

# Proceeding 2

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**Submission date:** 18-Dec-2019 01:37PM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 1236413958

**File name:** 2nd\_ICTROPS\_National\_Ocean\_Policy\_ENG.docx (48.39K)

**Word count:** 4044

**Character count:** 23865

# The Development of the Indonesian Marine Sector During the Era of Joko Widodo: an Analytical Study of National Ocean Policy

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## Abstract

This study aims to analyze the policy of Maritime Axis which is the main program in the government of Joko Widodo which has been running for 4 years in order to return Indonesia as a maritime country where the oceans, seas, straits and bays are seen as the future of Indonesian civilization. This is a deductive qualitative research by data collecting done by library research through literature review from scientific articles. Validity and reliability of data is done by reference triangulation. This research focuses on the implementation of the marine sector development policy which is cross-sectoral and institutional integrated program, set forth in the form of National Marine Policy in accordance with the Grand Design of Marine Development in Indonesia. National Maritime Policy has been translated into each sector program in the marine resource development and management plan which includes: management of marine resources, human resource development, defense, security, law enforcement and marine safety, governance and institutions, marine prosperity and economic development, management of marine space and the protection of the marine environment and marine culture. As a policy, the success of the national maritime policy is largely determined by the characteristic of policy problems, of policy itself and environment factor. The results of the research indicate that the development of maritime axis is struck by structural problems and there is no national political awareness to the region about the great economic potential, fishery and maritime owned by Indonesia. The unsuccessful implementation of the maritime axis national policy shows that Indonesia has not become a fully maritime country and has not brought changes to economic and defense development that can control maritime security.

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**Keywords:** Maritime Axis, National Ocean Policy, Marine Sector, Marine Development.

## Introduction

Since 2014, the Joko Widodo government has brought great ambitions to restore Indonesia's identity as a maritime country through the Republic of Indonesia's Presidential Regulation Number 2 of 2015 concerning the 2015-2019 National Medium Term Development Plan. The maritime axis is a strategic idea to ensure inter-island connectivity, development of the shipping and fisheries industry, improvement of sea transportation and the security of the sea.

A number of the main programs in the Jokowi's government to realize Indonesia as a global maritime axis include enforcement of the sovereignty of the territorial sea of the Republic of Indonesia, revitalization of marine economic sectors, strengthening and development of maritime connectivity, environmental damage rehabilitation and biodiversity conservation, as well as improving the quality and quantity of marine human resources [1].

Indonesia has great potential to become a global maritime axis, considering that Indonesia is in the equator, between two continents of Asia and Australia, between two Pacific and Indian oceans, and Southeast Asian countries. Indonesia consists of more than 17,504 islands with a coastline of 95,181 km. The land area reaches around 2,012,402 km<sup>2</sup> and the sea is around 5,8 million km<sup>2</sup> (75,75%). As an archipelagic country that has a vast sea and a long coastline, Indonesia's maritime and marine sector is very strategic in term of ideological, political, economics, socio-cultural, law, environmental, defense and security aspects [2]. Indonesia is in a cross position in global trade and energy routes that connect the European and African markets. In this strategic path there is a lot of potential in the Indian Ocean. Where 2,7 million of the world's population is inhabited, half of the world's container ships, one third of the world's cargo, half-oil offshore producers, two-thirds of the world's shipment of energy, rich in mineral resources and fisheries [3].

In 2010 it was estimated by FAO that humans consumed 128 million tons of fish and in the last decade fish consumed by 4,3 billion people. In 2021 an estimated 172 million people will eat fish and the fishing industry will become that fastest growing industry [4]. So that as a country with the largest territorial waters in the world consisting of 17,000 islands, the development of the outer sea

security is very much determined by the management of the oceanic region. Indonesia has also become a global maritime axis supported by five main pillars, namely: 1) rebuilding Indonesia's maritime culture, 2) commitment to maintain and manage marine resources by focusing on building sea food sovereignty through the development of the fishing industry by placing fishermen as the main pillars, 3) encouraging commitment development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity by building sea tolls, sea ports, logistics and shipping industry and maritime tourism, 4) maritime diplomacy that invites all Indonesian partners to cooperate in the maritime sector, and 5) builds maritime defense forces [1]; [5].

In its journey, recorded on October 2017, after three years of implementing the maritime axis mission, Susi Pudjiastuti, the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries who became a central figure in Indonesia's maritime policy said that the existence of the world's maritime axis was merely a slogan [6]. The sea is also realized is a special life, which is not easy to conquer, so it takes a long time to optimize programs towards the sea to see the results.

Djalal argued that a maritime country is not the same as an island nation. A maritime country is a country capable of utilizing marine resources, even though the country may not have many seas, but it has the capability of technology, sciences, equipment, etc. to manage and utilize these marine resources, both its space and its natural wealth and strategic location. Therefore, many island countries or island countries because they have not been able to take advantage of the sea that is already in its power [2].

This research tries to examine the success of the development of the Indonesian maritime sector until 2018 through the implementation of the national maritime axis policy that has been carried out by the Joko Widodo government. The difference between this study and other studies is that other studies examine the realm of defense strategies as stated in [7]; [8]; [9], while this study is on policy analysis studies as in [15], but with different scope of study.

## Research Methods

This study examines national marine areas. This research is a qualitative descriptive study that explains the problem through the analysis of data and information collection, and reports the results. National political strategies

and economic strategies are the focus of observed micro phenomena, while policy implementation is the focus of the macro phenomena being studied. Data collection for this study was carried out using literature and document studies<sup>31</sup> as a source of research data. So that the type of data used is secondary data. Test the<sup>3</sup> validity and reliability of data is done by content analysis that explains and analyzes data from research results that have been read and summarized from various written data sources (document analysis). Data interpretation is then analyzed through deductive methods, which attempt to apply theories that are relevant to the phenomenon, formulate conclusions from the data [10], and then present the results.

## Result and Discussion

### 1. Maritime Issues and National Maritime Policies

Indonesia's territorial territory borders on 10 countries, which seven countries border waters with Indonesia. Indonesia has three Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes, and four straits that are passed by foreign shipping. This can certainly be an opportunity to enhance national development without neglecting security. But on<sup>9</sup> the other hand it creates vulnerability from aspects of defense and security, especially maritime security.

Problems faced in the mana<sup>9</sup>gement of Indonesian marine areas from the aspects of defense and security include: awareness of the archipelago conceptual conception that has not been fully understood, limited infrastructure and the main tools of the weapon system, maritime field regulations that do not have supremacy so as to have an impact on increasing illegal activity using maritime media. Illegal exploitation and activities of maritime resources are carried out by local and transnational actors. Another problem is the delimitation of maritime borders, the quantity and quality of maritime human resources, weak law enforcement, and limited maritime infrastructure adding to the list of maritime problems in Indonesia [2].

A number of these problems are expected to be overcome through a maritime axis policy that can increase the defense power to maintain the sovereignty of Indonesia. Maritime axis policy is a public policy that applies domestically, but at a certain level it will have implications for relations between nations.

As a result of the vast waters owned, Indonesia has 10 maritime boundaries that must be considered, because it can potentially be an entry point for maritime criminals. Indonesia has at least 11 water points which indicated illegal fishing activities. From 11 points, 8 of them are maritime waters that directly border with other countries. In addition, the waters in the<sup>40</sup> of Sulawesi, Malacca Strait, Natuna Sea, South China Sea, and the Arafuru Sea are of the being the locations of illegal fishing. This shows the vulnerability of the maritime border region of Indonesia to the threat of maritime security by foreign countries not only weaken the sovereignty of the Indonesia state but also harm fishermen. At least, there are a thousand foreign ships back and forth fishing illegally at the Indonesia every year. Moreover, it has the potential to cause losses to the state of IDR 80 trillion per year, which consists of the potential of lost fish reaching IDR 30 trillion and potential loss of non-tax state revenues of IDR 50 trillion every year [11].

Indonesia ratified UNCLOS in 1982 and was legalized by Law Number 17 of 1985. The long process of ratification and realization of UNCLOS was one of the driving forces when foreign ships were free to enter the waters of Indonesia which at that time were vulnerable to Holland recolonisation efforts. So that the struggle of Ir. Djuanda which began in 1957 and was successfully passed in 1982 embodies the concept of an intact archipelagic state which later became the conceptual conception of the archipelago, although with the existence of UNCLOS it was also unable to minimize the various problems of Indonesia's territorial disputes with its neighbors.

The maritime axis policy which is part of the world maritime axis shows the choice between domestic policy and international policy. International and domestic choices in the policy show the existence of intermesticism [12]. Maritime axis policy on Joko Widodo's vision and mission shows the orientation of Indonesia's foreign policy on maritime geopolitics. As Alfred Thayer Mahan prove that sea power is a state instrument to rule the world [13]. The view of the Sea Supremacy offered by Mahan has until now become the "backbone" for maritime development for developed countries. Even the behavior of the state that puts forward marine instruments ranging from marine security technology to developing the power of sea transportation to

support a country's economic power to reach the destination of the sea supremacy [14].

The implementation of the world maritime axis policy in the Joko Widodo era invite reactive attitudes from countries within and outside the Southeast Asia region that show on attitude that does not support or oppose what is carried out unilaterally by the Joko Widodo government [15]. This certainly can affect the harmony and stability of security nationally and influence the interaction of bargaining positions between countries in the region.

Regional approaches that have been carried out by the Joko Widodo government include continuing cooperation with ASEAN which has been initiated at the 9<sup>th</sup> Bali Summit, 7-8 October 2003 which agreed on Bali Concord II on the importance of maritime security cooperation among ASEAN member countries to deal with various marine and cross-border issues, regionally and comprehensively, followed by various subsequent summits. One of the result of the collaboration is the establishment of the ASEAN Maritime Forum which is a dialogue forum related to framework of ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

Maritime cooperation between Indonesia and neighboring countries in the Joko Widodo era recorded the bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia on April 29, 2016 discussing joint patrol plans. In the collaboration it was agreed that there would be supervision, evaluation and review efforts in coordination between Indonesian marine maritime law enforcement agencies such as Marine Security Agency, the Indonesian Navy, Air Force, police, Maritime Affairs Ministry and the Ministry of Transportation, Indonesian customs, with Malaysian law enforcement agencies namely Maritime Enforcement Agency Malaysia (MMEA), Royal Navy, Royal Airforce, Malaysia's Royal Police, as well as the Department of Fisheries and Royal Customs of Malaysia [16]. In addition, there is a trilateral cooperation between Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines through a trilateral coordinated maritime patrol activity called Trilateral Maritime Patrol Indomalphi [17] which was inaugurated on June 19, 2017 in Tarakan, North Kalimantan.

In 2013-2015, Indonesia initiated the EAS Statement on Enhancing Regional Maritime Cooperation. In the collaboration, eradication and prevention of Illegal, Unreported dan

Unregulated (IUU) Fishing became an important part that was successfully agreed. Especially in the Joko Widodo era, Indonesia hosted the 6<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Maritime Forum and the 4<sup>th</sup> Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF) meeting in Manado, 9-10 September 2015. At this meeting, Indonesia proposed the establishment of a binding instrument in the effort to deal with IUU Fishing in the region and in the Indonesian division.

In an effort to present appropriate legal instruments, the Indonesian government through the Indonesian Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries adopted a number of policies: 1) Law Number 32 of 2014 concerning Marine Affairs, October 17, 2014, 2) Presidential Regulation Number 178 of 2014 concerning Marine Security Agency, 3) Presidential Regulation Number 115 of 2015 concerning Task Force to Eradicate Illegal Fishing, 4) Presidential Regulation Number 16 of 2017 concerning Indonesian Maritime Policy.

Specific related to Presidential Regulation Number 115 of 2015, Task Force 115 was formed on 19 October 2015 as a one-step ad-hoc enforcement agency consisting of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, the Indonesian Navy, Navy Security Agency, Water Police and the Attorney General's Office which has a role in fisheries law enforcement in Indonesia, is integrated under the command of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in following up on the handling of illegal fishing [18]. But in reality, illegal fishing is only one of a series of crimes that occur in fisheries crimes. In addition to illegal fishing there are other related violations, including illegal oil transactions, immigration crimes, customs crimes, money laundering, tax crimes, corruption, human rights violations, drug transactions and labor crimes. Therefore, the law used to carry out acts of eradicating crime at sea does not only refer to the Fisheries Law, but also other related regulations such as shipping laws, immigration laws, criminal law, etc.

## 2. Political and Economic Strategy in the Implementation of National Maritime Policies

The implementation of the national marine policy is faced with a number of threats both non traditional and traditional. Traditional threats include pirate threats, sea pirates, and foreign fishing vessels. In the era of Joko Widodo government, the sinking of foreign

ships had become an affirmation and changed a little image of national sovereignty. The traditional threat in terms of maritime defense was in the form of territorial disputes in the South China Sea, which later made the Indonesian government focus its military budget on the construction of military bases in the Natuna Islands as the territorial frontier closest to the dispute. In the political strategy, these threats need to be overcome with pro maritime domestic policies.

With regard to Indonesia's economic strategy faced with domestic politics as well as international politics and geopolitics through the existence of a number of regional cooperation and bilateral diplomacy regarding disputes. As it is known that maritime boundary dispute have not been completely resolved by Indonesia together with neighboring countries. Looking back on the conception of the archipelago's insight which is the Indonesian nation's perspective on themselves and their environment has implications for the realization of the archipelago as a political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense and security unit [19], this is what is further understood as geopolitics when linked to the geography of a country can show choices in his foreign policy as well as his position in hierarchical state as Griffith stated that: "Geopolitics is the study of the influence of geographical factors on state behaviour – how location, climate, natural resources, population, and physical terrain determine a state's foreign policy options and its position in the hierarchy of states" [20].

In addition to the political strategy, Indonesia also has an economic strategy carried out through the allocation of the State Budget for maritime defense and marine infrastructure. Maritime axis policy as a form of Indonesian geopolitical awareness about the position and form of its territory which is then used as a "backbone" for the country, as seen from the incoming foreign exchange from several Indonesian marine resources which then continue to be prioritized with the security of its maritime border sovereignty.

### 3. The Relevance of Public Policy Implementation Theory

Grindle stated that in the policy process there is always the possibility of a difference between what is expected (planned) by the policy maker and what is actually achieved (as a result or achievement of the activity) where Dunsire calls it an implementation gap [21].

Thus, the success of public policy is not only based on economic, efficiency and administrative principles, but the ethical and moral consequences become a bet in reflecting the behavior of the apparatus in relation to the interests of people's welfare including those relating to national security.

Any policy actually contains a risk of failure. Policy failures have two categories, namely policies that are not implemented and implementations that are not successful [21].

**Table 1.** Indicators of Maritime Axis National Marine Policy from the Perspective of Defense Strategy.

No	Indicator	Source
1	There has not been a significant development of maritime infrastructure such as sea tolls that connect between islands, development of the shipping industry, and improvement of sea transportation.	Coordinator of the Maritime Conscious National Movement [23].
2	The limitations of alusista power as a concept of deterrence in the national defense strategy.	Ses Ditjen Kuathan of Ministry of Defense [24].
3	The use of national defense doctrine/strategy that uses a defensive pattern when linked to active free politics which is still a polemic for some circles, because the projection of force as the use of force in maritime areas includes the use of offensive military operations.	Ses Ditjen Kuathan of Ministry of Defense [24].
4	The military defense architecture is only in the drafting stage which still requires periodic studies.	Ses Ditjen Kuathan of Ministry of Defense [24].

Source: Hidayat and Ridwan [2].

On the domestic side, the implementation of the national maritime axis policy in Indonesia shows that maritime is only the concern of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. While other ministries or institutions still ignore attention to the maritime sector. The narrow view on the maritime sector shows the

truth of Hasjim Djalal's conception which states that many island nations are not maritime countries. Maritime countries should be demonstrated by the existence of maritime utilization and management that existed in the Joko Widodo government not yet realized in the synergy between institutions. This shows that the policy has not been implemented properly and the existence of ministries or institutions that have not succeeded in running it because the execution is bad.

As the formulation of Mazmanian and Sabatini<sup>2</sup> about three groups of variables that affect the successful implementation of a policy, the maritime axis policy in the Joko Widodo era of government has not been implemented properly because:

- 1) Characteristics of the policy problems that have a high level of technical difficulty, high level of plurality of target groups because it includes neighboring countries as well as the Indonesian itself (which includes fisherman and production and seafood producers), as well as the complexity of the expected range of changes in behavior,
- 2) Characteristics of the policy itself which has clarity, theoretical support, and linkages and support among various implementing institutions, but not yet supported by: a. good financial resources, b. strength of consistency of rules and implementing commitments towards policy objectives, and c. the lack of access to outside groups to participate in the implementation of the policy,
- 3) Environmental factors related to socio-economic conditions of the community and the still low level of existing technological progress, still low public support and attitudes towards policy implementation.

## Conclusion

The result of the study show that with the unsuccessful implementation of the Joko Widodo government in implementing the national maritime axis of the national maritime policy, Indonesia has not become a maritime country whose whole and national maritime policies have not brought changes to economic and defense development that can control maritime territorial security.

The implementation of Indonesia's maritime axis policy requires cooperation with neighboring (regional) countries and global cooperation that not only needs to be carried

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out by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries for the welfare aspect as well as the Ministry of Defense for security aspects only. However, it requires the cooperation of all parties because the maritime axis policy is an intermestic policy that requires integration policy that requires integration between all components of the nation to succeed in order to avoid policy failure. The implementation of the maritime axis policy also requires a better technical policy with a clearer determination of the implementor in each field as the leading sector. Then the policy socialization needs to be addressed to all parties, especially those who are directly involved in order to accept the maritime axis policy as a common interest.

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