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Deep Pluralism in Indonesian Foreign Policy Under The Joko Widodo Administration

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ABSTRACT

Deep pluralism is used to describe post-colonial global society. At this point, power, wealth, cultural and political authority are widely distributed in a highly interactive and interdependent system. This concept has empirical and normative value for understanding Indonesian foreign policy. Empirically, this concept can help explain that the countries of the South are the main drivers of the use of deep pluralism in modern history. Normatively, this concept helps understand Indonesia's agenda in the form of deep, consensual pluralism. Indonesia uses consensual deep pluralism in its foreign policy aimed at respecting the uniqueness of each country. This article uses the help of system dynamics to explain how deep pluralism is implemented and has relevance to Indonesian foreign policy under the Joko Widodo government. The model built shows that Indonesia's foreign policy agenda prioritizes the unique characteristics of national identity, especially in the world Global Maritime Fulcrum agenda (GMF)

ABSTRAK

Pluralisme mendalam digunakan untuk menggambarkan masyarakat global pasca-kolonial. Pada titik ini, kekuasaan, kekayaan, otoritas budaya dan politik didistribusikan secara luas dalam suatu sistem yang sangat interaktif dan saling bergantung. Konsep ini mempunyai nilai empiris dan normatif bagi pemahaman politik luar negeri Indonesia. Secara empiris, konsep ini dapat membantu menjelaskan bahwa negara-negara Selatan merupakan pendorong utama penggunaan pluralisme mendalam dalam sejarah modern. Secara normatif, konsep ini membantu memahami peran Indonesia dalam bentuk pluralisme mendalam yang bersifat konsensus dan kontroversial. Indonesia menggunakan konsensual *deep pluralism* dalam kebijakan luar negerinya bertujuan untuk menghargai kekhasan masing-masing negara. Artikel ini menggunakan bantuan *system dynamics* untuk menjelaskan bagaimana *deep pluralism* diterapkan dan memiliki relevansi dengan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia di bawah pemerintahan Joko Widodo. Model yang dibangun menunjukkan agenda kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia mengedepankan karakteristik khas jati diri bangsa, terutama pada agenda kebijakan Poros Maritim Dunia (PMD)

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A. INTRODUCTION

During the early period of independence under the leadership of Soekarno (1945-1967), Indonesia's foreign policy focused on the struggle to maintain independence and was therefore characterized by anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, while during the Soekarno administration (1967-1998) Indonesia's foreign policy tends to focus on accelerating and developing the economy. During the reformer B.J. Habibie administration (1998-1999), Indonesia's foreign policy focused on strengthening democracy, in stark contrast to the Abdurrahman Wahid administration (1999-2001), which shaped and strengthened Indonesia's role in world Islamic organizations. During the Megawati Soekarno Putri administration (2001-2004), Indonesia was actively involved in resolving global issues such as terrorism and focused on strengthening relations with ASEAN countries (Xue & He, 2022)

In the last two presidents who served, namely during the reign of Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014), Indonesia's foreign policy tended to be outward-looking with nuances of democratic projection. Whereas during Joko Widodo's term, who was the second president and democratically elected through the 2014 general election, who was then re-elected in 2019 for a second term gave a different nuance to the foreign policy of his predecessors. During Joko Widodo's reign, he used the great power approach as the main basis for foreign policy. During the Joko Widodo administration (2014-present), an inward-looking approach was adopted. Impressively, the Joko Widodo administration, both in its first and second terms, faced different challenges.

The first period of Joko Widodo's administration was faced with the constellation of two major powers fighting in the Indo-Pacific, the United States and China. Meanwhile, in the second half of his administration, Joko Widodo was faced with the Covid-19 pandemic which caused a global crisis. Facing different challenges, Joko Widodo is required to produce policies that are characteristic of his own to face the needs of his leadership. Joko Widodo used the maritime approach as a hallmark of his administration. The maritime approach is Joko Widodo's attempt to embody Indonesia's geostrategic advantages from the aspect of utilizing Indonesia's marine assets economically and strategically (Cassidy et al., 2018). In this article, The Maritime Policy adopted from Indonesia's unique characteristics under Joko Widodo administration then be analyzed through the lens of deep pluralism.

In English School approach, deep pluralism is a way of describing and explaining the structure of the global society in the post-colonial era. (Zhang & Buzan, 2022). These conditions demonstrate the characteristics and nature of a globalized society in which power, wealth, culture, and political authority are distributed in a system of high interaction and interdependence. (Buzan, 2011). These conditions then encourage countries to adapt by formulating more adaptive foreign policies, including Indonesia. Indonesia's post-independence foreign policy varied according to the context of events and national interests during the leadership (as we mentioned above).

Deep pluralism has empirical and normative relevance in the study of a country's foreign policy (Zhang & Buzan, 2022). Empirically, deep pluralism allows us to see whether Indonesia is a driver in applying deep pluralism to its foreign policy agenda. Normatively, deep pluralism shows the importance of the contestation between consensual pluralism and contested pluralism and the important role that Indonesia can play in this contestation. Indonesia now faces a choice between actors motivated by *raison d'etat* (narrow self-interest) and *raison de system* (system-wide responsibility that incorporates domestic interests). During the Joko Widodo administration, there were several policies issued as the main backbone of Indonesia's foreign policy that promoted the goals of international peace and development in the region, and especially the spirit of building a

community with a shared future for mankind. Therefore, the main purpose of this article is to see how the significant features of deep pluralism are applied in Indonesia's foreign policy during the Joko Widodo administration.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Foreign Policy

To help complement deep pluralism as an analytical lens in this research, the researcher uses the help of other concepts to limit this research, namely the concepts of foreign policy, strategy, and attitude. This restriction needs to be done so that, this research is more focused on determining the limits of the phenomenon to be examined. As foreign policy describes how a state acts outside its administrative borders, the aim is to influence other actors to behave according to their wishes. Any foreign policy conducted by a country is the result of a certain bureaucratic process involving its government. However, the factors that determine the foreign policy process itself consist of various actors. The former approach that explain foreign policy of the state is constructivist. It sees the correlation between agency and structure in the foreign policy analysis process. Hudson (2020) sees that in international relations all interactions that occur between countries are based on decision makers who act individually or in groups of actions, these ideas can take the form of policies, attitudes, or strategies (Hudson & Day, 2020).

On the other hands, Heywood (2014), looks at foreign policy more specifically, and is concerned with the means or methods used to achieve the objectives of a foreign policy decided by democratic means. It simplifies the practical steps to be taken to meet foreign policy goals as a set of orientations, as a strategy or plan of action, and as a form of behaviour, emphasizing the importance of strategy in navigating the international environment. (Heywood, 2014). Foreign policy not only reflects a rational response to the international environment, but is also the result of a complex interaction between internal and external factors, including material and ideological considerations. In international relations, all interactions that occur between states are based on decision-makers acting individually or in groups (Hudson & Day, 2020).

Heywood (2014), sees foreign policy more specifically and relates to the means or methods used to achieve the objectives of foreign policy decided by democratic means. It simplifies the practical steps to be taken to meet foreign policy goals as a set of orientations, strategies or plans of action, and forms of behaviour that emphasize the importance of navigating the international environment. Thus, foreign policy sets the general objectives, but foreign strategy defines how to achieve those objectives, and foreign behaviour reflects the values and principles underlying both concepts (Heywood, 2014). A country's policy is the intersection of material and ideational factors that determine a country's behaviour.

An understanding of foreign policy by Heywood (2014), will help researchers to explain how the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) policy launched by Joko Widodo that has unique characteristics of a Indonesia as foreign policy of post-colonial in southern countries. GMF as a case study provide clear perspective of deep pluralism in considering a characteristic of state action in relations between countries. In case of so that every policy has a distinctive feature, that every decision has a motive and refers to a specific situation including GMF. One of the pillars of the GMF contains diplomacy and maritime defense. Thus, in the context of GMF, every action of a state can be interpreted as the embodiment of foreign policy (Hudson & Day, 2020). While these actions or ideas can take the form of policies, attitudes or strategies (Hudson & Day, 2020).

The similarity between foreign policy, strategy and posture lies in their aim to fulfill national interests in the context of international relations. GMF serve to guide, maximize benefits and

protect the interests of a state in its interaction with other actors at the global level in maritime nuance. GMF reflects the interplay between rational considerations (where decisions are made based on cost-benefit analyses), psychological factors (such as leaders' perceptions and biases), and the influence of domestic and international political contexts. In this context, GMF is seen as the outcome of a deliberative process aimed at addressing international challenges, seizing opportunities and navigating the complex dynamics of the global arena. GMF emphasize foreign attitudes, strategies and policies as state-centric instruments, which capture and explain the phenomenon of interactions made between one state and another through maritime nuance.

GMF reflects the basic orientations and values that underlie a country's policies and strategies . Attitudes towards GMF are more closely related to the principles and values that guide the actions and decisions of the state on the international stage. In the context of foreign policy, value orientation and idealism guide the implementation of foreign attitudes and strategies. Although there is no standard consensus on the definition of foreign policy, it is generally understood as the actions of state actors in certain situations with objectives beyond the administrative boundaries of their territory as an attitude and strategy for dealing with certain situations. As a result, there are several models of foreign policy that have been used to date (Hudson & Day, 2020).

From the definition of situation put forward the researcher sees that the factors that influence Indonesia's foreign policy include GMF, can be read through the external environmental variable which more specifically looks at the objectives and actions of others, system trends and structure and the effects of systemic values because this research will analyze Indonesia's foreign policies, strategies and attitudes.

Definition of Foreign Policy, Strategy and Behaviour

<i>Definition of situation</i>		
<i>Foreign Policy</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Act</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The general purpose of a state in a specific context (Hudson & Day, 2020) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A country's way of achieving that goal (AS, 2018) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State actions that reflect the values and principles underlying foreign policy and strategy. (Mintz & DeRouen, 2010)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The similarity between foreign policy, strategy, and posture lies in their aim to fulfil national interests in the context of international relations. Each policy is characterized by the fact that each decision has a motive and refers to a specific situation. 		

Source : (AS, 2018; Hudson & Day, 2020; Mintz & DeRouen, 2010)

Deep Pluralism

Pluralism appears in variations, but the most famous one that positions itself within the pluralism agenda is the English school approach (Zhang, 2023). This approach positions the state as the center and makes the state an empirical object. The English School posits the state as the dominant unit in international society and emphasizes the primacy of state sovereignty in international relations. Countries are seen as units that share little other than minimal concerns about survival and coexistence. Agreements between them were largely limited to mutual recognition of sovereignty, rules for diplomacy, and promotion of the principle of non-intervention.

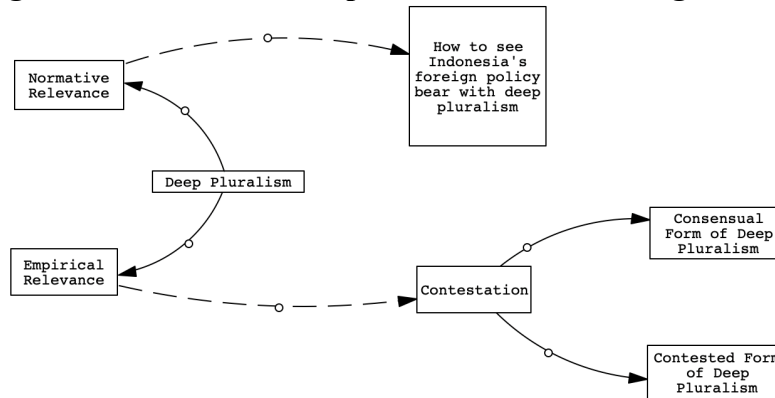
Pluralism argues that every country has the right to determine its own destiny without interference from other countries. Pluralism recognizes the differences in culture, politics, and value systems among countries, and emphasizes the importance of honor and non-intervention.

Proponents of pluralism are often skeptical of international intervention and prefer the stability resulting from a balance of power (Buzan, 2004). Within the English School pluralism is challenged by solidarism (Zhang, 2023). The debate between solidarism and pluralism centers on the extent to which states should be involved in the affairs of other states and how to balance state sovereignty and moral responsibility towards the international community. Solidarism emphasizes the importance of cooperation and shared norms among countries. Supporters of solidarism argue that states should not only pursue their own national interests, but should also take into account the common interests and humanity as a whole. Solidarism often encourages humanitarian intervention, protection of human rights, and strong enforcement of international norms. In this context, solidarism considers that states have a moral responsibility to act in the common interest and maintain international peace and stability (Bull, 1977; Ikenberry & Wheeler, 2001; Schmid, 2018).

The debate between solidarism and pluralism centers on the extent to which states should be involved in the affairs of other states and how to balance state sovereignty and moral responsibility towards the international community. Solidarism supports humanitarian intervention to prevent human rights violations, while pluralism emphasizes the importance of state sovereignty and opposes intervention that could violate the principle of non-intervention. Solidarism encourages the establishment and enforcement of strong international norms to protect common interests, while pluralism emphasizes the importance of respecting differences and diversity among countries. Solidarism emphasizes shared responsibility in facing global challenges such as climate change and terrorism, while pluralism emphasizes more of the responsibility of each country to address these problems according to their national context. Solidarism and pluralism offer different views on how states should interact in the international system. Solidarism emphasizes cooperation and shared norms, while pluralism emphasizes tolerance and non-intervention. This second perspective provides a different framework for understanding and managing international relations.

Deep pluralism is an approach in international relations to explain the situation of the post-colonial international system. The international system in recent decades has shown characteristics where power, prosperity, culture, and political authority are distributed widely in a system that has a high capacity for interaction and interdependence, both economically, culturally, and environmentally (Buzan, 2011). In general, deep pluralism views that there is no longer a superpower tendency in the international system so that anti-hegemonism values emerge. This condition is also supported by the emergence of large countries that tend to be introverted. In addition, in the global international society, global south countries began to rise and forget the post-colonial legacy to use a distinctive approach from their respective cultures as a non-material force. In addition, the international system also experienced changes where non-state actors experienced a decline due to the crisis of the liberal order that began to occur, thus strengthening regional actors, the phenomenon of regionalization spread in each region.

Figure 1: Relevance of Deep Pluralism in the Foreign Policy Agenda



In context of foreign policy, deep pluralism has two relevance. Contested pluralism and consensual pluralism are two common forms of deep pluralism that are now surfacing. Contested pluralism sees a substantial denial of material and ideational reality. This phenomenon may take the form of: superpowers (most obviously the US) refusing to give up their special rights and privileges; great powers refuse to recognize each other's standing, and play against each other as rivals or enemies. Consensual Pluralism, on the other hand, means that the main players in the GIS not only tolerate material, cultural, ideological, and actor-type differences in deep pluralism, but also respect and even value them both as expressions of diversity as a foundation for coexistence.

C. METHOD

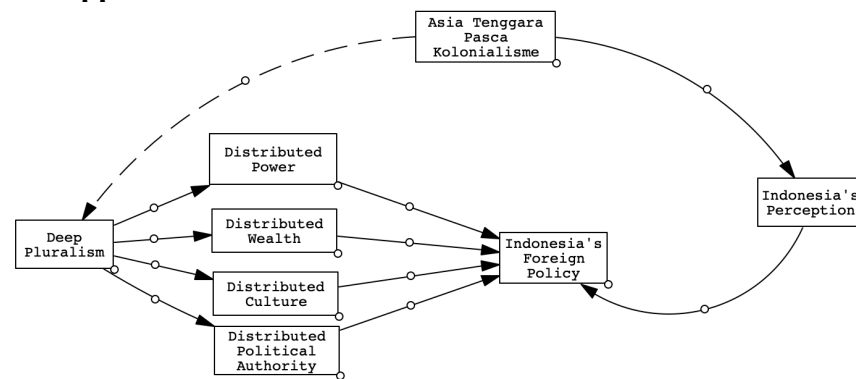
This study focuses on the patterns of Indonesian foreign policy during the Joko Widodo administration and the impact of the new global order on Indonesia's foreign policy agenda. Changes in the structure of the global order in recent decades have altered the government's perceptions in formulating foreign policy. Changes in the structure of the global order are an important element of contemporary politics, economics and social affairs that can be studied using the systems thinking methodology to analyze how changes in the structure of the regional order change a country's foreign policy.

Deep pluralism is part of a concept that explains how the structure of regional order works. (Zhang & Buzan, 2022). Therefore, changes in the structure will affect the overall performance of its members. A country's policies are often considered to be a reflective form of fluctuating movements of the understanding of the system of power balance in the existing structure (Y.-S. Eun et al., 2022). The main factor that makes deep pluralism an approach to be reckoned with is its ability to explain the structural conditions of postcolonial state order and behavior. As the consequence of the study of system dynamics is how perceptions affect objects and subjects in international politics. Weak states or middle power are often used as objects rather than subjects and their foreign policy is considered a reflexive form of other state policy (Y. S. Eun et al., 2022). Starting from this understanding, the system dynamics method will explain the important role Indonesia's perception and the unique factor that affect its foreign policy agenda.

Dynamic systems methodology is based on tracing historical and behavioral data, then how to change it, and finally modeling. Behavioral data will be translated as input for the model to be created and formed into mathematical equations for the simulation process. However, this study will not simulate the model that will be created, but only uses a dynamic systems approach to build the model. The behavior of actors (in this case the state) can be explained through the role and causes of policy-making influenced by perceptions of a condition. The system dynamics

framework is a real-world model in which the perception of an actor in the regional order discourse is translated through a model built as a simulation of reality. In this study, the construction of the model is used to explain the structure of the global order and Indonesia's foreign policy.

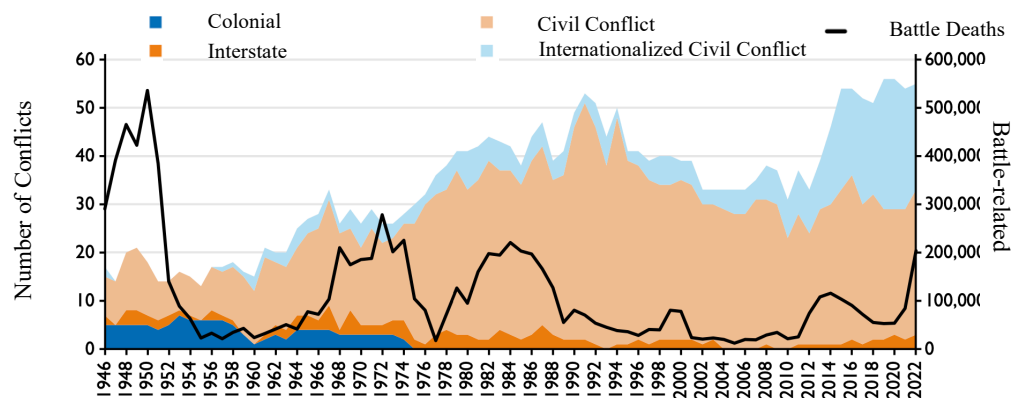
Figure 2: Perceptions that Influence Indonesia's Foreign Policy from a Deep Pluralism Approach



D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Current Condition of Global Order

Figure 3: Number of Conflicts and Casualties in Post-World War 2 Conflicts



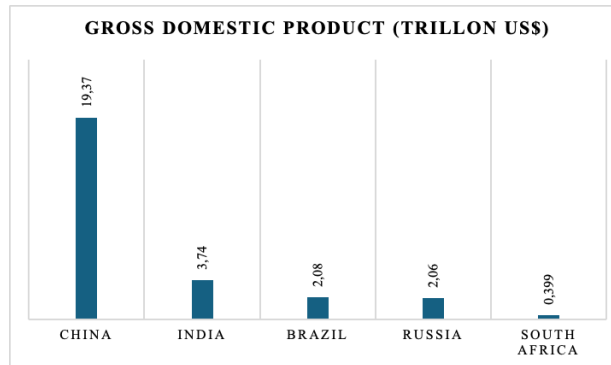
Source : (Obermeier & Rustad, 2023)

The global order that prevailed after the end of the Second World War was a Western-inspired and Western-created global governance (Mahbubani in Zhang & Buzan, 2022). This global governance has brought humanity to its lowest point in terms of the number of wars and conflicts between human beings, even the number of conflicts in the last 50 years has consistently decreased when compared to the reign of 1946 to 2022. In fact, the decade from 2000 to 2010 was the lowest decade of civilian casualties in wars and conflicts, although the number of civil conflicts and internationalized civil conflicts showed the highest number, as can be seen from Figure 3.

The decline in the number of wars and conflicts also affects Indonesia's perception in determining and formulating the direction of its foreign policy orientation. Geographical influences also determine the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy orientation in the context of conflict considerations, as the Southeast Asian region had a relatively low level of conflict after World War II. The Southeast Asian region is also undergoing changes that focus on the diffuse

distribution of power, wealth, cultural and political authority within a high capacity for interaction and interdependence in economic, cultural and environmental terms.

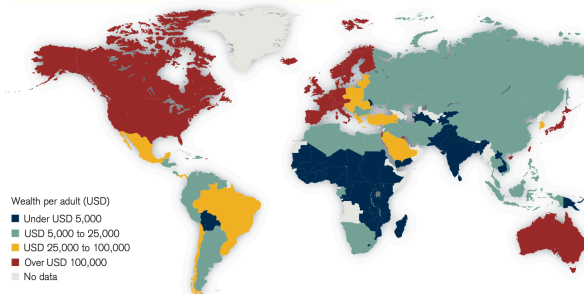
Figure 4: Gross Domestic Product of South Countries in 2023



Source : (Statistics Times, 2023)

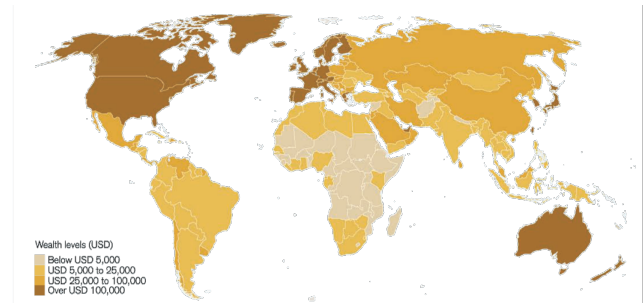
The shift of prosperity from the west to the global south is evidence that globalisation is driving the flow of wealth distribution, which was previously concentrated in the west and then spread to other regions (Sarangi, 2023). Developing countries that were previously economically dependent are emerging as economically advanced, such as China, which is impressing with double-digit growth, followed by the rise of India, Brazil, South Africa and Indonesia. Southern countries are no longer technologically and politically dependent on large countries. The shift in the level of prosperity of these southern countries can be seen in the distribution of wealth: the shift of semi-fairly countries towards the core (the case of China, Brazil and India) whose distribution maps can be seen in Figures 5 and 6

Figure 5: Income Distribution of Countries in the World in 2010



Source : (Suisse, 2010)

Figure 6: Income Distribution of Countries in the World in 2022



Source : (Credit Suisse, 2022)

In addition to the distribution of prosperity that leads to equality, the distribution of the power of countries also occurs (Global Fire Power, 2024). The emergence of countries other than the US in the constellation of global power, military power is not only a single factor, for example the US is starting to be matched by the military power of China and India. Table 1 shows a material comparison of the strength of China and the United States in 2023. In general, the United States is ranked first out of 145 countries in the world while China is ranked third out of 145 countries in the world in the context of material strength. This shows that the shift in material power is no longer focused on western countries but China as a new emerging power is a competitor to the United States in the context of economic, political and regional power.

Tabel 1 : Comparison of China and America's Material Strength in 2023

	China	Rank		United States
PwrIndx Score	0.0706	Rank 3	Rank 1	0.0699
Total Population	1.413.142.846	Rank 1	Rank 3	339.665.118
Available Man Power	763.097.137	Rank 1	Rank 3	146.452.652
Fit-for-Service	626.022.281	Rank 1	Rank 3	123.977.768
Active Personnel	2.035.000	Rank 1	Rank 3	1.328.000
Defense Budget	\$227.000.000.000	Rank 2	Rank 1	\$831.781.000.000
Total Aircraft Power	Rank 3		Rank 1	
Total Land Power	Rank 4		Rank 5	
Total Naval Power	Rank 2		Rank 4	
Logistics	Rank 12		Rank 1	
Total Rank	3 of 145		1 of 145	

Source : (Global Fire Power, 2024)

Indonesia Foreign Policy under Jokowi's Administration

GMF as foreign policy is a respond to the conditions of the regional system in the region, Indonesia promotes by valuing their own cultural distinctiveness as the main characteristic and basis in formulating the foreign policy agenda (Tapan, 2021). As Joko Widodo's reign was overshadowed by the existence of two forces influencing each other in the Indo-Pacific and uncertain regional conditions, he focuses on defence strategy, economic diplomacy and a distinctive foreign policy (Agastia & Perwita, 2015). An inward-looking approach, with all Indonesian policies aimed at optimising domestic interests, is the hallmark of Joko Widodo's grand strategy (Shekhar, 2018). Joko Widodo's inward-looking approach has been described by many as a maritime-regionalist-realist approach. Maritime defence and economic diplomacy are at the heart of his administration.

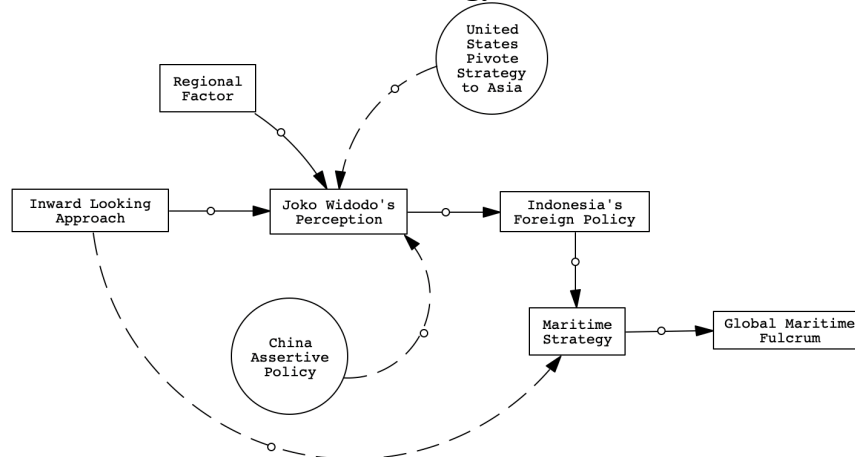
Indonesia's economic strength with a Gross Domestic Product of US\$3 trillion by 2023 and showing sustained annual growth of 5-6 per cent makes Indonesia a country with a rapidly growing middle class. Indonesia as a rapidly growing economy has Forex reserves of over US\$100 billion, has political stability, ambitious leadership, military modernisation, an assertive maritime strategy, an important geopolitical position and the largest democracy in the Muslim world, Indonesia presents itself as an emerging power during the first quarter of the 21st century.

In the context of inter-state relations, the consolidation of democracy has boosted the status of Indonesia's international image. Similarly, Indonesia's position as the largest Democracy in the Muslim world puts it in an important position as a voice of moderate democracy in the Muslim world and an important source of strength for the post-colonial global order. Indonesia's political geography has an amplifying effect on Indonesia's rise. It is the world's largest archipelago, and oversees maritime trade routes, which are critical lifelines for East Asian powers, such as China, Japan, and South Korea. Indonesia is the only Asian power to

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have set foot in both the Pacific and Indian Oceans, entitling it to play a leadership role in an expansive canvas that stretches from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of the Americas.

Figure 7: Joko Widodo's Perception in Developing the Global Maritime Fulcrum Strategy



During Joko Widodo's administration, superpower and anti-hegemonism considerations were strongly felt in the implementation of foreign policy. The hedging approach is taken by Indonesia as an effort to accommodate the balance of power and power in the region. Jokowi perceives the conditions of regional governance and domestic needs, so that the inward-looking approach is used as the main basis in formulating foreign policy. Deep pluralism views that the approach with the characteristics of a country as the main basis of foreign policy is the main policy agenda during the Joko Widodo administration due to domestic and regional political pressures.

Joko Widodo then saw that the presence of two large countries in Southeast Asia encouraged more adaptive policies that could bring Indonesia to remain a relevant major player in ASEAN through the initiation of the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific issued in 2019 (Anwar, 2020). Indonesia's efforts to remain a relevant actor in the constellation of power between the US and China in Southeast Asia. Joko Widodo is able to see Indonesia's potential as a maritime country to be the main basis of Indonesia's foreign policy (Cassidy et al., 2018). Through a maritime approach as a characteristic of Indonesia as an archipelagic country, Joko Widodo encouraged the implementation of maritime culture, maritime resources, maritime infrastructure and connectivity, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defence, which became known as the five main pillars of the world maritime axis.

Consensual Pluralism in Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum Policy

The Global Maritime Fulcrum policy under Joko Widodo's administration brings Indonesia a spirit of tolerance to material, cultural, ideological differences, respecting and even valuing differences between actors as an expression of diversity, which like biodiversity should be valued, and as a foundation for coexistence (Acharya & Buzan, 2019). This is in line with Indonesia's efforts to push the level of awareness of the reality that as a developing country we must realise the idea that common interests in dealing with the association are inevitable especially in a regional context.

Indonesia has forged a consensus of deep pluralism with its conscious policy choice of not only defining itself as a regional actor in the context of ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific through the initiation of the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (Anwar, 2020; Gill, 2023; Wulandari, 2021), but also through the spirit of no-superpowers and strong anti-hegemonism with the implementation of hedging in its foreign policy. To be able to maintain good relations with China and the United States as two actors who are competing in Southeast Asia. Apart from

these two countries, Indonesia also pays attention to and maintains strong relations with other countries, which shows that Indonesia is very pragmatic in implementing its foreign policy agenda.

The maritime characteristic in the implementation of the global maritime fulcrum is a reflection of strong preferences such as deep pluralism. In the context of regional stability, order and cultural stability, Indonesia under the Joko Widodo administration chose the maritime approach as its main characteristic as an attempt to demonstrate the preservation of its distinctive culture and politics from the encroachment of offensive western universalism. This feature shows that Joko Widodo's general characteristic of using the maritime approach also reflects a disoption of the hegemonic efforts of other great powers, showing Indonesia's freedom and independence in expressing its diversity and distinctiveness.

The global maritime fulcrum policy contains a free and active implementation to carry out maritime diplomacy (Cassidy et al., 2018). Free and active in the context of Indonesia's foreign policy refers to the view that each country is free to determine the direction of its foreign policy agenda without pressure from any party. This shows that Indonesia has implemented the value of anti-hegemonism, this feature is part of deep pluralism.

Indonesia has adopted an anti-hegemonic position since independence in 1945. Free and active has two dimensions for Indonesia, namely freedom and independence in determining the agenda and direction of policies to achieve national interests and negate claims of great power hegemony. Indonesia's history of opposing anti-hegemonic values has been further developed since the beginning of Indonesian independence with the initiation of holding the Asia-Africa conference to oppose the domination of power over south-south countries.

Another feature of deep pluralism in Indonesia's foreign policy agenda that is reflected in the global maritime fulcrum policy is solidarity with other developing countries. Indonesia has been the initiator as well as the founder of the non-aligned movement which has been an effort to gather solidarity with the south-south countries since April 1955, marked by the holding of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung (Wuryanto & Alrianingrum, 2017). Nevertheless, Indonesia continues to play a role in efforts to gather co-operation with developing countries through many forums including the establishment of ASEAN in 1967 of which Indonesia was one of the founders. Indonesia strongly supports the independence efforts of other colonized nations in the world and is active in establishing relations with other developing countries with the main objective towards developing countries being peace and development based on the principle of free and active, rather than support for revolution and war.

In the implementation of the global maritime fulcrum Indonesia is also pushing a vague notion of Asian regionalism. This idea also carries a strong synergy with anti-hegemonism, through the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific showing the efforts of Indonesia and ASEAN to remain relevant in the heated constellation in the Indo-Pacific, that the ASEAN Way is the 'rules of the game' in the Indo-Pacific region. Through ASEAN, Indonesia as the largest and most vulnerable region to the constellation of great powers shows that there is a serious effort to determine the rules in ASEAN.

The distinctive feature of Southeast Asian regionalism is that it has been led not by the big guys but by a regional organization made up of small and regional powers in a sub-region where the interests of the big powers intersect, namely ASEAN. This is above all because in a strategically important region where a large number of regional and extra-regional states interact in complex ways, ASEAN is the only entity acceptable to all to organize regional cooperation (Mahbubani et al., 2017). The multilateral institutional framework centered on ASEAN has been credited by many scholars and officials as a key contributor to regional stability and development in the post-Cold War era (Acharya, 2009). Indonesia recognizes the need to assuage regional suspicions about its power and intentions, and is happy to support and facilitate ASEAN leadership in regional cooperation. By doing so, Indonesia does not only

define its interests in terms of narrow self-interest but in the context of international and regional interests.

E. CONCLUSION

Deep pluralism describes the emergence of a new trend of global structures in which power, wealth, cultural and political authority are widely distributed and interconnected in a highly interdependent system in a globalised society. We have shown in this paper that Indonesia has significantly and continuously applied cultural characteristics in its foreign policy. Indonesia has consistently held post-cold war anti-hegemony values in its free and active foreign policy agenda, while also supporting economic globalisation that will ultimately contribute to reducing superpower dominance in the economic context.

In the context of global maritime policy, Indonesia's maritime diplomacy fulcrum shows Indonesia's efforts to use its cultural characteristics as the main foundation for determining its foreign policy. Indonesia through maritime policy shows solidarity with the third world and pursues regional cooperation and cohesiveness so as to determine the ASEAN Way in its efforts to interact in the region. Indonesia promoted solidarity with the developing world by pursuing economic cooperation with developing countries after the Cold War. It supported Southeast Asian regionalism since the 1950s and took concrete steps to support ASEAN-led regional cooperation since the 1990s, thus promoting regionalism as a common feature of deep pluralism. Indonesia, for the purpose of international peace and development in both regional and international contexts, it is important to promote a consensus form of deep pluralism in the Asian region, where its regional policies are entangled with those of the US and China while adopting a consistent strategy of reassurance towards its neighbors

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