

Article

# Analysis from a policy perspective: The importance of strengthening in maritime axis policy design in Indonesia

**Mhd. Saeri<sup>1,\*</sup>, Ahmad Jamaan<sup>1</sup>, Yusnarida Eka Nizmi<sup>1</sup>, Yessi Olivia<sup>1</sup>, Tuah Kalti Takwa<sup>1</sup>, M. Rafi<sup>2</sup>**<sup>1</sup> Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Riau, Pekanbaru, Riau 28292, Indonesia<sup>2</sup> Department of Government Sciences, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Riau, Pekanbaru, Riau 28292, Indonesia\* **Corresponding author:** Mhd. Saeri, [m.saeri@lecturer.unri.ac.id](mailto:m.saeri@lecturer.unri.ac.id)

## CITATION

Saeri M, Jamaan A, Nizmi YE, et al. (2024). Analysis from a policy perspective: The importance of strengthening in maritime axis policy design in Indonesia. *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development*. 8(7): 4081. <https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd.v8i7.4081>

## ARTICLE INFO

Received: 8 January 2024

Accepted: 4 March 2024

Available online: 29 July 2024

## COPYRIGHT



Copyright © 2024 by author(s).

*Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development* is published by EnPress Publisher, LLC. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

**Abstract:** This study analyzes the importance of strengthening the design of Indonesia's maritime axis policy. This research uses a qualitative approach to systematically explain the dynamics and importance of strengthening world maritime policy, where the Nvivo 12 Plus tool is used to analyze data and answer the research questions posed. This research shows that Indonesia still has complex bureaucratic and institutional problems and aspects of political identity and leadership attitudes that require systematic and comprehensive improvement. Then, the draft for strengthening the maritime axis policy in Indonesia includes three policy recommendations: reformulating the focus of the maritime axis policy, comprehensive and coherent governance, and an integrated administrative framework, as well as improving the political identity and attitudes of leaders in public policy. Substantially, the relative failure of the Global Maritime Axis (GMA) policy, known as Joko Widodo's concept of regulating the Indonesian government based on geographical location, was caused by the dominance of political factors and domestic bureaucratic problems. Apart from that, the lack of priority narratives in the maritime and development sectors means that the Indonesian government's priorities are more oriented towards GMA infrastructure aspects and at the expense of other fundamental elements. This study encourages the Indonesian government to accelerate a more substantive GMA. However, this research needs to be expanded because the analysis results were only carried out through secondary data and focused on two important aspects of GMA. Therefore, further research is needed that explains the prospects for GMA policy in Indonesia in more detail.

**Keywords:** public policy; maritime axis; maritime security

## 1. Introduction

Historically, the Global Maritime Axis (GMA) was introduced by Presidential Candidate Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in Indonesia's Vision and Mission Campaign 2014 to strengthen maritime identity. This idea emphasizes the commitment and identity of Indonesia as a maritime nation (Agastia, 2023; Rosyidin, 2021). The vision and mission were initiated by Rizal Sukma, Jokowi's chief foreign policy advisor, who elaborated on the GMA concept from the perspective of vision, doctrine, and Indonesia's main development agenda (Rosyidin, 2021; Santoso and Nafisah, 2018; Sitanggang, 2021). Currently, the maritime axis policy has a crucial value for Indonesia because it is related to the advantages of being one of the world's largest archipelagic countries, ranging from 17,504 islands and 5.8 million km<sup>2</sup> Sea Area (Arisanto et al., 2023; Kusuma et al., 2021). Therefore, the scope of the GMA discussion only supports and is appropriate for policy discussions in Indonesia.

In general, the vast archipelago in Indonesia is also administratively divided into 38 provinces to facilitate the control, supervision, and development of border areas that directly border other countries, both on land and at sea (Djunarsjah and Putra, 2021; Indra et al., 2023). Although the World Maritime Axis concept has been discussed since the 1990s, it has gained attention as more and more of the world's most essential governments have turned their attention to the Indo-Pacific maritime sector. At the 9th East Asia Summit forum on November 13, 2014, in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, for the first time affirmed that the concept of Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis will rest on five main pillars, namely: Development of Indonesian maritime culture, Safeguarding and management of marine resources, Priority of naval infrastructure development and connectivity, Use of maritime diplomacy to minimize naval conflicts, and the development of marine defense forces for territorial sovereignty (Brotosusilo et al., 2016; Hidayat and Ridwan, 2017; Rachman, 2022; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019; Sitanggang, 2021). In addition, areas classified as outer islands that generally have resource problems, land areas, and are far from the economic center must also be prioritized to realize maritime security comprehensively (Arisanto et al., 2023; Brotosusilo et al., 2016; Kusuma et al., 2021).

Historically, the concept of the World Maritime Axis (GMA) must be viewed as a political goal, namely the ideal country that the President wants to achieve in organizing his government based on Indonesia's geographical location, which is at the junction of two oceans, namely the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and two continents, namely the Australian Continent and the Asian Continent (Labandi and Haris, 2023). With these geographical conditions, Indonesia can become a berth for ships heading to the Pacific Ocean from the Indian Ocean or vice versa. Indonesia also has a coastline of 99,093 km. This figure is the second longest coastline in the world after Canada. As an archipelagic country with an ocean area of 70 percent of the total area, Indonesia should become a World Maritime Axis Country. Moreover, Indonesia has three Indonesian Archipelago Sea Lanes (ALKI). The existence of ALKI is an international shipping line in Indonesia, as shown in **Figure 1** below:



**Figure 1.** Indonesia's strategic position as the world maritime axis.

Source: The Indonesian Institute.com, 2018.

In **Figure 1**, ALKI 1 is the passage of international ships sailing from the South China Sea, Natuna Sea, Karimata Strait, Java Sea, and Sunda Strait to the Indian Ocean, and vice versa. ALKI 2 is used for shipping from the Sulawesi Sea across the Makassar Strait, Flores Sea, and Lombok Strait to the Indian Ocean and vice versa. ALKI 3 is a ship passage from the Pacific Ocean that crosses the Maluku, Seram, Banda, Ombai Strait, and Sawu Sea. From the Alki 1 route, there is the Strait of Malacca, one of the busiest straits in the world. At least ship traffic in the Malacca Strait based on Vessel Traffic System (VTS) monitoring reaches 80,000 to 90,000 ships a year (Theindonesianinstitute.com, 2018). However, more than the modality of geographical location will be required to realize the idea of Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis because it requires the proper design of the maritime axis policy in Indonesia. Therefore, the Global Maritime Axis (GMA) concept has represented an essential evolutionary step in Indonesia's political and economic thinking, but its implementation could have been faster and more effective (Szakáli, 2023). According to Wicaksana (2017), it was explained that domestic constraints in improving Indonesia's maritime connectivity can be seen from the behavior of political elites and regional autonomy practices that affect the effectiveness of marine policy implementation. Then, constraints at the international level are seen in the many political dynamics of regional powers in terms of economic access and resources, as well as Indonesia's diplomatic capacity, which will create an atmosphere of uncertainty that can derail the objectives of the world's maritime axis. Thus, the achievement of the vision of the world maritime axis must be directly proportional to the condition of national stability, where the success of the marine axis policy will only be able to run well if supported by strong defense and security both nationally, regionally, and globally (Princess and Saputro, 2022).

In the context of this study, there are several problems in the design of maritime axis policies in Indonesia. First, the convoluted and uncoordinated implementation of the Global Maritime Axis (GMA) policy shows that its conceptualization of strategic vision and formal vision is not coordinated because announcements to international audiences are less proactive and more defensive and are not based on foreign policy and are not compared based on national economic considerations. Second, there still needs to be a definite plan and concrete guidelines set by the government regarding what should be done based on the World Maritime Axis (GMA) policy in Indonesia (Fathiraini et al., 2022; Szakáli, 2023; Wicaksana, 2017). Therefore, to obtain adequate information regarding the readiness of maritime axis policies in Indonesia, this research is very important to answer the important questions raised in this research. Therefore, this research aims to explain the importance of strengthening Indonesia's maritime axis policy design and focuses on two important aspects of GMA (political identity and leader attitudes, as well as bureaucratic and institutional problems in foreign policy). We determined that the important reasons that are the focus of this research are based on an initial analysis of GMA policy progress, which is not yet specific and concrete and tends to be just a political 'idea' that requires more intense action.

## **2. Literature review**

### **2.1. Maritime security**

Fundamentally, maritime security has various dimensions ranging from aspects of seafarer security to the vulnerability of coastal residents to naval threats (Agastia, 2023). Historically, the resilience of coastal populations has been identified as a critical factor in the emergence of maritime threats, so the role in preventing these threats has been crucial (Bueger, 2015; Bueger et al., 2019). Maritime security has the crucial objective of enhancing global connectivity as well as contemporary capitalist circulation as noted by the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) that maritime transport is the backbone of international trade and economy identified with a sea trade volume of 12,027 million tons in 2022 (Bueger et al., 2019; UNCTAD, 2023). The active globalization of maritime trade indicates the possibility of marine security threats such as piracy, terrorism, and illegal goods that can circulate through global naval connections (Arisanto et al., 2023; Bueger et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2016). Furthermore, maritime security does not only talk about the role of one country but it is understood as a transnational task, where maritime security is a shared responsibility and requires a new vision of collective security (Bueger, 2015; Chapsos and Malcolm, 2017; Risnain et al., 2021; Safril Hidayat, 2017).

In the process, according to Bueger (2015), the meaning of maritime security has no agreed definition and is one of the latest buzzwords in international relations. It outlines the different frameworks within which conceptual similarities and differences can be systematically explored based on mapping maritime security, sea power, blue economy, and resilience (Bueger, 2015; Chapsos and Malcolm, 2017). Then, on the other side (Bueger et al., 2019) use established sectoral frameworks to explore threats to practices from maritime security to study what actors do when claiming they are enhancing naval security based on providing insight into the realities of marine protection (Brotosusilo et al., 2016; Bueger, 2015; Bueger et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2016; Kurniaty et al., 2021).

### **2.2. Global maritime axis policy**

Indonesia as an archipelagic country as it is known in United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982) It is a country comprising one or more archipelagos and encompassing other islands. Historically, archipelago refers to a group of islands, including parts of islands, waters connected, and other natural features that form interrelated geographical, economic, and political entities. Moreover, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982) also introduced the concept of a coastal state, which refers to a country with a sea coastline with adjacent territorial waters, exclusive economic zones (EEZ), and continental shelves. Some prominent coastal states include the United States, Russia, France, Great Britain, Canada, Chile, etc. These countries are coastal states that have significant naval power. However, some coastal states are relatively small and need a decisive naval force (Risnain et al., 2021; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019; United Nations Law of the Sea, 1982). According to research Szakáli (2023), it is explained that the study of World Maritime Axis (GMA) policy as policy implementation will discuss two

important aspects, namely political identity and leaders' attitudes towards policy as well as bureaucratic and institutional problems in foreign policy. Indonesia's failure in the modern era to establish itself as a great maritime nation is caused by at least three fundamental factors: the inability to develop sophisticated technology, the failure to create economic integration as an archipelagic country, and the failure to reform traditional products derived from abundant natural resources (Agastia, 2023; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019; Szakáli, 2023).

Historically, the inauguration of Joko Widodo in October 2014, which he also delivered during his campaign as Indonesia's Presidential Candidate, confirmed the policy signal to focus on maritime security, which also contained a broad desire to transform Indonesia as the world's naval axis (Chapsos and Malcolm, 2017). The GMA brought by the Joko Widodo administration aims to bring Indonesia a sovereign, progressive, independent, and strong maritime country (Santoso and Nafisah, 2018). This doctrine wants Indonesia to expand its scope from centered to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) gradually to the Indo-Pacific region to cover the entire world (Santoso and Nafisah, 2018; Szakáli, 2023).

Joko Widodo emphasized the Five Main Pillars in efforts towards GMA, namely: First, the initiative to rebuild Indonesia's maritime culture acknowledges that the sustainability of the country, which consists of 17,000 islands, depends heavily on ocean management. The second focuses on maintaining and managing marine resources with a focus on sovereignty over seafood products. Third, it emphasizes the importance of developing maritime infrastructure and connectivity by constructing sea lanes and ports and improving the shipping industry, logistics, and naval tourism sectors. Fourth Highlights the role of marine diplomacy in ending conflicts at sea, including illegal fishing, sovereignty violations, territorial disputes, piracy, and pollution. Fifth, it affirmed Indonesia's obligation as a country bordering two oceans to increase its maritime defense strength (Brotosusilo et al., 2016; Princess and Saputro, 2022; Rachman, 2022; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019; Sitanggang, 2021). In the process of development, the capacity of a country to optimize the potential of the sea for the prosperity and glory of the country at the end of the nineteenth century must meet several crucial requirements, which include geographical location, characteristics of land and sea areas, territorial area, number of inhabitants, aspects of society, and character of government (Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019). Therefore, to map maritime security about marine axis policy by the Indonesian government, this research makes an essential contribution to improving the design of the world maritime axis (GMA) policy in Indonesia.

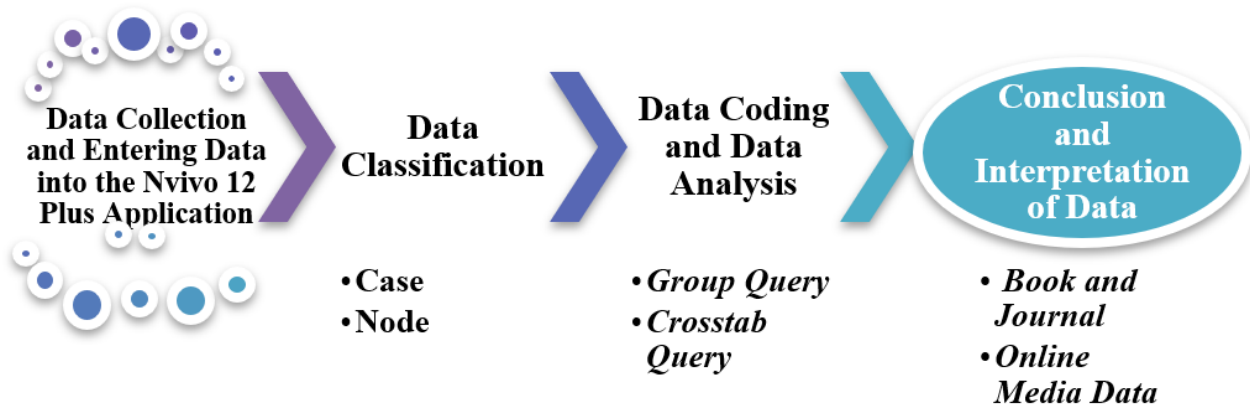
### **3. Methods**

This research uses qualitative methods to investigate phenomena and policy problems systematically (Liamputtong, 2020; Rahman, 2016; Wagner et al., 2019). Then, the data in this research is secondary data such as books, research journals, and several national online news media such as Kompas.com, Detik.com, and Cnnindonesia.com. An important reason for choosing the national online news media above as a source of research data is related to the administrative and factual verification of reporting carried out by the Indonesian Press Council. Then, using the

NCapture for NVivo feature in Google Chrome, the data collection method in this research focuses on news related to maritime axis policies in Indonesia through systematic documentation techniques. Where the total news captured was 24 news from 2014 to 2022.

Furthermore, the data analysis technique in this research uses Nvivo 12 Plus software as a tool that helps analyze primary and secondary data more effectively and efficiently with crucial combinations (Hai-Jew, 2020; Pat Bazeley, 2013). In the process, we used the CrossTab Query and Group Query analysis features to visualize the data and explain the variables that influence the research object, as well as describe the media's perception of the concept (Woods et al., 2015; Woolf and Silver, 2018). In the process, the coding scheme through the Nvivo 12 Plus application is carried out in stages, where the variable identification process is carried out through the results of reading literature using research variables as nodes (concepts) and online news media as cases (source).

In the process, data analysis in this research was carried out in two stages, namely: First, analyzing the data with the crosstab query and group query analysis features to find the percentage of concepts (nodes) and media perceptions based on variables and data visualization in the research context that must be answered. Second, concluding and interpreting the secondary data that has been analyzed, as shown in **Figure 2**. Therefore, this article explains the importance of strengthening the design of maritime axis policies in Indonesia based on analysis from a foreign policy perspective.



**Figure 2.** Research data analysis process.

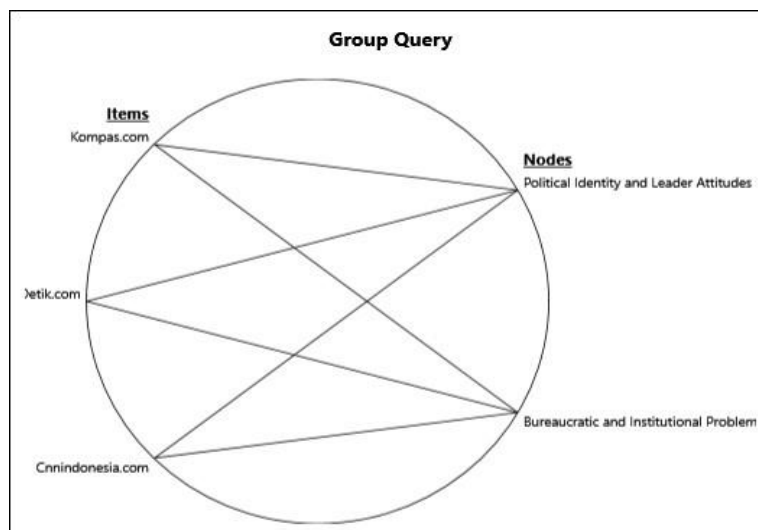
Source: Author's processed data (Saeri et al., 2023).

## 4. Results and discussion

### 4.1. Implementation of maritime axis policy in Indonesia

Historically, Indonesia's maritime axis was introduced during the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, administration in 2014. At the initial stage, the discourse raised was about the intentions, capabilities, and image of Indonesia's identity as a maritime power (Fathiraini et al., 2022; Risnain et al., 2021). However, there are various problems in the process because building more than a tremendous maritime country will be needed just when utilizing marine resources; it also requires socialization and culture of nautical history and culture through education, art,

literature, and so on. Without laying the foundation of maritime culture, the idea of making Indonesia a world maritime axis country is considered to be a mere dream (Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019; Szakáli, 2023). Then, based on the analysis results, Group Query in **Figure 3** found results and visualizations that each media has the same view on implementing the maritime axis policy in Indonesia:



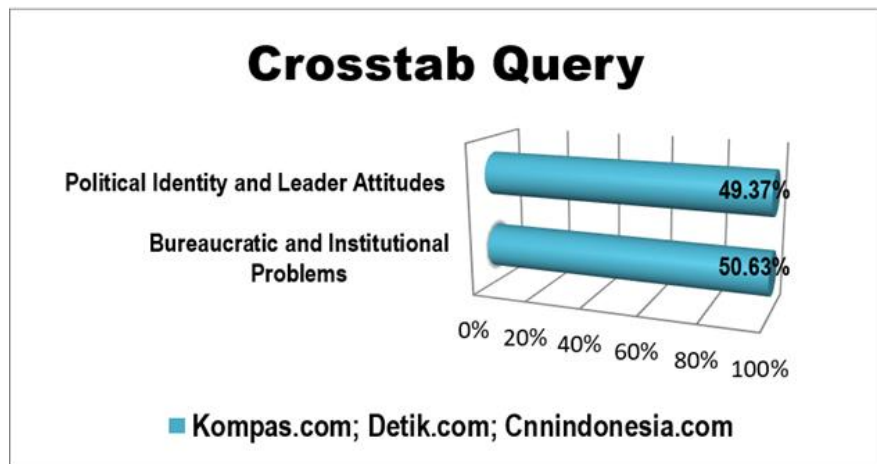
**Figure 3.** Media perception on the implementation of maritime axis policy in Indonesia.

Source: Group query analysis using nvivo 12 plus (2023).

**Figure 3** above is a group query analysis that maps the perception of each medium visualized at each connected line and vertice. Then, each phase of policy implementation has an arrow area that shows recommendations from each media that believes that the world Maritime Axis (GMA) policy as the implementation of marine policy in Indonesia can be reviewed on two critical aspects, namely political identity and leader attitudes towards foreign policy, as well as bureaucratic and institutional problems in policy implementation. Furthermore, based on the results of further analysis through the crosstab query feature, it was found that each media has a slightly different view and explained the problems in both essential aspects of maritime policy implementation in Indonesia as shown in **Figure 4**.

**Figure 4** shows that bureaucratic and institutional problems are the most dominant aspects (50.63%), followed by aspects of political identity and leader attitudes (49.37%) as dynamics that still occur in implementing maritime axis policies in Indonesia. If examined in more detail, the aspect of bureaucratic and institutional problems related to the pros and cons of the concept of marine policy is not yet clear because the public considers that the terms archipelago, marine, and maritime are three things that are philosophically different and will automatically have other derivations in policy implementation in Indonesia. The vision of the world's naval axis in the process is known to have been proclaimed by President Jokowi when elected in 2014. In that vision, the maritime-based economy is expected to increase the pace of economic development in Indonesia. However, the institutional and bureaucratic Jokowi cabinet has yet to succeed in a maritime axis policy definition. Since 2014, the naval axis blueprint has been listed in Law

Number 32 2014 concerning Marine Affairs and Presidential Regulation Number 16 2017 concerning Indonesian Marine Policy. The blueprint has five pillars supporting the maritime axis: rebuilding Indonesia's maritime culture, maintaining and managing marine resources, infrastructure and connectivity, naval diplomacy, and maritime defense and security. However, in its implementation, there are still problems, such as illegal fishing, decreasing interest in fishing households, and high poverty rates. The realization of Indonesia's maritime axis vision launched in 2014 only contributes around 7 (seven) percent to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is very small compared to successfully exploiting Indonesia's marine wealth (Cnnindonesia.com, 2019).



**Figure 4.** Problems in Indonesia's maritime axis policy.

Source: Crosstab query analysis using nvivo 12 plus (2023).

Fundamentally, the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment is responsible in the hierarchy of Indonesian state institutions to coordinate the GMA vision and distribute individual maritime responsibilities and tasks to lower government units. Based on the fundamental roles determined, each institution or ministry has various significant duties and responsibilities, policies, facilities and infrastructure, institutional culture, and diverse human resources. They have different, sometimes conflicting, mutually exclusive systems of interest and enforcement processes regarding finance, asset procurement, and career opportunities. As a result, World Maritime Axis (GMA) policies still need to be implemented with comprehensive and coherent governance and an unintegrated administrative framework. As a result, the issue of GMA implementation, which is focused on domestic affairs, no longer plays a vital role in the functioning of Indonesia's domestic policy, primarily determined by the constraints posed by multi-party coalitions and elite interests and conflicts. The relationship between ministries and agencies related to the performance of law enforcement functions is a significant determining factor in the way and quality of the GMA implementation process based on publicly accessible data. The institutional weaknesses highlighted are related to bureaucratic and coordination problems. As a result, there is no integrated legislative framework for each GMA policy pillar or impl, elements thereof in the master plan. This problem is closely related to the need for more cooperation between associated agencies. So that the duties of ministries and institutions overlap between the



Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Transportation, Environment and Forestry, and the Navy (Kurniaty et al., 2021; Szakáli, 2023).

Later, the functioning of the reformed Maritime Security Agency to allow the implementation of GMAs was hampered by limited budgets and a lack of facilities to carry out its core tasks and functions. The overlapping competencies of these agencies negatively influence clients and affect aspects of law enforcement, marine security, and authorization. These difficulties are exacerbated by personal or professional tensions between senior officials that negatively impact GMA objectives, as they can increase operational costs for fisheries and entrepreneurs in the marine and fisheries sector and complicate access to export markets. In addition, the absence of a master plan has led to different interpretations of this concept by the institutions responsible for implementing GMAs, thus leading to different implementation strategies in various ministries and agencies. As a consequence, each multitasking department seeks to enforce the law in the manner authorized by national legislation, operating its monitoring facilities and equipment and within its budget to realize the country's aspirations regarding GMAs (Jakarta.globe.id, 2020; Kurniaty et al., 2021; Szakáli, 2023). Therefore, bureaucratic and institutional problems in implementing the maritime axis policy in Indonesia have reflected that the marine axis policy still needs to be more consistent and has gaps in relevant strategies and action plans in each institution that must be addressed quickly and appropriately.

Next on the aspect of political identity and attitude of leaders related to a statement from the Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture (PMK) Muhadjir Effendy, who stated that President Jokowi's aspiration to make Indonesia the world's maritime axis from the time of the first-second period until now is still not maximally achieved (Cnnindonesia.com, 2023). In the process, the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 34 of 2022 concerning the Indonesian Marine Policy Action Plan for 2021-2025 continues the previously issued Presidential Regulation. In the first term of government, Jokowi established Presidential Regulation No. 16 of 2017 concerning Indonesian Marine Policy as a document implementing the grand narrative of the world maritime axis doctrine. The Presidential Decree is divided into two annex documents consisting of the history of the Indonesian Marine Policy and the Indonesian Marine Policy Action Plan for 2016–2019 (Detik.com, 2022; Kompas.com, 2023). Then, President Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) attitude towards the world maritime axis is, on the one hand, considered a signal of consistency towards the development of the World Maritime Axis that he proclaimed. Still, in his action regarding the implementation of GMA sectorally, there is a perception that the existence or lack of personal relationships and trust between the President and each member of the government can also play a role in various levels of GMA policy adaptation in strategic program documents and lower levels on the sectors they supervise. The fact that Jokowi is most likely not involved in the detailed development of the GMA and the day-to-day monitoring of the implementation of the GMA as the initiator shows that his 'political self' is considered less committed to the idea and contradicts his official political rhetoric. Given that initiating and implementing a policy requires different types and amounts of political effort, Jokowi began to realize and deliberately began to ignore the

public's use of the GMA narrative to avoid the concept being seen as unfulfilled. Presidential promises or failed government policies, as well as one of the outdated priorities of the President's first term that can be hidden in the public sphere (Szakáli, 2023).

In general, Jokowi's personality as a businessman and elements of Javanese education have explained his manager-like approach and style in politics and government. However, his enthusiasm and expertise in domestic economic policy and infrastructure development were accompanied by his disinterest and ignorance of international politics (Bland, 2020). In its original form, GMA is based on five policy pillars. Still, of these pillars, only two pillars, namely maritime diplomacy and maritime defense, can be considered within the scope of foreign policy. However, Jokowi's personality, which he prefers to look inside Indonesian territory rather than abroad, and his disproportionate preference for domestic policy leave his influence even on implementing relevant foreign procedures. Currently, the process of strategy development and performance seems to have stalled temporarily, especially in the period between the announcement of the mega project for the development of the new national capital of the archipelago in August 2019 and the announcement of the new Marine Policy Action Plan (2021-2025) in March 2022. In this context, Jokowi's political orientation could mean that he has cast doubt on the instrumental value of maritime foreign policy in consolidating his domestic legitimacy and building on his legacy (Bland, 2020; Szakáli, 2023).

#### 4.2. The importance of strengthening maritime axis policy design in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the emergence of President Jokowi's idea of a maritime axis policy on November 23, 2014, began to become a trending issue in public spaces. It increased a lot and peaked in August 2022. The trend in question is related to the big dream of the Indonesian nation to become the World Maritime Axis (**Figure 5**).



**Figure 5.** Trends in maritime axis policy issues in Indonesia.

Source: Trends.google.com, 2023.

In its development, various problems in the implementation of the maritime axis policy in Indonesia, which include bureaucratic and institutional issues as well as problems in aspects of political identity and leaders' attitudes toward policy, have emphasized that the maritime axis policy in Indonesia needs to be maintained sustainably because, from the point of view of foreign policy and Indonesian public opinion, the Global Maritime Axis (GMA) is an essential and appropriate concept appreciated although still in rudimentary form. The gap between political speech and political action did not only occur during Jokowi's administration but also in previous administrations. This can also be interpreted as a manifestation of Indonesia's long-standing 'minimalist' view of the Indo-Pacific region and its political passivity. In this situation, the sustainability of GMA policies is less visible because there is no firm strategy or concrete principles outlining things to be followed in GMA policies. (Princess and Saputro, 2022; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019; Szakáli, 2023; Wicaksana, 2017). Therefore, the following is a design for strengthening the maritime axis policy in Indonesia (**Table 1**).

**Table 1.** Design for strengthening maritime axis policy in Indonesia.

Number	Policy recommendations	Legal concept design
1	Reformulation of maritime axis policy focus	Based on the maritime axis policy blueprint document as outlined in Law Number 32 of 2014 concerning Marine Affairs and Presidential Decree Number 16 of 2017 concerning Indonesian Maritime Policy, the Government of Indonesia together with other stakeholders must be able to identify the focus and priorities of maritime axis policy in Indonesia gradually, because the five main pillars supporting the maritime axis (rebuilding Indonesian maritime culture, Safeguarding and managing marine resources, infrastructure and connectivity, maritime diplomacy and defense, and maritime security) submitted to the public must be done gradually and will not be able to (irrationally) be done optimally at the same time.
2	A comprehensive and coherent governance and integrated administrative framework are required	The relationship between ministries and agencies related to the performance of law enforcement functions should be a significant determining factor in implementing GMA policies in Indonesia based on accurate and publicly accessible data. In addition, problems in coordination between institutions and bureaucracy must be corrected immediately so that the tasks of ministries and related institutions do not overlap and are distinct (Fisheries Transportation, Environment and Forestry, and the Navy).
3	Improvements are needed in political identity and leaders' attitudes in public policy	The political orientation of the leader (Jokowi) must be improved so as not to doubt the instrumental value in foreign policy, especially in the maritime axis policy in Indonesia. The Global Maritime Axis (GMA) policy is an important idea and concept that deserves appreciation. Still, the design of policy implementation must be well coordinated with every stakeholder who carries out the task. The gap between political speech and political action still exists during Jokowi's administration. Therefore, the sustainability of GMA policies must be improved quickly and precisely by formulating a firm strategy and concrete principles that outline crucial points related to essential indicators that must be followed in GMA policies in Indonesia.

Source: Author's processed data (Saeri et al., 2023).

**Table 1** illustrates that the design of strengthening maritime axis policy in Indonesia includes three policy recommendations: reformulation of the marine axis policy focus, comprehensive and coherent governance, and an integrated administrative framework, and improvements are needed in political identity and leaders' attitudes in public policy. This is in line with the findings Szakáli (2023)

The Global Maritime Axis (GMA) concept can be seen as a significant evolutionary step in Indonesia's political and economic thinking. Still, its implementation has proved very slow and ineffective. In the process, the relative failure of GMA's foreign policy implementation is not a deterministic product of external threats but is caused by political factors and domestic bureaucratic problems. Then this is also supported by the findings Agastia (2023) This explains that Indonesia's Global Maritime Axis (GMA) is a strategic narrative discourse. Still, the lack of maritime-related narratives and prioritizing development narratives has made the Indonesian government's priorities more oriented toward GMA infrastructure aspects and sacrificing other fundamental elements.

## 5. Conclusion

The findings of this study show that implementing the maritime axis policy in Indonesia still has complexity in bureaucratic and institutional problems (50.63%) as well as aspects of political identity and leadership attitudes (49.37%) that require systematic and comprehensive improvement. Then, the design of strengthening maritime axis policy in Indonesia includes three policy recommendations: reformulating the focus of marine axis policy, comprehensive and coherent governance, and integrated administrative framework, and improvements are needed in the political identity and attitude of leaders in public policy. Substantially, the relative failure of GMA's foreign policy implementation in Indonesia is not a deterministic product of external threats but is caused by political factors and domestic bureaucratic problems. In addition, the lack of maritime-related narratives and prioritizing development narratives has resulted in the Indonesian government's priorities being more oriented toward GMA infrastructure aspects and sacrificing other fundamental elements.

Our findings encourage greater government awareness and illustrate the importance of strengthening maritime axis policy design in Indonesia and adding to the literature to benefit every stakeholder in reformulating policies in foreign policy. However, this research needs to be expanded because it only uses secondary data and focuses on analyzing policy phenomena and the importance of strengthening maritime axis policy design in Indonesia. Therefore, we suggest further research on GMA policy in Indonesia to support and accelerate strategic ideas and concepts for maritime axis policy in Indonesia.

**Author contributions:** Conceptualization, MS and AJ; methodology, YEN and YO; software, TKT and MR; validation, MS, AJ and MR; formal analysis, YEN; investigation, YO; resources, TKT; data curation, MR; writing—original draft preparation, MS; writing—review and editing, MS and AJ; visualization, MR and TKT; supervision, YEN; project administration, YO; funding acquisition, MS. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

**Acknowledgments:** The author would like to thank all parties who have supported and helped complete the writing of this article, especially all academicians of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Riau.

**Conflict of interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## References

- Afriyadi, A. D. (2022). Jokowi is speeding up the development of the Maritime Axis, here's the strategy (Indonesian). Available online: <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-5968552/jokowi-kebut-pembangunan-poros-maritim-begini-strateginya> (accessed on 12 November 2023).
- Agastia, I. G. B. D. (2023). The Global Maritime Fulcrum as A Strategic Narrative: A Critical Examination of Its Emergence, Conveyance, and Decline in Indonesian Strategic Discourse. *Muslim Politics Review*, 2(2), 284–317. <https://doi.org/10.56529/mpr.v2i2.150>
- Ani/DAL. (2019). Habibie Center: Jokowi is disappointed that his subordinates don't understand maritime affairs. Available online: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190806135604-20-418864/habibie-center-jokowi-kecewa-anak-buah-tak-paham-maritim> (accessed on 1 November 2023).
- Arisanto, P. T., Reisika, A., Alviany, J., et al. (2023). Analysis of Indonesian maritime management and threats to marine security. *International Journal of Politics and Sociology Research*, 11(2), 383-390.
- Bayarsaikhan, U., Cha, Y.-B., Lee, T.-G., et al. (2021). FIGURES 15–18 in Two new species and four new records of *Diduga* (Lepidoptera, Erebidae, Arctiinae) from Laos. Zenodo. <https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.4756074>
- Bland, B., & Nugroho, Y. (2020). Man of Contradictions: Joko Widodo and the Struggle to Remake Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 42(3), 437–439. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs42-3h>
- Brotosusilo, A., Apriana, I. W. A., Satria, A. A., et al. (2016). Littoral and Coastal Management in Supporting Maritime Security for Realizing Indonesia as World Maritime Axis. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 30, 012016. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/30/1/012016>
- Bueger, C. (2015). What is maritime security? *Marine Policy*, 53, 159–164. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2014.12.005>
- Bueger, C., Edmunds, T., & Ryan, B. J. (2019). Maritime security: the uncharted politics of the global sea. *International Affairs*, 95(5), 971–978. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz145>
- Chapsos, I., & Malcolm, J. A. (2017). Maritime security in Indonesia: Towards a comprehensive agenda? *Marine Policy*, 76, 178–184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2016.11.033>
- CNN. (2023). Muhadjir acknowledges jokowi's world maritime axis has not been maximized (Indonesian). Available online: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20230809144224-92-983919/muhadjir-akui-poros-maritim-dunia-jokowi-belum-maksimal/> (accessed on 1 November 2023).
- dan Ridwan, S. H. (2017). Maritime axis and Indonesia's national security: challenge and hope. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, 7(3). <https://doi.org/10.33172/jpbh.v7i3.242>
- Djunarsjah, E., & Putra, A. P. (2021). The concept of an archipelagic Province in Indonesia. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 777(1), 012040. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/777/1/012040>
- Edwards-Jones, A. (2014). Qualitative data analysis with NVIVO. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 40(2), 193–195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2013.866724>
- Fathiraini, N., Darmawan, W., Ma'mur, T., et al. (2022). The vantage point of geopolitics: capturing indonesia's maritime axis. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 1089(1), 012062. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1089/1/012062>
- Hai-Jew, S. (2020). Fungsi Analisis Tab Silang Kualitatif Baru NVivo 12 Plus. (Indonesian) Kansas State University.
- Indra, M., Artina, D., Diana, L., et al. (2023). The Political Law of Forest and Land Fire Management: A Case Study in Bengkalis and Meranti Islands Regency, Riau Province, Indonesia. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 12(1), 293. <https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2023-0024>
- Jakarta.globe.id. (2020). Indonesia Extends Anti-Illegal Fishing Task Force. Available online: <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-extends-antiillegal-fishing-task-force> (accessed on 6 November 2023).
- Kim, D.-H., Ramjan, L. M., & Mak, K.-K. (2015). Prediction of vehicle crashes by drivers' characteristics and past traffic violations in Korea using a zero-inflated negative binomial model. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 17(1), 86–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15389588.2015.1033689>
- Kompas.com. (2023). Bung Karno, Megawati, Jokowi, dan Poros Maritim Dunia. Available online: <https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2023/01/09/bung-karno-megawati-jokowi-dan-poros-maritim-dunia> (accessed on 6 November 2023).

- Kurniaty, R., Suryokumoro, H., & Widagdo, S. (2021). The Role of Marine Security Agency (BAKAMLA) As Sea and Coast Guards in Indonesian Water Jurisdiction. *Fiat Justisia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 15(3), 221–232. <https://doi.org/10.25041/fiatjustisia.v15no3.2017>
- Labandi, L., & Haris, M. (2023). Development of Indonesian Maritime Sovereignty Culture Through Indonesian Maritime Policy with Indonesian Maritime Defense Strategy. *The Innovation of Social Studies Journal*, 5(1), 33. <https://doi.org/10.20527/issj.v5i1.8489>
- Liamputtong, P. (2020). *Qualitative Research Methods*, 5th ed. Oxford University Press.
- Putri, I. A., & Saputro, G. E. (2022). Internal Challenges and Planning in Creating Indonesia as the Axis of the World Maritime Economy. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 05(12), 1-11.
- Rachman, V. H, V. H. (2022). Geopolitics: Dynamics and Development of Indonesia’s Maritime Axis. *Jurnal Ekonomi*, 11(03), 1102-1108.
- Rahman, M. S. (2016). The Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Language ‘Testing and Assessment’ Research: A Literature Review. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 6(1), 102. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jel.v6n1p102>
- Risnain, Muh., Fatahullah, F., Nurbani, E. S., et al. (2021). The Model Regulation of Wawasan Nusantara as Indonesian Maritime Development Strategy Towards World Maritime Axis. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210525.078>
- Rochwulaningsih, Y., Sulistiyono, S. T., Masruroh, et al. (2019). Marine policy basis of Indonesia as a maritime state: The importance of integrated economy. *Marine Policy*, 108, 103602. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2019.103602>
- Rosyidin, M. (2021). The cult of glory: national myth and the idea of Global Maritime Fulcrum in Indonesia’s foreign policy, 2014–2019. *South East Asia Research*, 29(3), 297–314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828x.2021.1954484>
- Santoso, D., & Nafisah, F. (2018). Indonesia’s Global Maritime Axis Doctrine: Security Concerns and Recommendations. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 10(2), 191. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jhi.v10i2.7306>
- Sitanggang, S. N. (2021). Jokowi Administration’s Maritime Axis Development Policy. *International Journal on Social Science, Economics and Art*, 11(1), 20–32. <https://doi.org/10.35335/ijosea.v10i1.3>
- Szakáli, M. (2023). Indonesia and the ‘Global Maritime Axis’ concept - A policy analysis. Eurasia Center and John von Neumann University.
- The Indonesian Institute Center for Policy Research. (2018). New Governance Design to Realize the Idea of a World Maritime Axis. Available online: <https://www.theindonesianinstitute.com/desain-baru-tata-pemerintahan-untuk-mewujudkan-gagasan-poros-maritim-dunia/> (accessed on 6 November 2023).
- Trends.google.com. (2023). Trends in maritime axis policy issues in Indonesia. Available online: [https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2014-11-14 2023-12-24&geo=ID&q=Poros Maritim Dunia&hl=id](https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2014-11-14%2023-12-24&geo=ID&q=Poros%20Maritim%20Dunia&hl=id) (accessed on 6 November 2023).
- UN Trade and Development (UNCTAD). (2023). Review of Maritime Transport. Available online: [https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/rmt2023\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/rmt2023_en.pdf) (accessed on 1 November 2023).
- United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). (1982). Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica. Available online: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Law-of-the-Sea> (accessed on 10 November 2023).
- Wagner, C., Kawulich, B., & Garner, M. (2019). A Mixed Research Synthesis of Literature on Teaching Qualitative Research Methods. *SAGE Open*, 9(3), 215824401986148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019861488>
- Wicaksana, I. G. W. (2017). Indonesia’s maritime connectivity development: domestic and international challenges. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 25(2), 212–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2017.1339618>
- Woods, M., Paulus, T., Atkins, D. P., et al. (2016). Advancing Qualitative Research Using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS)? Reviewing Potential Versus Practice in Published Studies using Atlas.ti and NVivo, 1994–2013. *Social Science Computer Review*, 34(5), 597–617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439315596311>
- Woolf, N. H., & Silver, C. (2017). *Qualitative Analysis Using NVivo*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315181660>