who previously served as chairman of Golkar from 2004 to 2009 and just lost the 2009 presidential election (paired with Wiranto, carried Golkar and Hanura) did not run again in the second election of Golkar chairman. In the 2009 Golkar National Assembly, there were several names of candidates who came to the surface, the candidates were Surya Paloh (previously he was chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Golkar Party in Jusuf Kalla's time), Aburizal Bakrie (then Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare) Yudi Chrisnandi (young cadre of Golkar ) and Tommy Soeharto, the son of former New Order ruler who was then free from prison.

The battle for the post of chairman of the Golkar National Assembly in 2009 at that time was actually a power struggle between Aburizal Bakrie and Surya Paloh and a prestigious battle

between Jusuf Kalla and Akbar Tanjung. At that time, Surya Paloh was supported by Jusuf Kalla (because during Kalla's management period, Surya Paloh was the Chairman of Golkar Advisory Board) and Aburizal Bakrie was supported by the enemy of Jusuf Kalla whom he defeated in 2004 in Nusa Dua Bali, Akbar Tanjung. The Golkar National Assembly which was held in Pekanbaru Riau was finally won by Aburizal Bakrie who won 296 votes from 537 total votes, while Surya Paloh won 240 votes. Aburizal Bakrie surpassed Surya Paloh with 56 votes higher, while Yudy and Tommy in the election did not reach a single vote. That fragmentation of media owners create a gap between two dominant media standing position whatever support or oppose government policy

## **Chapter IV Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project Implementation in Jokowi Period (2014-2015)**

Although the initiation of the project started during the SBY period, the foreign policy decision has done during Jokowi period. Previously Japan is a strong candidate to project partner, but the foreign policy output has changed to nominated China as a project partner. In this case, occur that policy option has changed when the policy issued.

Several factors can explain why in this case the input of policy options do not equal with the policy output. These factors according to the analyzing tools are an isolationist tendency in a domestic political environment of Indonesia at the Jokowi period, also supported by Jokowi *Nawacita* isolationist policy. Accordingly this issue of high-speed train-project not essential enough to get attention in new media, there is another domestic political issue in more significant scale which gets new media users attention. So, traditional media which based on an elite player they role in influencing public opinion. Besides, the elite is an affiliate with incumbent government circle so media to supporting the government agenda which relate to elite interest.

### **4.1. Society pattern in general election 2014**

Following the 2014 General Election Commision additionally issued the official recapitulation data on general election 2014. The parliamentary threshold minimum percentage elevated from 2,5% in 2009 to 3,5% for People's House of Representative seats. The result is *Democratic Indonesian Party-Struggle* (PDI-P) represented 18,95% of total votes. *Golkar Party* (Golkar) represented 14,75% of total votes. *Gerindra Party* (Gerindra) represented 11.81% of total votes. *Democrat Party* (Demokrat) represented 10,19% of total votes. *National Awakening Party* (PKB) represented 9,04% of total votes. *National Mandate Party* (PAN) represented 7,59% of total votes. *Prosperous Justice Party* (PKS) represented 6,79% of total votes. *National Democrat Party* (NasDem) represented 6,72% of total votes. *United Development Party* (PPP) represented 6,53% of total votes. Moreover, *Hanura Party* (Hanura) represented 5,26% of total votes. The other votes do not present in House of Representative due 3,5% parliamentary threshold. (Prabowo, 2014)

**Table (4.1) Recapitulation Data General Elections 2014**

<b>PARTY NAME</b>	<b>RANK/PERCENTAGE IN GE 2014</b>	<b>IDEOLOGY</b>	<b>CONCEPT APPLICATION</b>
<b>PDI-P</b>	18,95%	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>GOLKAR</b>	14,75%	Nationalist-Liberalist	Pluralist/Internasionalist
<b>GERINDRA</b>	11,81%	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>DEMOKRAT</b>	10,19%	Nationalist-Liberalist	Pluralist/Internasionalist
<b>PKB</b>	9,04%	Islamist-Liberalist	Pluralist/Internasionalist
<b>PAN</b>	7,59%	Islamist-Liberalist	Pluralist/Internasionalist
<b>PKS</b>	6,79%	Islamist-Conservative	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>NASDEM</b>	6,72%	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>PPP</b>	6,53	Islamist-Conservative	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>HANURA</b>	5,26%	Nasionalist-Socialist	Pro-Elite/Isolationist
<b>NOT IN HR</b>	2,37%%	No Data	No Data

*Data issued from General Elections Commission Indonesia Published by Kompas 9 May 2014<sup>34</sup> (Prabowo, 2014)*

The table shown above that Indonesians society is a swing to be Isolationist in general election 2014. The indicator is PDI-P 1st rank party in parliament who represent 18.95%, total voters. While also elected new president Joko Widodo<sup>35</sup> is also from the same party is elected as seventh President of Indonesia, and his policy approach is Pro-Elite. If combined with another party, which also represent Isolationist voters the percentages increased to 56.06%. Meanwhile, although the party who represent Internationalist voters on the 2nd rank (Golkar with 14,75%), the total is 41,57% which quite far behind Isolationist party affiliate. The other 2,58% votes do not present in House of Representative due 3,5% parliamentary threshold. Although the gap number is narrow between Isolationist and Internationalist, the growth of public opinion who favor an Isolationist approach in the government has grown significantly compared with 2009 general election 41,40%. A series of a corruption scandal in previous government cabinet, indeed, affecting public opinion.

<sup>34</sup> <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/09/2357075/Disahkan.KPU.Ini.Perolehan.Suara.Pemilu.Legislatif.2014>

<sup>35</sup> Based on recapitulation data of President Election issued by General Election Commission Published in Kompas 22 July 2014 (Dian Maharani, 2014)

Consequently, the public is given punishment by not elected the party which affiliates with the previous government.

To conclude this part, there is a significant connection between society and public opinion. In democratic countries like Indonesia, the government is the mandate of society, and people or society voices, in general, represented through parliament. Society can punish incumbent government if they are not satisfied by its performance, with by merely not electing the party who affiliated with the government the further elections.

#### 4.2. Isolationist domestic politics and Jokowi *Nawacita* policy

According to the data in previous sections concerning the result of general election 2014. It is evident that the tendency of the majority of people favors the isolationist. Following that, the parliament proportion also dominated by a candidate from the party whom its ideology inclined to isolationist. Besides, Jokowi is *Nawacita* policy priority is to accelerating national economy by developing infrastructure, reformation of the bureaucratic system, and increase Indonesians competitiveness with education.

**Table (4.2) Jokowi Vision and Mission on 2014 Presidential Election  
(9 Priority Agenda *Nawacita*)**

NO	PRIORITY	ISOLATIONIST/INTERNATIONALIST
1	Bringing back the country to protect the entire nation and provide a sense of security to all citizens	Isolationist
2	Make Government always present by building a clean, effective, democratic, and reliable governance	Isolationist
3	Build Indonesia from the periphery by strengthening the regions and villages within the framework of the unitary state	Isolationist
4	Strengthen the country's presence in reforming the system and law enforcement that is free of corruption, dignity, and trust	Isolationist
5	Improve the rank of human life of Indonesia	Isolationist
6	Increasing people's productivity and competitiveness in the international market so that the nation of Indonesia can advance and rise with other Asian nations	Internationalist
7	Achieve economic independence by moving the strategic sectors of the domestic economy	Isolationist
8	Revolutionize the character of the nation	Isolationist
9	Strengthen diversity and strengthen Indonesian social restoration	Isolationist

*Data from the Indonesian President website*

From the table above it is sure that Jokowi administration tends to be Isolationist, only one point of priority agenda categorizes as Internationalist. Besides, the other eight priority agenda is focusing on national development, a sign of isolationist behavior. It also supported by the result of the parliamentary election is also Isolationist (See table 2.2 in Chapter II).

So between the *executive* (president), and *legislative* (Parliament), all supported each other making the Isolationist government. Parliament does not use the *rights of interpellation*<sup>36</sup> is a sign that they are supporting administrative policy. In the case of High-Speed Rail-Project, the executive government issued the policy to nominate China as a project partner, and consecutive series of the presidential decree regarding rules and regulation of the project. However, the legislature act quite, and tend to be supporting it.

### **4.3. The road to Presidential and General Elections 2019 Jokowi and Legislature**

Following the victory of the presidential election in 2014, Jokowi is entering his first period of government. Since Indonesia adopted democracy into the government system, the incumbent president may eligible apply for the next presidential elections for another one period. Consequently, these factors gain *the interest of Jokowi* for the next presidential election, also *legislature interest* among member of parliament (from coalition party) in the same manners.

High-Speed Rail-Project is indeed a “*lighthouse*” project fabricated by Jokowi to gaining support from the public for the 2019 election following his first presidential term. The reality of majority member of parliament is from PDI-P which the party that nominated Jokowi as a president also play a role in this case. Remains entirely is a sign of parliament support for the executive policy. Despite the *liberalist* behavior of Golkar party which ranked no 2 in 2014 presidential election (see table 4.1), the vice-president *Jusuf Kalla* nominated by Golkar party. So, it is no surprise that majority of parliament is supporting it. Cabinet members it also plays another role regarding the behavior of parliament member which most of the party that has a representative in parliament involved in Jokowi presidential cabinet.

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<sup>36</sup> There are 3 rights of people's legislature in Indonesia: 1. the right of the People's Legislative Assembly, to request information to the Government on important and strategic government policies and to have a broad impact on the life of society, nation and state; 2. the right to investigate the implementation of an important, strategic, and broad-impact governmental / policy law on the life of the community, nation and state allegedly contrary to the laws and regulations; 3. Right of Expression: right to express an opinion on: government policy or concerning extraordinary events occurring in the country or internationally; follow-up implementation of interpellation rights and right of inquiry; or the allegation that the President and / or Vice President have violated the law either in the form of treason, corruption, bribery, other serious criminal acts, or disgraceful acts, and / or the President and / or Vice President no longer qualify as President and / or Vice President . (RI, t.thn.)  
<http://www.dpr.go.id/tentang/hak-dpr>

**Table (4.3) Jokowi Cabinet Composition 2014**

N O	NAME OF MINISTER	MINISTRY	AFFILIATION
1	Pratikno	Minister of State Secretary	Technocrats
2	Adrianof Chaniago	Minister of Planning and Development	Technocrats
3	Indroyo Soesilo	Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs	Technocrats
4	Ignatius Jonan	Minister of Transportation	Technocrats
5	Susi Pudjiastuti	Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries	Technocrats
6	Arief Yahya	Minister of Tourism	Technocrats
7	Sudirman Said	Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources	Technocrats
8	Tedjo Edy Purdjianto	Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs	Military
9	Tjahjo Kumolo	Minister of Home Affairs	PDI-P
10	Retno Marsudi	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Technocrats
11	Ryamizad Ryacudu	Minister of Defense	Military
12	Yasoon H Laoly	Minister of Law and Human Rights	PDI-P
13	Rudiantara	Minister of Communications and Informatics	Technocrats
14	Yuddy Chrisnandi	Minister of Administrative Reform	Hanura
15	Sofjan Djalil	Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs	Technocrats
16	Bambang Brodjonegoro	Minister of Finance	Technocrats
17	Rini M Soemarno	Minister of State-Owned Enterprises	Technocrats
18	Anak Agung Gede Ngurah Puspayoga	Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs	PDI-P
19	Saleh Husin	Minister of Industry	Hanura
20	Rachmat Gobel	Minister of Trade	Technocrats
21	Amran Sulaiman	Minister of Agriculture	Technocrats
22	Hanif Dhakiri	Minister of Manpower	PKB
23	Basuki Hadimuljono	Minister of Public Works and People's Housing	Technocrats
24	Siti Nurbaya	Minister of Environment and Forestry	NasDem
25	Ferry Musyidan Baldan	Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning	NasDem
26	Puan Maharani	Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture	PDI-P
27	Lukman Hakim Saifudin	Minister of Religious Affairs	PPP
28	Nila F Moeloek	Minister of Health	Technocrats
29	Khofifah Indar Parawansa	Minister of Social Affairs	PKB

30	Yohana Yambise	Minister of Women Empowerment and Child Protection	Technocrats
31	Anies Baswedan	Minister of Education	Technocrats
32	M. Nasir	Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education	Technocrats
33	Imam Nahrawi	Minister of Youth and Sports	PKB
34	Marwan Jafar	Minister of Villages, Disadvantaged Areas Development, and Transmigration	PKB

Source published in *Kompas* 26 October 2014 data as of 26 October 2014 (Asril, Inilah Susunan Kabinet Kerja Jokowi-JK, 2014)

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/10/26/17505831/Inilah.Susunan.Kabinet.Kerja.Jokowi-JK>

From data above it indicates that most of the cabinet member is from *technocrats* background, but some party who have a coalition in parliament also have a seat in presidential cabinet namely: PKB, PPP, Nasdem, and Hanura. Together combine with PDI-P and Golkar this coalition got the majority share in parliament or 61.22%. (See table 4.1)

#### 4.4. Media Running by Elite

According to a survey by Nilsen<sup>37</sup> published in May 2014 majority of people in Indonesia still, choose Television as media to get information. At least more than 95% of Indonesians use it. Consequently, television is the natural source to spread any information to the public. Meanwhile, the credibility of independent amongst Television Channel in this case 24 Hours news channel doubted. Considering the Nilsen survey, the primary 24 Hours News television media still owned by the elite. Namely Hary Tanoesoedibjo (MNC Group, *Inews TV*), Surya Paloh (Media Indonesia Group, *Metro TV*), Aburizal Bakrie (Bakrie Group, Under Its Subsidiary Viva Group, *TVOne*), Chairul Tanjung (CT Group, CNN Indonesia). All those channels are free to air, means its free viewing, except CNN Indonesia from CT Group that need a cable subscription to view, and CCN Indonesia just aired on December 15, 2015. Consequently, their shared viewers are relatively low compared with another competitor.

<sup>37</sup> See Capter 2 Part 4 point C regarding Implication



**Table (4.4) Correlation Between Media Elite and Political Party**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Party Status in Government</b>	<b>Pro-Government or Opposition</b>
<b>Surya Paloh</b>	NasDem-Chairman	Coalition Party	Pro-Government
<b>Hary Tanoesoedibjo</b>	Perindo-Chairman	New Party establish 2015	None
<b>Aburizal Bakrie</b>	Golkar-Chairman of the Board of Trustees	Coalition Party, Government Party	Pro-Government
<b>Chairul Tanjung</b>	Former Coordinating Minister for Economics SBY Cabinet (Democrat Party)	Opposition Party	Opposition

*Data generated from the same source as in table 2.3 in Chapter II (see footnote)*

From table indicate above, it appears that most of the elite who own significant media in Indonesia affiliate with coalition party in government. Aburizal Bakrie which affiliated with Golkar party as chairman of the broad trustees. In presidential election 2014 Golkar also the party which nominated Jusuf Kalla as vice president. Other elite Surya Paloh and have an affiliation with Pro-Government party. Although, Chairul Tanjung is former Coordinating Minister for Economics in SBY cabinet, which affiliate with Democrat Party, he is not directly attached to the party either as cadres nor essential position. Alongside it, CNN Indonesia not gains considerable viewers in Indonesia and established in late 2015. However, for this case of CNN Indonesia, they also have news portal that everyone can access it for free, meanwhile the readers also quite small in share number of viewers compare with the tv media. Besides, it does not give a significant impact on public opinion in Indonesia. Consequently, we can conclude that majority of media elite is have interest in line with government agenda. In the same scenario also Hary Tanoesoedibjo, although he seems no interest either pro or opposes the government, he forms his political party in early 2015, which by all means he also have his political interest.

**Table (4.5) Presentation of News Regarding Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project**

<b>Media</b>	<b>Youtube.com Keywords</b>	<b>Presentation of News: <i>Agenda Setting, Framing, Priming</i> (+/-/N<sup>38</sup>)</b>
<b>Metro TV</b>	Kereta Cepat <sup>39</sup> Jakarta- Bandung Metro TV	Faming (+)
<b>TV One</b>	Kereta Cepat Jakarta-Bandung TV One	Framing (+)
<b>Inews</b>	Kereta Cepat Jakarta-Bandung Inews	Framing (-)
<b>CNN Indonesia</b>	Kereta Depat Jakarta-Bandung CNN Indonesia	Framing (N)

*Data generated by a sample from youtube with keywords with each media sample minimum three videos (See link in endnotes)<sup>i</sup>*

From database in the table, none of the media owned by the government. Consequently, none of them are presenting in the Agenda setting manners. Besides, is not an essential issue that media interested in priming it. Two media which have a direct affiliation with government framing the broadcasting news about Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail project positively. Meanwhile, the other two media which not have an affiliation with government either framing the broadcasting in neutral or negative manners.

It seems that CNN Indonesia owners Chairul Tanjung do not have a specific interest in this issue. Moreover, CNN Indonesia is a business that its viewers need to pay to get the news from it. So, naturally, CNN Indonesia behave independently and neutrally, although the viewers are limited, and by all means not affecting public opinion.

Hary Tanoesoedibjo in another hand has established a new political party. Although his party not inside the government, it makes him have political interest, in this case, is election 2019. Is not easy (practically almost impossible) for him to nominate himself as a presidential candidate since his background is non-muslim and ethnically Chinese. Consequently, his possible way option is to gain high numbers of voters as much as possible. To enter the parliament list. Being critical to government is one way to achieve its interest.

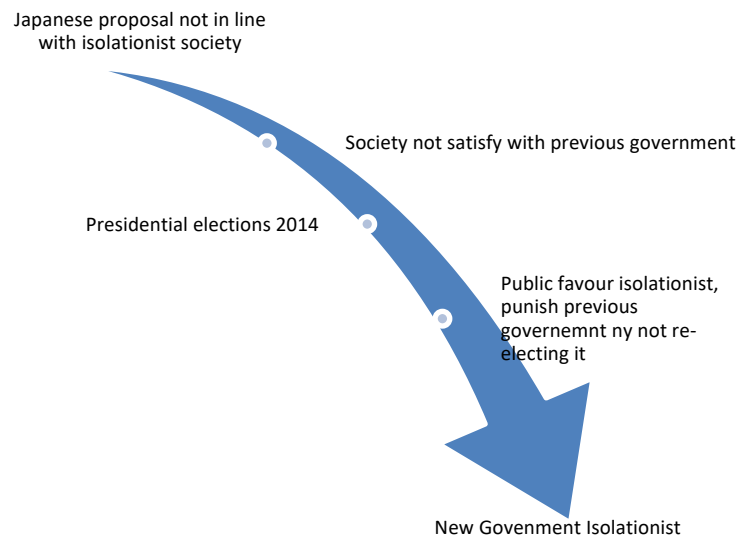
<sup>38</sup> Neutral

<sup>39</sup> Kereta Cepat is Indonesian trasnlation for High-Speed Train

## Chapter V Conclusion

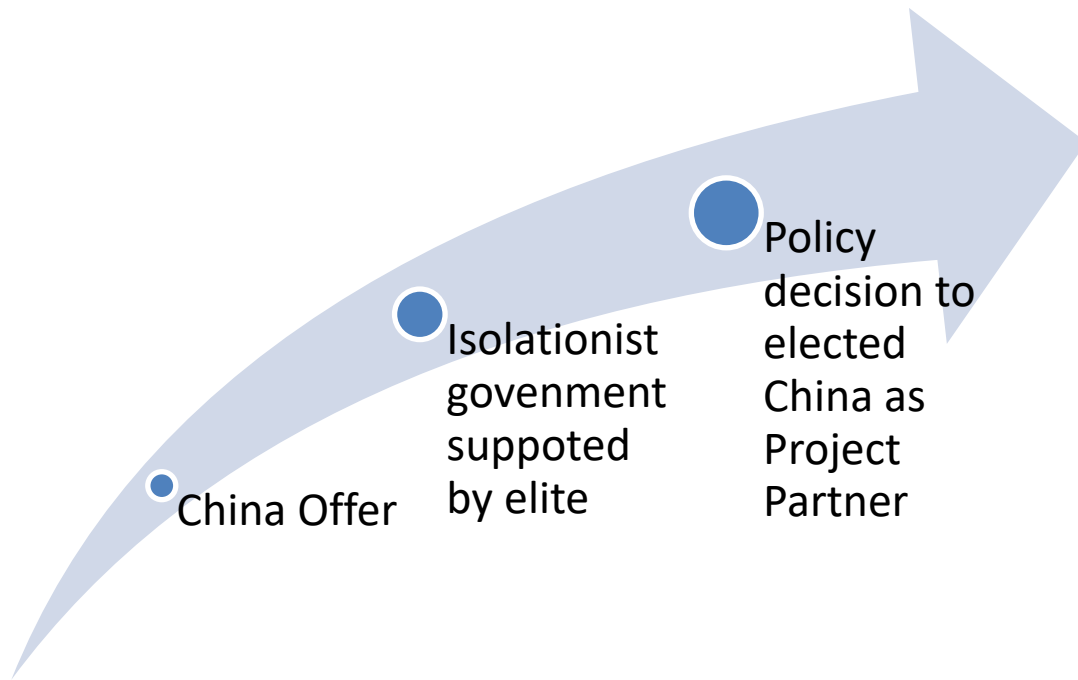
Analyzing foreign policy can conduct in three level, international, national, and individual level. In this thesis, national level analysis of domestic politics, it might be possible. This thesis is using the public opinion approach, with pluralist model and elite model as a tool for analysis. To gain deeper grasp isolationist and internationalist variable also used in this thesis, alongside with concept of agenda setting, priming, and framing to understand how media are affecting public opinion.

Indonesia as a country has transitioned from authoritarian regime in new order era to democracy era following the fallen of Suharto regime. Democracy has been part of Indonesian society for almost two decades. Moreover, it proved by the direct election both for executive and legislative. Although Indonesia is a democratic country, it not necessarily the domestic politic 100% free from the interest, there is some elite also that have an interest in the domestic politic in Indonesia.



In this regarding case government has been elected directly by a majority of people who favor isolationist. Isolationist in this context means the domestic economic development and social justice for all citizen. Japan already offer and make the initiation of the project by doing feasibility

regarding High-Rail Project studies in the previous presidential period. However, Japan proposal will stress the economic condition which most of the people favor isolationist. Besides the series of corruption scandal involved by the democrat party has been a significant reason why public to “punish” it in 2014 national elections.



Meanwhile, after new government elected, China has offered their proposal for Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail project. Moreover, China proposal is in line with new government isolationist policy. It also supported by an elite which also has an interest in government. So the process of policy making reach its goals by establishing the project, and China has elected as a project partner.

To conclude the result of this thesis finds the evidence that public opinion has influence foreign policy-making, the *isolationist* society wants the national economic development. Regarding the case of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail project, society way punishing the previous government, by not re-electing it. Consequently, the new isolationist establish and decision has made. The media is owned by an elite who has interest, which majority of them inline with new isolationist agenda. Media act based on elite interest, and work by *framing* the news broadcast either in negative, positive, or neutral manners.

The Jakarta Bandung high-speed rail project is just an "inch" from China's big scenario to build a fast train network, massively around the world. China has the ambition of connecting

mainland Britain with China between Beijing-London, through a network of fast train transportation between continents, in the interest of its economy including to obtain natural resources. In Indonesia, China is also eyeing the construction of a fast train project to Surabaya. While in Asia, China is also eyeing similar projects in Malaysia-Singapore, Myanmar, Vietnam, and India.

China and Japan both expressed their seriousness to work on fast rail projects. Two countries in power in Asia are both sending a delegation to meet with Indonesian officials. Beginning in August 2015, the Japanese delegation directly expressed interest in working on a fast train project. The interest delivered when the trade minister, who was then Rachmat Gobel, visited Japan. During the visit to Japan, Rachmat Gobel given the opportunity to visit Japan Transport Engineering Company to see first hand the process of making Shinkansen. The factory turned out to employ 17 young Indonesian workers to build the latest series Shinkansen. It is as if to affirm the Japanese intention to build human resources and also the transfer of technology, not just build a project.

A week later, on August 10, 2015, the Chinese delegation met President Jokowi. Explicitly, a delegation led by Minister of National Development and Reform Commission of China, Xu Shaoshi, presented a feasibility study of the Jakarta - Bandung high-speed rail project. Proposals submitted by Japan and China are very balanced. To get the best, President Jokowi pitted the proposals of China and Japan. To be fair, Indonesia took the independent consultant of Boston Consulting Group as an appraiser. Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Darmin Nasution was elected as chair of the consultant report team, set out in Presidential Decree No. 93 of 2015 on the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Assessment Team, Presidential decree, regulates the results of reports from the assessment team most recently submitted to the president on 31 August 2015. The Government of Indonesia also stipulates the absolute requirement for this project: it should not use state budget funds. The Indonesian government also does not want to issue warranties related to project funding. Business to business (b to b) schemes should implement in the project.

Ahead of the deadline, Japan suddenly revised the proposal. Japan through Prime Minister Shinzo Abe until sending a special envoy to submit an additional proposal Japan to the assessment team. This move could make the Chinese representatives disappointed because the proposals increase proposals are considered unfair to them.

President Jokowi finally issued Presidential Regulation 102 of 2015 on Amendment of Presidential Regulation No. 93 of 2015 About the Team of Rapid Appraisal Project Jakarta-Bandung. The administrative regulation changed the deadline for the assessment team's report to September 7, 2015. Before the deadline expires, the judging team has quietly reported to President Jokowi on recommendations regarding both Japan and China's offer. The result is enough to make China and Japan surprised. President Jokowi rejected both proposals as Japan and China offered the use of the state budget in the project. President Jokowi finally handed over a fast train project to SOEs with business to the business scheme. Since then, SOE Minister Rini Soemarno has been fully mandated to determine the fate of this fast train project. One month later, a consortium of the state-owned high-speed train that took up the Chinese side. The Jakarta-Bandung fast train is done by *PT Kereta Cepat Indonesia China* (KCIC), which is a consortium of Indonesian and Chinese companies. Indonesia represents by *PT Pilar Sinergi BUMN Indonesia* (PSBI). PSBI covers 4 SOEs namely *PT Wijaya Karya Tbk*, *PT Jasa Marga Tbk*, *PT Kereta Api Indonesia Tbk*, and *PTPN VIII*.

High-speed rail project in Indonesia initiated during the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In 2008, the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and the Ministry of Transportation (Kemenhub) designed a fast train project in Jakarta - Surabaya. Japan International Corporation Agency (JICA) was appointed to undertake a 700 km long train study. The necessary funding estimated at 2.1 trillion yen, or about Rp245 trillion<sup>40</sup>.

The JICA feasibility study resulted in an alternative route of Jakarta-Surabaya high-speed train route that is the north-east route through Jakarta-Cirebon along 207.3 km or Jakarta-Bandung-Cirebon along 256 km. For Jakarta-Bandung-Gedebage length 144.6 km, if proceeded to Cirebon reach 256 km<sup>41</sup>.

The idea of a high-speed rail project continues to resonate in the era of Jokowi's leadership. However, the project map changes with the entry of China. China is trying to attract the concentration of Indonesia when Jokowi present at the 22nd APEC Summit in Beijing 10-11 November 2014. In the visit, Jokowi had felt direct train Beijing-Tianjin along the 120 km traveled only 33 minutes<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> In News article Published in Kompas (Suryowati, 2014)

<sup>41</sup> *ibid*

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*

On that occasion, there was a signing of a memorandum of understanding on the Jakarta-Surabaya fast-train 800 km between China Railway Construction Corporation Limited and PT Resteel Industry Indonesia. The signing of the cooperation held at the Indonesia-China Trade Investment and Economic Forum in Beijing.

"China is very enthusiastic about the many contested projects this country," said Chairman of the Committee of Organizers of Indonesia-China Trade Investment and Economic Forum Didi Suwondo. (Suryanto, 2014)

Two weeks later, Chinese High-Speed Rail investors came directly to Indonesia to follow up the memorandum of understanding. In March 2015, President Jokowi made a state visit to Chinese President Xi Jinping in China. Simultaneously with the visit, Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (SOE) Rini Soemarno signed a memorandum of understanding on the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail-project with the China National Development and Reform Commission. Since then, China has officially become a Japanese challenger in the high-speed train project in Indonesia.

**Table 3.1 Timeline of Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project**

No.	Timeline	Momentum
1	2008	The National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and the Ministry of Transportation (Kemenhub) designed a fast train project in Jakarta - Surabaya. Japan International Corporation Agency (JICA) was appointed to undertake a 700 km long train study. The necessary funding estimated at 2.1 trillion yen, or about Rp245 trillion
2	2009	SBY second term, project postponed due to the global financial crisis.
3	June-September 2014	General and Presidential elections are resulting: PDI-P has a major shared in parliament, Joko Widodo who also from PDI-P party elected as president.
4	November 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The idea of a high-speed rail project continues to resonate in the era of Jokowi's leadership. However, the project map changes with the</li> </ul>

		<p>entry of China. China is trying to attract the concentration of Indonesia when Jokowi present at the 22nd APEC Summit in Beijing 10-11 November 2014. In the visit, Jokowi had felt direct train Beijing-Tianjin along the 120 km traveled only 33 minutes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sign of a memorandum of understanding on the Jakarta-Surabaya fast-train 800 km between China Railway Construction Corporation Limited and PT Resteel Industry Indonesia. The signing of the cooperation held at the Indonesia-China Trade Investment and Economic Forum in Beijing.</li> </ul>
5	December 2014	Chinese High-Speed Rail investors came directly to Indonesia to follow up the memorandum of understanding.
6	March 2015	In March 2015, President Jokowi made a state visit to Chinese President Xi Jinping in China. Simultaneously with the visit, Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (SOE) Rini Soemarno signed a memorandum of understanding on the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail-project with the China National Development and Reform Commission. Since then, China has officially become a Japanese challenger in the high-speed train project in Indonesia.
7	August 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japanese delegation directly expressed interest in working on a fast train project. The interest delivered when the trade minister, who was then Rachmat Gobel, visited Japan. During the visit to Japan, Rachmat Gobel given the opportunity</li> </ul>



	<p>to visit Japan Transport Engineering Company to see first hand the process of making Shinkansen. The factory turned out to employ 17 young Indonesian workers to build the latest series Shinkansen.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• August 10, 2015, the Chinese delegation met President Jokowi. Explicitly, a delegation led by Minister of National Development and Reform Commission of China, Xu Shaoshi, presented a feasibility study of the Jakarta - Bandung high-speed rail project. Proposals submitted by Japan and China are very balanced.</li><li>• Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Darmin Nasution was elected as chair of the consultant report team, set out in Presidential Decree No. 93 of 2015 on the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Assessment Team, Presidential decree, regulates the results of reports from the assessment team most recently submitted to the president on 31 August 2015.</li><li>• President Jokowi pitted the proposals of China and Japan. To be fair, Indonesia took the independent consultant of Boston Consulting Group as an appraiser.</li><li>• The Government of Indonesia also stipulates the absolute requirement for this project: it should not use state budget funds. The Indonesian government also does not want to issue warranties related to project funding. Business</li></ul>
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		to business (b to b) schemes should implement in the project.
8	September 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan suddenly revised the proposal. Japan through Prime Minister Shinzo Abe until sending a special envoy to submit an additional proposal Japan to the assessment team. This move could make the Chinese representatives disappointed because the proposals increase proposals are considered unfair to them.</li> <li>• Jokowi finally issued Presidential Regulation 102 of 2015 on Amendment of Presidential Regulation No. 93 of 2015 About the Team of Rapid Appraisal Project Jakarta-Bandung.</li> <li>• The administrative regulation changed the deadline for the assessment team's report to September 7, 2015.</li> <li>• Before the deadline expires, the judging team has quietly reported to President Jokowi on recommendations regarding both Japan and China's offer. The result is enough to make China and Japan surprised. President Jokowi rejected both proposals as Japan and China offered the use of the state budget in the project. President Jokowi finally handed over a fast train project to SOEs with business to the business scheme.</li> </ul>
9	October 2015	a consortium of the state-owned high-speed train that took up the Chinese side. The Jakarta-Bandung fast train is done by <i>PT Kereta Cepat Indonesia China</i> (KCIC), which is a consortium of Indonesian and

	Chinese companies. Indonesia represents by <i>PT Pilar Sinergi BUMN Indonesia</i> (PSBI). PSBI covers 4 SOEs namely <i>PT Wijaya Karya Tbk</i> , <i>PT Jasa Marga Tbk</i> , <i>PT Kereta Api Indonesia Tbk</i> , and <i>PTPN VIII</i> .
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*Source: From findings*

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*What can be done today, do it today – Emak*

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## End Notes

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### <sup>i</sup> Metro TV:

1. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2o6fYvh\\_ko](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2o6fYvh_ko)
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gHX2GZDGraA>
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eie33cPINns>
4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eie33cPINns>
5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eie33cPINns>
6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xLAEkiiwuMo>
7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q9B8ljgabLo>
8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LTxKanyg-fU>
9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3KqpVsqCZ0E>
10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5SNpwEEZ4gc>
11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VUMdu5TYdQo>

### TV One:

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVj7VBkxGik>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t9MxiXfT7K0>
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-wPFPSldQes>

### Inews:

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EQx6DpkviYA>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WzeqyJYeFZo>
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UGmNkzBNbEU>
4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LoorNtIsKV4>
5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmnPmpgKVEw>

### CNN Indonesia:

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2A9lLt0jotk>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aR0rfu4KZGM>
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u6XuQc6HQbs>