## **CHAPTER I**

# **INTRODUCTION**

#### A. Background

Japan-Indonesia bilateral relations have had long history since colonialism era. In the World War II era, Japan was known as a country with a strong military army, this made Japan take a part in world war and have many colonial territories. At that time, Indonesia had been one of the countries occupied by Japanese army for three and a half years (1942-1945) during World War II era. The Japanese military occupation in Indonesia ended as Indonesia declared their independence in 1945, and was formally recognized on December 27, 1949 (Division, 2004).

In 1958, Japan and Indonesia established diplomatic relations as they signed a treaty of peace between them. After signing the treaty of peace, their relation is went further in the positive term for bilateral relations. Up to now, Japan and Indonesia has established bilateral relations in various sectors such as economic partnership in trading and investment. Japan-Indonesia relations are not only developed between the official government from both countries but also in public and private sectors. This condition increases the possibility of individual exchange between the two countries, in which Indonesian citizens come to Japan, and vice versa, for various kind of purpose. To travel, both Indonesian people and Japanese people need passport and visa as the compulsory travel documents that they should bring along. A visa is official permission issued by the government (embassy) foreign countries to allow a person to enter and stay in their countries within a certain period of time, while passport functions as an official document showing the identity of the visitor that containing her/his name, nationality, address and other personal information. The type of visa that can be applied depends on one's traveling purpose and time period of stay. Most common visas applied by foreign citizens are short-term stay (tourism, business, visiting friends or relatives), work or long term stay, and official visa for diplomatic purposes only (Affairs,2015).

To enter Japan, foreign citizens from various countries should fulfil certain basic immigration procedures required by the Japanese government. Japan's basic immigration procedures for all foreign citizens are the same, but in certain foreign countries Japan has different visa regulation. Japan has various visa regulations such as criteria of visa issuance, visa application procedure, or even Japan's visa exemption policy to certain countries. Visa exemption is a condition in which Japanese government allows citizens from selected countries to travel to Japan for short-term purposes in a certain period of stay without obtaining visa.

Japan's visa policy to Indonesian citizens, since both of the countries started to establish diplomatic relations in 1958, has still required

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Indonesian citizens to apply visa in Japanese embassy in order to get permit to visit Japan for various kinds of purpose. As stated in the Japan's Immigration Control and Refugee Cognition Act (Cabinet Order No. 319 of October 4, 1951), all foreign citizens should possess valid passport and Japanese visa to enter Japan (Justice, 1951). This cognition act should be obeyed by all foreign citizens, including Indonesian citizens who plan to visit Japan. But on September 30<sup>th</sup> 2014, Japan Ministry of foreign affairs announced to give Indonesian citizens visa exemption with E-Passport registering system required for 15 days for short term purposed and would be commenced on December 1<sup>st</sup> 2014 (Japan, 2014).

Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia means that Japanese government allows Indonesian citizens to travel to Japan for short-term purpose only in 15 days of stay without applying visa to Japan's diplomatic mission. In other words, Japanese government has already given permission to Indonesian citizens to enter Japan for short-term purposes without any visa application to Japanese embassy. Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia in their bilateral relations can be considered as special treatment given by Japanese government to Indonesia. In term of bilateral relations, reciprocity mostly becomes the main consideration of a country in giving certain treatment toward other country.

Reciprocity or reciprocal relations can be described as a balanced situation in which one country give the other country certain action while the other returns the same actions (Yanai, 2001). Nonetheless,

Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesian citizens was not followed by the same action by Indonesian government in visa exemption to Japanese citizens, said by Indonesian Ambassador in Japan, Yusron Ihza Mahendra:

"The Japanese government has taken concrete action on [the policy] and issued it even without reciprocity from the Indonesian government, even though, ideally, we should return them the favor" (Globe, 2014).

In the end, Indonesian government also give back the same favor to Japan in the form of visa exemption policy to Japanese citizens in middle of 2015. However, it cannot be denied that Japanese government is the first party that giving visa exemption to Indonesian citizens. Japan's visa regulation to Indonesian citizens entering Japan for short-term purpose has changed, from requiring visa application to visa exemption. Japan set visa exemption policy to Indonesian citizens even without any reciprocity from Indonesian government at that time. Therefore, seeing this fact, the writer is interested in analyzing the factors behind Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia.

# **B.** Research Question

From the background describing Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia in 2014, a question emerges, "Why does Japan give visa exemption policy to Indonesia in 2014?"

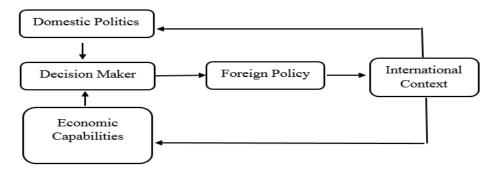
#### C. Theoretical framework/Approaches

#### Theory of Decision Making Process (William D. Coplin)

In analyzing the factors behind Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia, the writer uses the theory of decision-making process by William D. Coplin from his book entitled "*Introduction of International Politics*". This theory explains how a series of decision-making process is formulated and the factors that affect it. According to William D. Coplin, there are three determinant factors that influence the decision-making of country's foreign policy i.e. Domestic politics, Economic-Military capabilities, and International context (Coplin, 2003). In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia, the writer only uses the three determinant factors in analyzing the factors behind Japan's policy. The three determinants factors are domestic politics of Japan, Japan's economic capabilities, and international context. Below is the chart of three determinants factor according to William D. Coplin (Coplin, 2003):

# Figure 3.1. Theory of Decision Making Process of Foreign Policy by William D. Coplin

Model of decision making process according to William D. Coplin



Source: Coplin, W. D. (2003). *Pengantar politik internasional : Suatu telaah teoretis. Edisi ke-2*. (D. M. Marbun, Trans.) Bandung: Penerbit SINAR BARU Algensindo.

Based on the model of decision-making process of foreign policy by William D. Coplin, the three determinant factors that influences country's foreign policy are described as follows:

## 1) Domestic Politics

In William D. Coplin's book, he states that domestic political conditions of the country will influence the formulation of foreign policy (Coplin, 2003). This condition happens because in domestic politics exist the actors that can give demand and support to the formulation of foreign policy. A decision maker might formulate the policy, but domestic politic actors have power to give demand or support for the policy that formulated by the decision maker. The interaction between actors in domestic politics and decision makers of foreign policy will affect the result of the foreign policy, and this interaction are called politics influencing system (Coplin, 2003). Coplin names the actors that may have influenced the formulation of foreign policy i.e. bureaucratic influencers, political party or partisan influencers, interest influencers, and mass influences or public opinion (Coplin, 2003). However, how those actors influence the formulation of foreign policy is depend on the governmental system of each country.

Domestic political actors may give initiative about the policy that should be taken by the decision maker, or they can supporting and give demand to the policy that proposed by the decision maker. Theoretically, the actors that involved in the formulation decision-making of countries' foreign policy are domestic actors and decision maker themselves. However, in practice, Coplin emphasizes that it is hard to differentiate decision maker and domestic actor because they can play 2 roles at the same time, especially at bureaucrat level (Coplin, 2003). Domestic political condition of a country would be different from that of other countries, this condition influences the domestic actors in formulating the policy.

In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy, Japan's domestic politic actors supports the increasing of foreign visitors to Japan and releasing Japan as a tourism-oriented country. The domestic politic actors that influence the formulation of visa exemption policy are:

1. Bureaucratic influencers.

According to William D. Coplin, the bureaucratic influencer is individual or organizations inside the executive branch of government that support the decision maker in formulating and implementing the foreign policy (Coplin, 2003). Domestic politic actors influences by giving demand and information to the decision maker. In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy, Japan has three divisions of power in its governmental system: Legislative, Executive and Judicative. The executive branch in Japan's governmental system is consist of Prime Minister and his cabinet. Japan has a parliamentary system and the government is headed by the Prime Minister. Prime Minister is important actors in Japan's domestic politics in formulating foreign policies. As quotes from Tanaka Akihiko in book sections entitled Japanese Foreign Policy Today A Reader: "Prime Ministers is single important player in Japan's domestic politics and particularly in the game of complex domestic/foreign policy interaction" (Akihiko, 2000). Japan Prime Minister has the demand to establish Japan as a tourism-oriented country. Releasing Japan as a tourism-oriented country is where Japan as the global-tourist destination with the huge number of foreign visitors each year. The demands from Japan's Prime Minister to increasing the number of visitors to Japan and releasing Japan as a tourism-oriented country influences Japanese government to take the policy.

2. Partisan influencers

According to William D. Coplin, partisan influencers or political party in the governmental system of a country can influences the formulation of the foreign policy. Political party can support and give power to the decision maker's regime. A political party is the representative of the people and aims to deliver people's demand to the decision maker. The decision maker needs political party or partisan influencers to support their regime.

In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy, this policy taken under the Prime Minister of Shinzo Abe. Liberal Democratic Party is the ruling party in Japan's governmental system and headed by Shinzo Abe as the president of the party. LDP won the election in Japan both lower and upper houses in 2012 and 2013 elections. The President of Liberal Democratic Party, Shinzo Abe, who also took up office as Japan's Prime Minister in 2012 supports to increase the number of visitors to Japan.

3. Interest influencer

The third actor in domestic politics that influences the formulation of countries' foreign policy is interest influencers. According to William D. Coplin, interest influencers consists of group of people with the same interest and mostly motivated by economic benefit that they get from the formulation of foreign policy (Coplin, 2003). In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy, Jones Lang Lasalle or JLL has interest in increasing their investment profit with the increasing of visitors to Japan. Jones Lang Lasalle or JLL is a property services company that cover hotel industry in Japan and other several countries. Jones Lang Lasalle supports the increasing of foreign visitors to Japan to increase the number of economic profit.

4. Mass influencers

Mass influencers or public opinion refers to the climate opinion in the population and considered by the decision maker when formulating foreign policy (Coplin, 2003). However, in some cases Coplin states that, public opinion often uses to rationalize foreign policy that taken by the decision maker instead of formulating foreign policy. In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia, the Japanese people shows their opinion about the importance of increasing the number of visitors to Japan. Based on a survey that done by Japan National Tourist Organization, the majority of the Japanese people thinks that it is important to increase the number of foreign visitors to Japan.

# 2) Economic capabilities

Economy is a fundamental interest that becomes the main consideration of a country in formulating foreign policy. In the process of development, a country might face several constraints that impact in how strong or weak their economic capabilities. According to Coplin, economic condition of a countries plays important role in formulating countries' foreign policy which is as consideration in taking the policy (Coplin, 2003). The way to measures countries economic capabilities is, first, through their capacity production of goods and services in a year through the number of their GNP. The second way to measure countries' economic capabilities is from their dependence on international trade and finance.

Japan is the third-largest-economy country (after USA and China). Like other countries that face constraints in the development process, Japan also ever experienced economy recession that brought Japan as the first country with the high number of government debt. Japan ever faced economy crisis in the early 1990s as well as 2008-2009 crisis. Japan's economy crisis impacts to the decreasing of its economy growth, then government financed country's expenditure through borrowing. Great East Japan Earthquake that happened in 2011 impacts to the high number of government expenditure for recovery plan. This condition brought Japan as a country with the biggest debt in the world. Therefore, visa exemption that given to Indonesian citizens will attract number of visitors to Japan, and beneficial to Japan's economy.

#### 3) International context

The third factors that influences the formulation of countries' foreign policy is international context. In his book, Coplin quotes Hans .J Morgenthau's statement that every single country has relations with certain international contexts that they concerned as means of objective interest (Coplin, 2003). This means that a country's foreign policy toward other countries should consider international context which can promotes their interest. According to Coplin, there are three elements in international context as the factors that motivate country's foreign policy, i.e. geography, economic, and political condition. International context of a country consists of location where they are geographically located, relations with surrounding countries, also their economic and political relations with others.

In the case of Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia, Indonesia is geographically located in Southeast Asian regions which is seen as an important region for Japan, where Japan's main gate of trading route is located in Southeast Asia region. Economically, Southeast Asian plays a role as the main partner in trading and investment for Japan after China and United State of America. Political conditions in this region is important for Japan's national interest. Therefore, visa exemption policy is Japan's soft power to strengthen the relations and promotes Japan's national interest in Southeast Asia regions.

#### **D.** Hypotheses

Based on the background and theoretical framework, the factors that motivated Japanese government set visa exemption policy to Indonesia are described in these following hypotheses:

- 1. Domestic politics: The actors in Japan domestic politics i.e. bureaucratic influencers ( the Prime Minister), partisan influencers (the Liberal Democratic Party), interest influencers ( Japan's hotel industry), mass influencers (Japanese people) supports the increasing of foreign visitors to Japan and the establishment of Japan as a tourism-oriented country with targeting a huge number of visitors in each year.
- 2. Economic capabilities: Visa exemption policy to Indonesia is expected to attract a number of Indonesian citizens to travel to Japan and give economic benefits through an increasing number of tourism demand, tourists' spending, and job creation.
- **3.** International context: geographical, economic, and political conditions of Southeast Asia region where Indonesia located is important for Japan's national interest. Therefore, visa exemption policy is to strengthen Japan's relations with Indonesia and Southeast Asia regions.

## E. Scope of Method

To simplify the research process, the research is more focused on seeing the issue from the perspective of Japan's interest in analyzing factors that motivate Japan to give visa exemption to Indonesia. The time interval in this research is in the period of 2014 when the Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced to give visa exemption to Indonesia that commenced on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014. However, it is possible for the writers to use the data and facts taken in years before or after 2014 as long as they are still relevant to the topic in order to strengthen the analysis.

# F. Methodology

### 1. Method of Research

This research is accomplished by analyzing the secondary data from Japan's Prime Minister Speeches and statistical data that are relevant to figure out the factors behind Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia.

# 2. Method of Collecting Data

The method of collecting data in this research is library research method. Every data used to accomplish this research are secondary data from book, journal online, news media, international agencies report, electronic sources as well as Japanese and Indonesian governments' official website that are still relevant to this research. The data collected will be analyzing to draw conclusions.

## 3. Conceptualization

In this research, the writer uses some particular term such as *Japan's foreign policy*, *Japanese visa*, *Indonesian citizens*, *and visa exemption policy*.

#### G. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to identify and analyze the factors that motivate Japanese government in taking visa exemption policy to Indonesia and to be one of the sources of information for next the researchers who would like to observe further about Japan policies, especially in visa exemption. This research also help the writer to develop her knowledge and is conducted to fulfill the requirement to finish her study as undergraduate student of international relation.

# H. Organization of Writing

The system of writing in this research is arranged as follows:

Chapter 1. This chapter contains Background, Research question,Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Scope of Method, Methodology,Purpose of Research and the Organization of Writing.

**Chapter 2**. This chapter elaborates on Japan's visa regulation, basic information of Japan's visa system, visa application procedures, criteria of visa issuance, and Comparison of the procedures for short-term stay before and after Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia.

**Chapter 3**. This chapter shows the trend number of Japan-Indonesia traffic visitors flow in 2010-2013, pointing out data of the number of Indonesian citizens enter Japan before visa exemption was commenced and vice versa.

**Chapter 4.** This chapter analyzes the factors behind Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia using theory of decision-making process by William. D Coplin. Therefore, Chapter 4 provides analysis of Japan's domestic politics, economic capabilities, and international context as the factors motivating Japan's visa exemption policy to Indonesia.

Chapter 5. Conclusion.