

Secondary Foreign Policy: The Cooperation Role of Local and Regional Actors in Border Issues in Riau Islands

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Abstract

The Riau Islands Province is a province that directly faces the borders of the Republic of Indonesia. The existence of the Riau Islands as a province on the border and northern gateway to Indonesia makes the Riau Islands face the dynamics of border issues. The dynamics of border issues which are in direct contact with the development of the discipline of International Relations with the presence of new actors in International Relations make border issues worthy of study. This research tries to examine the existence of new actors in international relations that have direct contact with border issues in the Riau Islands province. One of the development dynamics raised by researchers is the presence of new actors in the regions who have an important role in carrying out foreign sub-policies related to border issues, especially in the Riau Islands province. This research will discuss this phenomenon by examining the concept of secondary foreign policy used by local and regional actors in the Riau Islands province in building and designing border cooperation. This research use a descriptive qualitative approach with a literature study that focuses on a thematic approach by organizing data through bibliometric analysis. This technique is expected to be able to discover and measure secondary foreign policy concepts used by local and regional actors in the Riau Islands province in building border cooperation.

Keywords: Secondary Foreign Policy, Borders, Local and Regional Actors, Riau Islands

Abstrak

Provinsi Kepulauan Riau merupakan provinsi yang berhadapan langsung dengan batas wilayah perbatasan Republik Indonesia. Keberadaan Kepulauan Riau sebagai provinsi yang berada di perbatasan dan gerbang pintu utara Indonesia menjadikan Kepulauan Riau menghadapi dinamika isu-isu perbatasan. Dinamika isu-isu perbatasan yang bersinggungan langsung dengan perkembangan disiplin ilmu Hubungan Internasional dengan hadirnya aktor-aktor baru dalam Hubungan Internasional menjadikan isu permasalahan perbatasan layak untuk ditelaah. Penelitian ini mencoba menelaah keberadaan aktor-aktor baru dalam Hubungan Internasional yang bersinggungan langsung dengan isu-isu perbatasan di provinsi Kepulauan Riau. Salah satu dinamika perkembangan yang diangkat oleh peneliti ialah hadirnya aktor baru di daerah yang memiliki peran penting untuk melakukan sub-kebijakan luar negeri terkait isu-isu perbatasan terutama di provinsi Kepulauan Riau. Penelitian ini akan membahas fenomena tersebut dengan menelaah konsep kebijakan luar negeri sekunder yang digunakan oleh aktor lokal maupun regional di provinsi Kepulauan Riau dalam membangun dan merancang kerjasama perbatasan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan studi kepustakaan yang berfokus pada pendekatan tematis dengan mengorganisir data melalui analisis bibliometrik. Teknik ini diharapkan mampu menemukan dan mengukur konsep kebijakan luar negeri sekunder yang digunakan oleh aktor lokal dan regional di provinsi Kepulauan Riau dalam membangun kerjasama perbatasan.

Kata-kata kunci: Kebijakan Luar Negeri Sekunder, Perbatasan, Aktor Lokal dan Regional, Kepulauan Riau

INTRODUCTION

The Riau Islands, located on the most strategic sea trade route in Southeast Asia, face many challenges related to border issues. What is commonly discussed when discussing border issues is state sovereignty and national security, followed by other non-traditional security issues, such as narcotics and drug crimes, human trafficking, smuggling of illegal goods, fisheries crimes, and environmental issues. Indonesia's strategic geopolitical position and having many borders with ten countries make border issues worthy of discussion (Muhammad et al., 2017). Of the several national boundaries, most have a natural maritime boundary category. Indonesia only shares direct land borders with three countries: Malaysia, Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste (Muhammad et al., 2017). One province directly connected to the border and is the front door to Indonesia's western border is the Riau Islands province. *Riau Islands* is a province that shares borders with four countries: Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and Cambodia (Muhammad et al., 2017). The geographical shape of the Riau Islands, composed of large and small islands, also contributes to border discussions at the local and regional levels

However, in practice and implementation, another part is worthy of discussion, namely the role of sub-national actors in managing borders. The activities of these sub-national actors are close to overcoming social and economic problems at the border. Just mention the problems of unequal population distribution, minimal public infrastructure, dependency of people at the border on public facilities and economic activities in neighbouring countries. International activity has recently become something interesting to pay attention to. The existence of non-state activities means that the dynamics of the development of International Relations activities are no longer focused on the state. The activities of non-central governments (NCGs) and non-governmental actors (NGAs), for example, have provided much dynamic discussion about how these two types of international actors are involved in formulating foreign policy. NCGs and NGA actors have been widely discussed at the regional level, especially in Europe and North America. Local and regional actors are becoming even more involved in international activities than countries that have traditionally been involved in such activities.

The involvement of non-state actors has given rise to academic debate in naming this international activity. Some call this the same term as the para diplomacy context, which was theoretically developed by Soldatos and Duchacek at the end of the 1980s (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017). Paradiplomacy means diplomatic activities carried out in parallel rather than through official diplomacy. This activity also involves sub-national and non-state actors with weak legal capacity compared to the state or central government. The term was later narrowed to cover various types and purposes of international activity. Therefore, Duchacek (1988) defines three types of para-diplomacy carried out by sub-national political entities: the first (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017), namely cross-border regionalism, trans-regional diplomacy, and third, global para-diplomacy. On the other hand, according to Soldatos (1990:38-39), para diplomacy supports NCGs' diplomatic activities, which are coordinated or carried out together with regional governments and can be replaced as diplomatic activities carried out in parallel with the foreign policies of central and regional governments (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017).

In addition, local and regional cooperation also faces practical challenges, such as resource allocation and coordination between various stakeholders. Allocation of funding and resources for joint monitoring and enforcement mechanisms can be complex, especially when each country has budget constraints and priorities. Coordination between various agencies and authorities from different countries can also be a burden, potentially causing inefficiencies and logistical obstacles. This article examines the border issue in the Riau Islands province by making it the object of local actors' activities in carrying out international activities based on a secondary foreign policy thinking framework.

The dialectic of the concept of centralized foreign policy will emerge in this proposal so that regional or local actors can carry out international activities based on their regional needs, especially in handling border issues.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this article, the researcher first looked for several literature sources to use as material for previous research. This is done to find this research's state of the art. Apart from that, through this prior research, the researcher hopes to find a niche in the literature and novelty in this research. In this sub-chapter, the researcher will share previous research sources, which have been categorized by the researcher into several themes. The first theme is about the existence of sub-national or domestic actors in foreign policy activities; the second theme is a review of border issues in theory and practice; the third theme is about the issue of cooperation at the border; the fourth theme discusses para diplomacy carried out by sub-national actors, and the last one is the fifth theme; is talking about border management. The following are the categorizations presented by the researchers in table form:

Tabel 1. Previous Research Categorization

No.	Themes	Journal
1.	The presence of sub-national or domestic actors in foreign policy	(El-Dessouki, 2018), (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017), (Murphy, 2017), (Lobell et al., 2015), (Zha, 2022)
2.	An overview of border issues in theory and practice	(Brunet-Jailly, 2005), (Tallis, 2022), (Newman, 2006), (Tripathi & Chaturvedi, 2020)
3.	Cooperation at the border	(Jenne, 2017), (Böhm, 2023), (Hataley & Leuprecht, 2018),
4.	Paradiplomacy by sub-national actors	(Ali Mukti, 2013), (Novianti, 2012)
5.	Border management	(Wong Villanueva et al., 2023), (Wong Villanueva et al., 2022), (Polner, 2011), (Muhammad et al., 2017)

Source: Processed by researchers from various sources, 2024

In categorizing previous research, it shows that previous research with the theme of the existence of sub-national actors occupies a large number of studies, providing insight for researchers to find niches and novelties in this research. For example, the writings (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017) and (El-Dessouki, 2018) specifically discuss the existence of sub-national actors who contribute to a country's national interests, summarized in the concept of secondary foreign policy.

Apart from that, researchers also gain an understanding of border dynamics in theory and practice, for example, the writings of (Brunet-Jailly, 2005) and (Newman, 2006), which discuss border issues from an interdisciplinary perspective. Previous research related to cooperation at borders also provides interesting discussions for researchers, such as examining the writings of (Böhm, 2023), which discusses the five roles of collaboration to strengthen borders. Other previous research theme categories provide supporting data for researchers to find a niche in the literature in this research; articles from (Ali Mukti, 2013) and (Novianti, 2012) provide supporting data for researchers that sub-state actors can carry out international cooperation with para diplomacy instruments. The final theme is about border management, which analyzes many management and governance issues at the border, such as the writings of (Wong Villanueva et al., 2022) and (Wong Villanueva et al., 2023). The exciting thing that the researchers found from the results of the categorization of this previous study was that the researchers received writing with the object that the researchers would study, namely the Riau Islands province. This article by (Muhammad et al., 2017) discusses the governance model in border management in the Riau Islands using the Partial Least Squares method.

Departing from previous studies that have been reviewed previously, the researcher attempts to take state of the art from this research, namely looking at the extent of the role of local actors in building and managing border cooperation through a secondary foreign policy perspective with the novelty of the research object in the Riau Islands province which has unique challenges and uniqueness in terms of border issues. In exploring the theories and concepts carried out by researchers, they found similarities between previously existing concepts of para diplomacy. However, the concept of para diplomacy in general, has been found in many scientific journals which refer to NCGs and NGA actors carrying out diplomacy in parallel. In its development, para diplomacy also found a rival concept called the multi-layered diplomacy concept with an explanation of the complex relationship between domestic and international interests with a focus on the relationship between the central government, NCGs/NGAs and other stakeholders (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017). There is also a concept that states that the activities and relationships between domestic and national actors in international affairs are the concepts of plurinational diplomacy (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017).

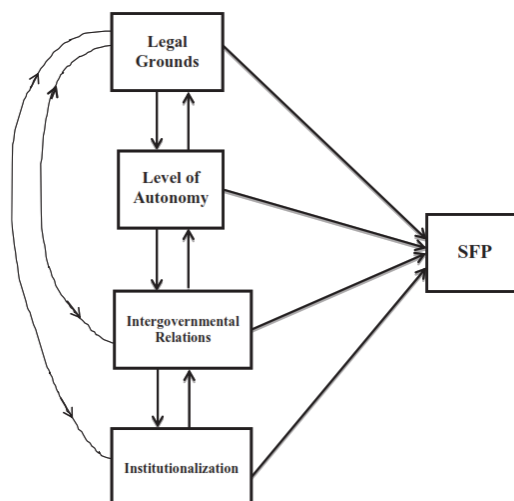
Before the concept of secondary foreign policy was introduced, much previous research focused on specific actors in foreign policy analysis. It was Hudson who described foreign policy analysis as an action that is multifactorial, multilevel or interdisciplinary, and integrative through levels of analysis and discipline c(Thies, 2019). Hudson added that only humans are genuine agents and specific actors in decision-making, but these humans have an agency that

influences the specific nature of actors making foreign policy (Thies, 2019). The following article also states that the tradition that foreign policy is a country's black box is worthy of being questioned. It is a writing by Juliet Kaarbo (Kaarbo, 2015) that states that foreign policy should be analyzed in the discipline of international relations and by paying attention to domestic factors. A region's domestic policy aligns with the country's foreign policy motives, or vice versa. So, the black box means not only national interests but can also be interpreted as domestic political institutions, public opinion and the political culture of a region (Kaarbo, 2015).

Secondary foreign policy terminology is taken from the terms used by Germany in carrying out parallel foreign policy activities (German *Nebenaußenpolitik*). This concept reflects Germany's initiation when it entered the European Community in Brussels in the mid-1980s (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017). The term "Neben" means "next to" (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017), meaning that secondary foreign policy is next to traditional state-controlled or highly centralized foreign policy. These two concepts appear parallel but are not subordinate to foreign policy, nor do they support or oppose it. Why is the term secondary foreign policy used? Why not just use the term para diplomacy? Researchers see international diversity and complexity in a country's foreign policies and international organizations. This concept is broader than paradiplomacy because it involves many actors; it could be local government actors, organizations that are almost similar to local governments (quasi-government actors), or even civil society groups (Klatt & Wassenberg, 2017). Apart from that, researchers chose this concept as an analytical tool because a number of the literature studies focus on discussing border issues. This is appropriate to the geographical conditions and issues of the researcher's research object, namely the Riau Islands province. Border and delimitation issues that have the characteristics of clarity and certainty of jurisdiction will provide multi-dimensional benefits in managing the marine environment effectively and sustainably and increasing maritime security (Arsana, 2007).

To help researchers generalize research problems using secondary foreign policy theory, researchers are assisted with indicators that will explain the phenomenon more simply and see the relationship between one concept and another. It is a sub-foreign policy article from (El-Dessouki, 2018) which provides understanding for researchers to take indicators such as legal grounds, the level of regional autonomy, the type of inter-governmental relations (the type of intergovernmental relations), and institutionalization. If depicted schematically, it can be seen as follows:

Figure 1. Sub-Foreign Policy Indicators



Source: (El-Dessouki, 2018)

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative research approach. This approach was chosen because it includes an interpretative and naturalistic approach to the phenomenon. The qualitative approach according to Denzin and Lincoln in (Bakry, 2016) is an approach that studies something in a natural setting, trying to understand or interpret phenomena in the context of the meaning that will be brought to the phenomenon. The method used by researchers in this research is qualitative-descriptive. Researchers try to interpret and understand the phenomenon based on the meaning of the relevant sources used in this research. The data sources used by researchers in this research consist of primary data sources which contain official legal documents relevant to the research problem as well as secondary data sources which include scientific articles, opinions or public opinions in mainstream and local media, as well as the media. In the network (online).

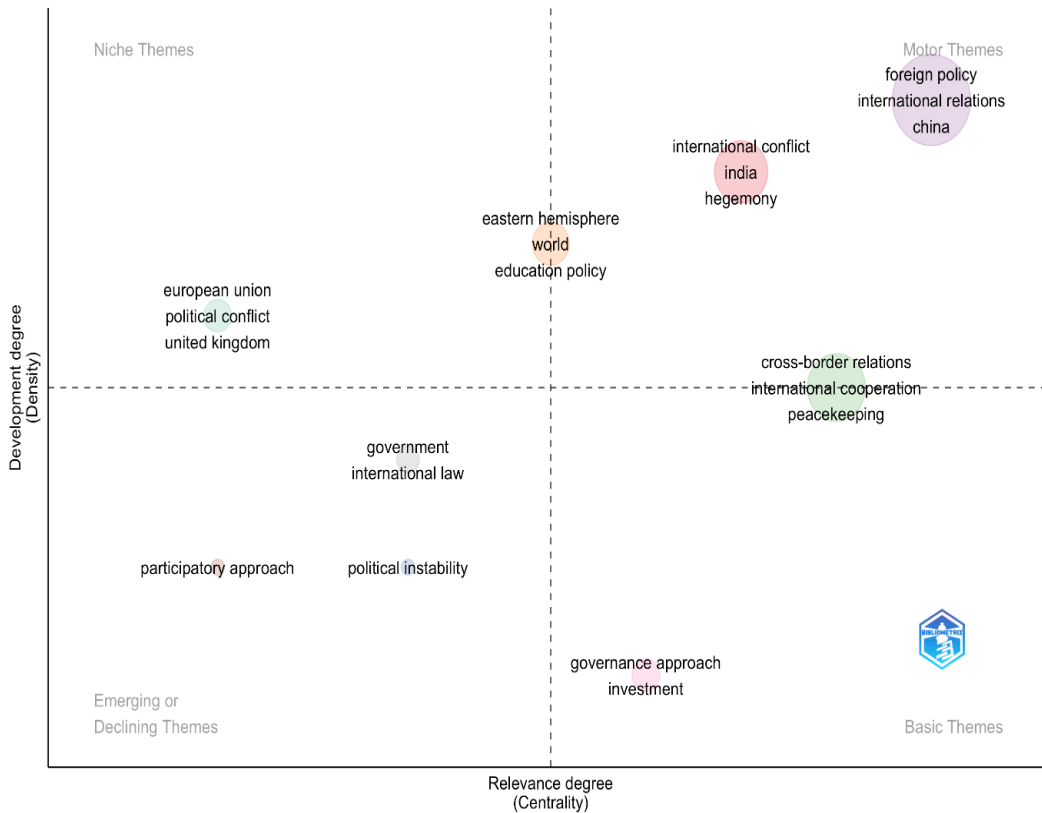
The library research technique used by researchers in this research is the data collection technique. The approach that will be used in this data collection technique is thematic. The thematic approach organises library data based on topics or problems (Bakry, 2016). In terms of support, researchers will use bibliometric analysis techniques to support the thematic methods that have been chosen, which will be described in the discussion chapter.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Early studies of foreign policy analysis began by placing the "human mind" in making decisions. This approach is called the behavioral approach. This

approach can be examined through a rational choice perspective, which sees the single complete actor underlying the actions of all decision-makers as the motivation to pursue personal interests. This approach closely relates to psychological and cognitive factors as dependent variables that explain foreign policy choices.

Figure 2. Thematic Map on Bibliometric Analysis of Secondary Foreign Policy

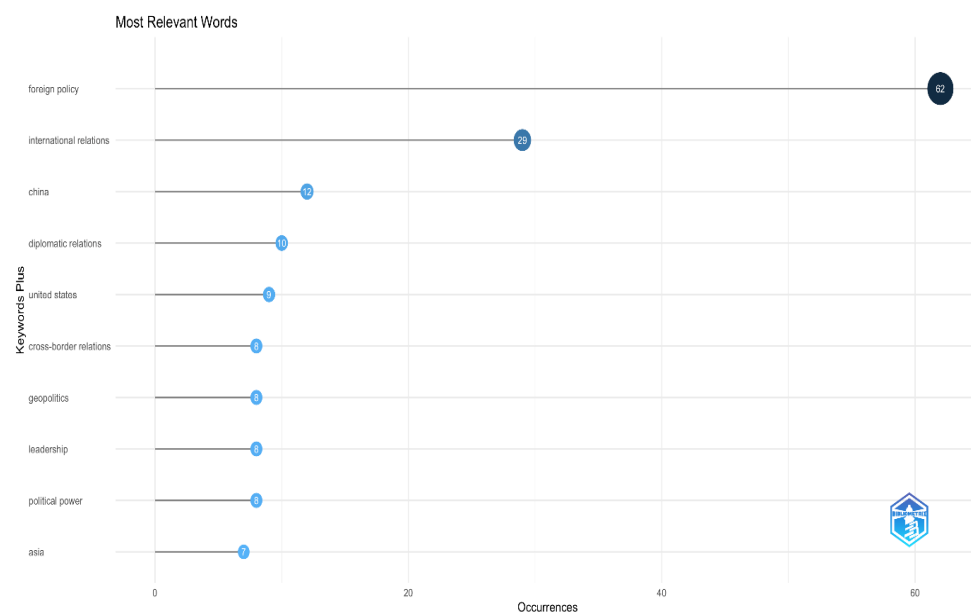


Source: author's bibliometric analysis using R-Studio, with the Biblioshiny Package

The figure above serves as a visual aid in understanding the development of the concept of secondary foreign policy across several specific themes. The results of bibliometric analysis show that secondary foreign policy is based on basic themes and driving themes, both of which have a positive impact on the development of the study of a concept or science. The graph also illustrates that the themes that most frequently use the concept of secondary foreign policy or intersect with this concept include a country's foreign policy, international conflict, international cooperation, government investment management, and cross-border relations. Notably, the themes of cross-border relations, international cooperation, and peacebuilding intersect with the basic and driving themes, as revealed by this bibliometric analysis. In line with its development, foreign policy analysis focusing on individuals began to receive criticism from those who considered this approach too narrow. A political-bureaucratic approach emerged, reflecting that national interests must be obtained through bureaucratic decisions from government bodies within a country. Debates between groups of bureaucrats in this approach also give rise to debates that national interests consist of the interests of groups

that intersect with bodies or institutions within a government. This approach emphasizes studying organizational theory and sociology, which emphasizes that understanding motivations in a country's foreign policy can be seen from institutional procedures that impact foreign policy. This approach also emphasizes that foreign policy-making can originate outside the formal apparatus by considering the roles and factors of society, interest groups, and public opinion.

Figure 3. Relevant Words in Bibliometric Analysis of Secondary Foreign Policy



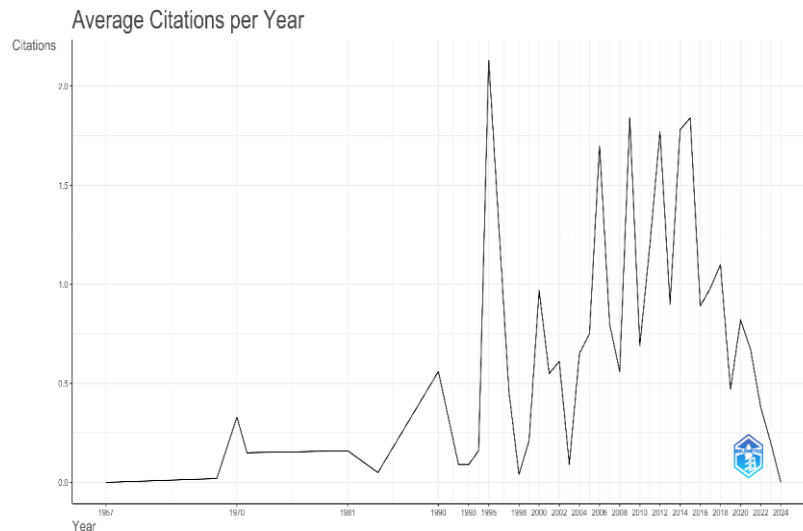
Source: author's bibliometric analysis using R-Studio, with the Biblioshiny Package

The analysis of the graphic results above shows that secondary foreign policy is always juxtaposed with a country's foreign policy. The word that often appears after foreign policy is international relations. Next are China, diplomatic relations, the United States, cross-border relations, geopolitics, leadership, political power, and Asia. This shows that the concept of secondary foreign policy is dominantly studied in foreign policy theory in a specific scope and a broad scope in the discipline of International Relations. The subsequent development of foreign policy analysis can be seen from the analysis of the domestic structure of a country, the phenomenon of secondary foreign policy as one example. This approach can be observed by moving the focus of attention from individual decision-makers to state bureaucracies; foreign policy analysis scholars began to show interest in domestic societal factors that influence foreign policy. Apart from that, research on domestic factors included in secondary foreign policy in formulating a country's foreign policy also shows a positive trend; this can be seen from the annual quotations related to secondary foreign policy themes that are of interest to be quoted in specific periods. For example, in 1993-1997, research

Actors

related to this concept was most frequently cited. The 2000s followed this trend and showed an increasing trend until 2018.

Figure 4. Average annual citations in bibliometric analysis of secondary foreign policy



Source: author's bibliometric analysis using R-Studio, with the Biblioshiny Package

This interest has resulted in a rich body of literature known as the domestic structure approach. One of the things included in this approach is work that discusses the impact of a country's material attributes, such as its territory, location, agricultural and industrial potential, and demographic projections on foreign policy. The second category is studies that develop a more detailed concept of domestic structure, for example, the work of Thomas Risse-Kappen and Haral Muller (Mas' oed, 2020), which discusses the nature of political institutions (the state) by describing the essential elements of society, the arrangement of various institutions and organizations that function to connect the state and society, and channel society's demands into the political system. Foreign policy analysis that uses domestic structures to explain foreign policy has produced the theory of democratic peace. Proponents of this theory argue that democracy inherently produces a more democratic foreign policy, at least in relations with fellow democratic countries.

The existence of a pluralism approach increasingly strengthens the position of secondary foreign policy to have a place in the study of foreign policy. Pluralist scholars argue that states are not the only essential actors in international politics. Since the 1970s, increasing relations between various types of state, substate, and non-state actors have changed the position of states as crucial actors in foreign policy. Another argument from this approach states that influences originating from domestic and transnational forces that are not related to the state are very important for explaining foreign policy actions. A complex pluralist environment

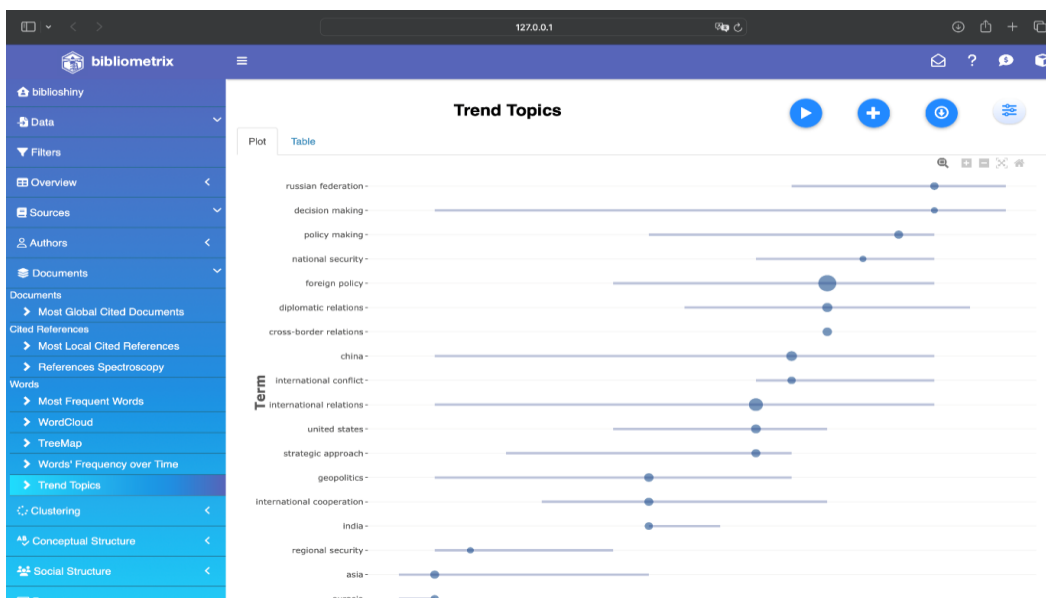
with many actors narrows the state's space in formulating foreign policy, and shows that non-state actors coexist and compete in influencing a country's foreign policy. This complex form of interdependence was also explained by Robert Putnam through the concept of two-level games (Mas'ood, 2020). Using a traditionalist way of thinking, Putnam shows that the process of formulating foreign policy involves two arenas, namely the domestic arena which is managed based on a set of rules and interests, and the international arena which is determined by different rules and interests.

These two arenas also present two logic and two demands that are often contradictory, and the task of foreign policy decision-makers is to balance these two logics and demands. Joe Hagan, also provides an analysis that domestic structures in foreign policy can be included in certain characteristics such as in the form of regimes and autonomous political actors such as; factions, parties and institutions to be taken into account in decision making (Mas'ood, 2020). In a democracy, implementing effective foreign policy requires domestic support. In this sense, building a basis for commonality of opinion is very important through steady dialogue between government elites, foreign policy experts, and the general public. Therefore, foreign policy decision-makers, including executives, must consider public sentiment as an important input element in formulating the general things the public desires.

The term foreign policy is used in high politics. However, in its implementation, foreign policy cannot be separated from domestic structures close to public sentiment or society. The previous graph shows that secondary foreign policy has become a matter of public discussion from 1999 to 2023. In connection with the need to consider public sentiment, foreign policy policymakers must utilize channels to communicate with the public. There are various ways to communicate with the public. The first way is to share with the public what the government knows about in the policy-making process as long as they do not interfere with national security. Positioning the public as an informed audience in making foreign policy policies will strengthen the government's position and bargaining position vis-à-vis its negotiating opponents at the international negotiating table.

The second way is to follow the method of secret diplomacy that has been carried out by the government if deemed necessary, but still in the context of maintaining national security. The channels used by the government must be flexible depending on the issue to be discussed. The third way is to utilize technological channels by campaigning for foreign policy positions to the public. The "public friendly" strategy through technology effectively reaches the public in all segments.

Figure 5. Current Topics in Bibliometric Analysis of Secondary Foreign Policy



Source: author's bibliometric analysis using R-Studio, with the Biblioshiny Package

In bibliometric analysis covering trend topics described above, secondary foreign policy is very close to topics related to a country's foreign policy, followed by international relations, cooperation, and borders. This shows that the implementation of the secondary foreign policy agenda overlaps with these topics. The main agenda of Indonesian foreign policy is always reflected in a country's politics. To find out which agenda can be studied through a secondary foreign policy approach, you can look at Indonesian foreign policy doctrine from the time of Presidents Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono raised the foreign policy doctrine of "navigating in the turbulent ocean." In contrast, Joko Widodo raised the "global maritime fulcrum doctrine," better known as the World Maritime Axis. If we examine the two doctrines of these two different presidents, we see that they both raise Indonesia's potential as an archipelagic and maritime country. This is inseparable from the philosophical foundation of Indonesia's foreign policy, namely "Free and Active," which was obtained from Bung Hatta's thoughts in his writing entitled "Paddling between Two Rocks," which used Indonesia's maritime orientation amid the vortex of ideological conflict in the world at that time.

This maritime orientation can be raised in secondary foreign policy studies, especially in studies of actors in the Riau Islands Province. There are six Indonesian foreign policy agendas from the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono period, which Joko Widodo continued, as follows (Muzakki, 2018): Commitment to create Indonesia's identity as an archipelagic country; Increasing its role in the global arena through middle-power diplomacy; Expanding relations to the Indo-Pacific region, covering the Indian and

Pacific oceans; Strengthen public participation in formulating and designing foreign policy; Increase the defense and security budget; Establish a National Security Council. Of the six Indonesian foreign policy agendas, secondary foreign policy can provide a comprehensive understanding of the commitment to creating Indonesia's identity as an archipelagic country, the role of Indonesian diplomacy as a middle-power, and strengthening public participation in formulating and designing foreign policy. By elaborating on these aspects, secondary foreign policy can offer valuable insights into the implementation and impact of these agendas.

Secondary Foreign Policy in Geopolitical Conditions, Maritime Behavior, and Local Influence.

Geopolitical relations and a country's position have an influence on formulating a country's foreign policy. If examined through definitions, geopolitics is referred to as the connotation of the influence of a country's geography in balancing the balance of power in global security. In another definition, geopolitics is always coupled with regional or territorial power. However, in foreign policy, according to Stephen Gorman (Jalal, 1990), geopolitics can be called a power-based concept of the surrounding environment used by academic groups or schools that focus on specific aspects of the nation.

Robert Harkavy (Jalal, 1990) has another view regarding geopolitical connotations, including the following: A country's ability to maintain a balance of power; Emphasis on the use of regional or geographically based diplomacy; Emphasis on efforts to maximize national power and national interests through diplomacy; Instrument in diplomacy and war; Political power. When viewed within the philosophical framework previously explained, it can be concluded that geopolitics is closely tied to high-level political action. However, another aspect of geopolitical analysis reveals that the perceptions of policy makers can be influenced by sub-state actors, who are not part of the state. State behavior, in this context, reflects the perceptions of actors, including sub-state actors, in inferring geopolitical power. The perception of local governments, for example, is a perception that is very close to the reality on the ground.

The secondary foreign policy places geopolitics as an analysis of policymakers' perceptions in responding to the surrounding environment. Indonesia is a country that applies geopolitical power based on geopolitical analysis, for example, the island nation doctrine. The doctrine of the archipelagic state in Indonesia has provided a perception of how Indonesia utilizes its geographical potential, natural resources, and maritime dimensions in carrying out foreign policy. The island nation doctrine, which results from the geopolitical perceptions of foreign policy stakeholders at the top level, influences sub-state

actors and vice versa. The island nation doctrine shapes spatial behavior followed by consideration of geographic, morphological, location, and natural resource factors (Jalal, 1990). Geopolitical analysis also examines interaction between actors, especially countries, especially those faced with their respective geographical problems (Jalal, 1990).

Riau Islands Province is a province that has geographical characteristics different from those of other provinces in Indonesia. This province has the characteristics of an archipelago with a short coastline and is located on the national border. The characteristics of this archipelago are also supported by historical contributions that place this province in close relations with other countries. The relationship between the Riau Archipelago province and Malaysia and Singapore, which has the same cultural history, namely Malay, makes its contribution to stakeholders at the sub-state level in carrying out international relations activities. The history of the Malay kingdom once obscured the meaning of territory in the Riau Islands province before each region was colonized by Europe and introduced the concept of nation-state. This historical contribution is one of the capital characteristics of relations between sub-state actors in each region that was once the territory of the Malay kingdom, including the Riau Islands, Malaysia, and Singapore.

Domestic Political Position and Public Opinion in Foreign Policy

Hobson, quoted in (Dugis, 2009), said that major contributions related to domestic politics and foreign policy can be seen in the study of international political economy, a field that examines the interplay of economics, politics, and international relations. He argued that 'it makes no sense to study international economics by treating domestic and international relations separately.' Likewise, Held, quoted in (Dugis, 2009), is of the view that as a result of increasing global connectedness, countries are starting to reach a stage where it is difficult to control internal activities related to relations outside the country's borders. The scope of state policy instruments is increasingly shrinking and if there is no cooperation with other countries, these instruments will not be able to resolve the increasing number of problems between countries. Therefore, he argues that "countries are increasingly engaging in a multitude of collaborative arrangements to manage border issues between states, resulting in increasingly large dividing lines making it difficult for states to separate these areas.

Rosecrance in (Dugis, 2009), said that the most emphasized correlation between domestic and international politics, is that it is impossible to isolate domestic politics from foreign policy, especially to assess system stability. He argues that international action is carried out only in response to member states' policy initiatives (Dugis, 2009). Furthermore, he argued that the main cause of foreign policy behavior arising from the domestic political system is the result of criticism of the international system's inability to overcome serious international instability, which refers to the presence of significant and persistent threats to the peace and security of the international community, and the consequences caused by domestic disturbances.

One way to find out the role of domestic structures or politics on foreign policy is to refer to studies on comparative foreign policy. Some parties argue that political systems have different bureaucratic systems in formulating and implementing decisions (including foreign policy) (Dugis, 2009). Regarding public policy, developed countries tend to prepare and implement it through bureaucratic procedures, and leading policymakers in developing countries largely dominate them. Studies conducted by Clapham (1977) and Calvert (1986) (Dugis, 2009) show that often, the most significant factor in foreign policy decision-making in developing countries is the primary policy maker, namely the state. Therefore, explaining foreign policy and identifying the actors involved in its formation (decision-making) must consider the country's domestic structure. Based on these studies, changes in the political system experienced by a country at a particular time can also cause that country to change its foreign policy. In some cases, this can even lead to a foreign policy restructuring, indicating that the pattern of a country's external relations undergoes significant dramatic changes (Dugis, 2009).

Two realms can link IR and domestic politics (Ikenberry, 1996); the first is the international structure, and the second is its domestic consequences. These two factors are very close to IR studies: security and economic issues. Suppose Neorealism (Structural Realism) examines the structure in discussing the intertwining of domestic and foreign politics. In that case, the Liberalism perspective examines public opinion in the relationship between these two concepts. Liberalism scientists see that in formulating foreign policy, there is interference from public opinion. This process is called a "bottom-up" approach (Risse-Kappen, 1991). However, Liberalism scholars also do not rule out elite power in formulating a country's foreign policy. An approach that looks at phenomena like this is called "top-down" (Risse-Kappen, 1991). In the "top-down" approach, the public always does not get a strategic position in the foreign policy formulation process; this is because, as follows (Risse-Kappen, 1991): Low public opinion regarding the connection between security issues and the economic policies issued; Low public knowledge of issues discussed at the elite level; The complexity of public opinion itself.

Empirical evidence (Risse-Kappen, 1991) shows that the "bottom-up" and "top-down" approaches have the potential to override public opinion in the foreign policy formulation process. This is because these two approaches place their actors, namely the public and elites, as the main actors. While elites can carry out propaganda to promote a policy, other publics try to oppose these actions. Domestic structure is primarily determined by the political institutions built in a country. The coalition process built before running these political institutions must be added to link this phenomenon to foreign policy. Because the domestic structure is closely related to the political institutions that are built, the factors that

arise from these two concepts determine the low or high level of a country's foreign policy formulation. When juxtaposed with the separation of domestic and international terms, domestic structure can be analyzed through indicator elements that build the state's concept, namely the state's strength and society (Evangelista, 2018). State power defines the ability of state officials to formulate policies, including bureaucratic processes. Moreover, society refers to state-society relations in policy networks and how the two concepts are connected.

In foreign policy analysis, domestic structures become a bridge between security issues, which the Realism perspective has influenced, and international political economy issues, which the Liberalism perspective has influenced. So, domestic structure analysis is often used as an alternative in examining a country's foreign policy. If you want to examine a country's foreign policy, it is often linked to inter-correlated international political phenomena. However, the domestic structure analyzes how foreign policy scholars can examine a country's situation by making the relationship between the state and society the main focus. From the results of this analysis, domestic structures are often referred to as "second images" in a country's foreign policy (Evangelista, 2018). The term "second image" filters issues in the international environment into domestic political issues. In foreign policy analysis, this study has contributed much to comparing a country's foreign policy.

Local Actors in Border Issues in the Riau Islands

Issues and problems on the borders of the Riau Islands can be studied through the identification of the provincial government in the strategic plan document for the Riau Islands Province by identifying five major problem groups (Muzwardi et al., 2020): National border conflicts; Weak government institutions in managing border areas; Border area development patterns; Natural resources; Decrease in national insight. Regarding the problem of weak government institutions in managing border areas, BP Riau Islands has divided the problem into three main issues (Muzwardi et al., 2020): Border area issues have yet to become a priority development agenda that is handled in a comprehensive and integrated manner; Increasing illegal activities in border areas; Weak law enforcement against illegal loggers, smuggling of goods, human trafficking, piracy and ship piracy, weapons smuggling, human smuggling, and fish theft.

If seen from the identification of border problems above, the local actors involved in the dynamic process of these problems are dominated by actors with regional or provincial government backgrounds. The local government institutions involved are as follows (Muzwardi et al., 2020): Riau Islands Province Border Management Agency; Batam City Border Management Agency; Bintan Border Management Agency; Natuna Border Management Agency; Karimun Border Management Agency; Anambas Border Management Agency. Foreign policy analysis is most often used to examine foreign policy relations between the central and regional governments, which links domestic political structures and the agency of policymakers (Kaarbo, 2015). These two things are also developed from the relationship between collective, sub-national analysis and ideas

at the individual level of policymakers. Community identity and opinion also reflect the structure of how a region's domestic political policies are formed (Kaarbo, 2015)]. If elaborated on the conditions of the Riau Islands, the domestic structure and community identity are based on island and maritime communities and are aware of the dynamics of life in border areas; therefore, the structure of the domestic government, in this case, the regional government, reflects this by focusing on managing borders, through established bodies.

Secondary foreign policy analysis can be correlated with foreign policy analysis in general on this issue. This can be seen from analyzing elites who can be placed in local government positions using a Neo-realism perspective, institutional analysis using a Liberalism perspective, and analysis of ideas using a Constructivism perspective (Kaarbo, 2015). The authority of regions bordering neighboring countries in managing their borders refers to Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, which also forms Regional Work Units that carry out the authority of Regional Heads in managing borders with neighboring countries. This is because Presidential Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the formation of the National Border Management Agency (BNPP) still has limitations, so for this reason, the President involves Ministries and non-ministerial institutions that are considered to be related to the duties and functions of BNPP to be involved legally.

In its implementation, BNPP has high authority in border management, which has significant implications for regional governance and foreign policy. This authority includes management and planning rights. Meanwhile, the Riau Islands Province Regional Border Management Agency (BPPD) faces a dilemma. As per Law No. 32 of 2014, its position is representative of the central government in the regions, which means it needs the authority to plan and manage borders. In another sense, policy execution is only carried out by BNPP, and BPPD's position is only a manifestation of the center in the regions. This has resulted in the level of agency of local actors in implementing secondary foreign policy in the Riau Islands still needs to be higher. The central government, in this case, the BNPP, still dominates the distribution of authority and power. However, in terms of centrality (Muzwardi et al., 2020) in collaborative government studies, local actors such as BPPD have a high level of centrality compared to BNPP or related non-ministerial institutions. This level of centrality is capital for local actors in collaborating and collective action. BPPD's contribution to the field connects these institutions so that communication, mutual trust, and action to manage conflict can emerge.

The Role of Local Actors in Regional Cooperation on Border Issues in the Riau Islands

The role of local actors in regional cooperation regarding border issues in the Riau Islands will be examined through cooperation analysis, which refers to the relationship between the government and the institutionalization of secondary foreign policy (El-Dessouki, 2018). Cooperation analysis, which refers to intergovernmental relations, is a crucial part of the comprehensive study of foreign policy formulation. This study will delve into the complexity of micro to macro analysis, exploring the multifaceted nature of foreign policy. It's not just about the actions of one country towards another, but the intricate web of culture, identity, experience, cognitive and other factors that shape it (Fathun, 2021).

This is what happens in the concept of secondary foreign policy. Several countries have expanded their understanding of who is involved or the actors involved in formulating a policy. Indonesia is one of the countries that has regulated this. The position of Regional Governments or their representatives in carrying out international cooperation is regulated in Law Number 24 of 2000 concerning international agreements and Law No. 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations as a guideline for implementing international cooperation agreements at the regional level (Novianti, 2012). Furthermore, Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government underscores the necessity to adjust the authority and implementation of foreign relations and cooperation, primarily the Central Government's authority. However, with the enactment of the Regional Autonomy Law, foreign policy is now geared towards empowering and promoting regional potential within the framework of the Unitary State Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Novianti, 2012). This shift in focus towards regional potential should instill a sense of optimism about the future of regional foreign policy.

In terms of strengthening domestic institutions. The Riau Islands Provincial Government, which in this case has delegated duties and authority to the Provincial Border Management Agency, has strengthened and collaborated with the National Border Management Agency (BNPP). BNPP, as the creator and implementer of border management policies, has established the basis for border development in the Riau Islands based on the concept of maritime security (Kusbiantoro, 2024). The shape of the Riau Archipelago Province, which consists of small islands, is also a concern for BNPP to be managed based on the principles of Outermost Small Island Management (PPKT) by considering security, economic, tourism, and community welfare aspects in border areas. These principles should be included in the agenda for preparing the RPJMN and the Master Plan for Management of National Borders and Border Areas for 2025-2029 (Humas BNPP, 2024).

In terms of strengthening international cooperation, the regional government of Riau Islands Province has been involved in several regional agendas to raise border issues. Below are several regional collaborations involving local actors from the Riau Islands in raising border issues: Sosek-Malindo cooperation, which started in 1985; Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT) cooperation since 20 July 1993. For the Sosek-Malindo cooperation, the Riau Islands Provincial government, through the

Regional Border Management Agency, was involved for the first time in the 26th Afternoon and Technical Team Meeting of the Sosek-Malindo Working Group 19-21 September 2023 in Sarawak, Malaysia (Ramdani, 2023). In the discussion, the working group was divided into three clusters. The first cluster discusses cooperation in the social and cultural fields, the second cluster discusses economic cooperation, trade, and transportation, and the third cluster discusses cooperation in border security (Ramdani, 2023).

The Riau Islands Province has brought several border-related problems, namely activating passenger and goods routes from PLBN Serasan to Sematan Bazaar Sarawak, opening the flow of goods from both the Riau Islands and Sarawak, and increasing cooperation at the border. This is done for border management, which is triangular and peninsular, involving both countries. Furthermore, cooperation between local actors, in this case the Riau Islands Provincial Government, at the regional level to raise the border issue was holding the 20th Indonesia Malaysia Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT) Meeting in Batam, Riau Islands. This meeting started with the 29th Ministerial Level Meeting and continued with the 20th Chief Minister and Governors Meeting (CGMF) (Limanseto, 2023). During the meeting, the Governor of the Riau Islands, Ansar Ahmad, had the opportunity to serve as Presidium and raise issues of strengthening cooperation in developing their respective regions based on priority projects with a cross-border perspective (Limanseto, 2023). During the meeting, the Riau Islands Provincial Government also had the opportunity to convey ideas for integrating regional development and sub-regional tourism branding in a collaborative and exclusive image. The meeting ended with making a commitment and concrete realization of IMT-GT cooperation regarding the Transboundary Pilot Local Facilitation Project and the Sustainable Urban Development Framework to create low-carbon and renewable cities (Limanseto, 2023).

The form of cooperation the Riau Islands Provincial Government carries out is a form of secondary foreign policy. Elites in the central government no longer discuss national interests, but regional governments have a role and opportunity to contribute to achieving Indonesia's national interests.

CONCLUSION

The secondary foreign policy carried out by the Riau Islands provincial government results from the embodiment of the liberalism perspective in International Relations. The state is no longer one of the actors in international cooperation. Liberalism sees the existence of non-state and even sub-state actors who play a role in international cooperation. The geographical shape of the Riau Islands Province, which consists of islands located on the border between countries, contributes to the form of cooperation that will be implemented. The

demographic shape of the Riau Islands Province also supports this geographical shape. People who are still strongly influenced by culture and have the same historical background as neighboring countries make this province a positive contribution to managing its borders well.

Issues and problems at the Riau Islands border can be studied through the identification of the provincial government in the Riau Islands Province strategic plan document by identifying five major problem groups, such as state border conflicts, weak government institutions in managing border areas, border area development patterns, natural resources, as well as a decline in national insight. If seen from the identification of border problems above, the local actors involved in the dynamic process of these problems are dominated by actors with regional or provincial government backgrounds. The regional government institutions involved are as follows: Riau Islands Province Border Management Agency, Batam City Border Management Agency, Bintan Border Management Agency, Natuna Border Management Agency, Karimun Border Management Agency, and Anambas Border Management Agency.

The authority of regions bordering neighboring countries in managing their borders refers to Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, which also forms Regional Work Units that carry out the authority of Regional Heads in managing borders with neighboring countries. This is because Presidential Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the formation of the National Border Management Agency (BNPP) still has limitations, so for this reason, the President involves Ministries and non-ministerial institutions that are considered to be related to the duties and functions of BNPP to be involved legally. In its implementation, BNPP has high authority in border management because it has management and planning rights. Meanwhile, the Riau Islands Province Regional Border Management Agency (BPPD) has a dilemma. This is because its position refers to Law No. 32 of 2014 as a representative of the central government in the regions, so it needs the authority to plan and manage borders. In another sense, policy execution is only carried out by BNPP; BPPD's position is only a manifestation of the center in the regions.

This has resulted in the level of agency of local actors in implementing secondary foreign policy in the Riau Islands still needs to be higher. The central government, in this case, the BNPP, still dominates the distribution of authority and power. However, in terms of centrality in collaborative government studies, local actors such as BPPD have a higher level of centrality than BNPP or related non-ministerial institutions. This level of centrality is capital for local actors in collaborating and collective action. BPPD's contribution to the field connects these institutions so that communication, mutual trust, and action to manage conflict can emerge.

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