

Indonesia's State Identity in Global Climate Governance

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Abstract: *At a time when the world's political and economic systems are changing and the global governance system is transforming, Indonesia has both the common identity characteristics of a developing country and a breakthrough in its pure developing country background. In global climate governance, it has shaped itself into a "maintainer" and "builder" at the domestic level, a "leader" and "coordinator" at the regional level, and an "innovator" and "connector" at the global level. This article explores what kind of identity cognition Indonesia has constructed in global climate governance, how it adjusts its multiple identities at the national, regional and global levels, and analyzes what kind of identity cognition plays a leading role in specific scenarios.*

Keywords: Indonesia; State Identity; Global Climate Governance.

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1. Introduction

As an emerging power in Southeast Asia, Indonesia has been expanding its international influence in recent years and has become an important participant in the field of climate governance in the region and even the world. Under the combined influence of its own economic and social transformation and changes in the international situation, Indonesia has taken participation in non-traditional security governance as an important strategic means to enhance its international status. In particular, during the Joko Widodo administration, it has achieved exemplary results in meteorological disaster prevention and control, energy green transformation, and climate multilateral cooperation, which has effectively promoted the innovation of climate governance mechanisms in the ASEAN region and the world. Indonesia's practice in global climate governance keeps pace with the development of the times and social reality, and has good research value. Therefore, this paper focuses on analyzing this issue, exploring what kind of identity cognition Indonesia has constructed in global climate governance, how it adjusts multiple identities at the national, regional and global levels, and what kind of identity cognition plays a leading role in specific scenarios. The purpose of this paper is to summarize Indonesia's historical experience in the field of global climate governance.

This study has both academic and practical significance. In terms of academic significance, this paper combs the research results of domestic and foreign scholars on Indonesia's participation in global climate governance, combines Indonesia's own identity cognition and strategic deployment for addressing climate change and environmental governance, enriches the academic case of Indonesian country research, supplements the academic community's lack of research on the identity, interests and behavior of developing countries in global governance, and provides a better explanation for the ever-changing reality of international relations, in line with the current international political reality of the accelerated evolution of the great changes that have not been seen in a century and the dynamic development of global governance entities. In terms of practical significance, it analyzes Indonesia's behavior and key directions in participating in global climate governance, and analyzes the motivations of the Joko Widodo government's climate policy adjustments at many levels such as politics, economy and ecological environment, which will help to fully and deeply understand Indonesia's identity cognition and interest preferences, further predict its future behavioral choices, and provide reference value for China-Indonesia climate cooperation projects and the development of bilateral relations. It helps developing countries maintain a more reasonable negotiating position and adopt more effective response strategies in global climate governance, and

provides intellectual support for deepening the global climate governance cooperation network.

2. Domestic Identity is the Basis of Indonesian Identity

Indonesia constructs its self-perception of its identity based on its own national characteristics. Other countries form expectations of its identity based on their judgment of Indonesia's international status. The country conducts diplomatic practice in the constant interaction between self-perception and the expectations of others. At the same time, Indonesia's multiple identity cognitions at different levels overlap and accommodate each other, forming a mutually constructed and complementary relationship, and domestic identity is the core and foundation of Indonesia's identity cognition.

2.1 Maintainer of the Domestic Environment

The "crossroads" of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. It is also an archipelago country. The ocean is crucial to Indonesia's future development, or in other words, the nation's prosperity and future will be closely related to the identification and development of the ocean. [1] The country's basic conditions and historical and cultural traditions have prompted Indonesia to attach importance to the ecological environment and rely on natural resources. Therefore, in terms of climate governance, Indonesia focuses on preventing and controlling meteorological disasters and stepping up environmental protection to cope with social problems such as water crisis, food crisis and climate refugees caused by climate change. Like all state actors, Indonesia's primary task is to protect its citizens and territory, and the construction of its identity cognition is based on this premise.

Indonesia's identity as a "defender" has two meanings. It is not only reflected in the need for the state to maintain a healthy balance of the ecology in the natural environment, but also in the need for the state to ensure the security and stability of the social environment. The two are interconnected and inclusive. As a tropical archipelago country prone to disasters such as tsunamis, typhoons and epidemics, Indonesia has an innate sense of crisis for natural environmental issues, attaches importance to the formulation of policies and regulations related to disaster prevention and control, and advocates joint response to risks through regional and international cooperation. If the various problems caused by global warming such as sea level rise, drought and floods cannot be controlled, the production and life of Indonesian citizens will not be guaranteed, which will bring great risks to social stability and even affect the legitimacy of the Indonesian government. In December 2015, Indonesia's permanent representative to the United Nations, Triyono Wibowo, explained Indonesia's policy on natural disaster response, pointing out that "all countries must incorporate disaster risk reduction and disaster management measures into their national construction frameworks and must have special disaster emergency response policies. There is indeed a problem of 'flexibility' in the guidance of international citizens in disaster-stricken countries, but local governments still need to ensure control over the guidance of international relief work." [2] This shows that Indonesia opposes undermining its sovereignty and dignity in the name of international relief, and hopes to consolidate its political authority by taking the lead in domestic climate disaster prevention and control affairs, which is enough to show that Indonesia cherishes the interests of the nation-state.

As a populous country and a developing power, Indonesia also attaches great importance to security and social order. Climate plays a fundamental role in the stability of the ecological environment. With the deepening of globalization, climate change will bring a series of secondary disasters and intertwine with non-traditional security issues such as transnational crime, terrorism, energy and food crises, becoming a new source of threat to national security and stability. In recent years, due to the deterioration of regional situation and water and food crises, the number of Middle Eastern refugees migrating to Indonesia has shown an upward trend, threatening Indonesia's national security and regional stability. As the "defender" of the domestic environment, Indonesia needs to actively perform the core functions of the state and strive to maintain domestic order and social security and stability. The development of state activities is subject to the public's expectations of its governance capabilities. The public always expects the state to assume a series of functions for their welfare, otherwise the legitimacy of the state will be questioned. [3] Therefore, during Joko's administration, political reform evolved towards pragmatic governance. On the basis of continuing the general direction of Indonesia's democratic political transformation, substantial progress has been made in institutional construction, party politics, anti-corruption construction, judicial reform, and central-local relations. This has provided a strong guarantee for the timely introduction and effective implementation of the country's climate policy and created a good policy and regulatory environment for

subsequent climate governance. The Jokowi government has also improved infrastructure conditions in areas such as mass transportation and clean energy through large-scale investment in green and low-carbon industries. For example, it plans to invest \$359.2 billion in infrastructure construction between 2020 and 2024. These projects not only improve the country's green and low-carbon development level, but also create a large number of jobs, while promoting sustainable economic development, indirectly reducing social conflicts. In addition, the Jokowi government attaches great importance to the health and safety of the country and citizens, especially for vulnerable groups. In the case of residents suffering from illness caused by haze and air pollution, the government has carried out relevant medical treatment and legal protection, increased investment in public services such as education and medical care, effectively improved people's quality of life, enhanced people's trust and support for the government, and further promoted social harmony and stability. The above comprehensive measures all reflect Indonesia's identity as a "defender" on domestic environmental issues.

Unlike the absolute attributes of power and status, the concept of national identity is inter-subjective, which means that identity only has meaning in an interactive relationship. The social constructivist theoretical paradigm represented by Alexander Wendt believes that the interaction between actors constructs the normative structure, the normative structure shapes the national identity, the national identity determines the national interest, and the national interest in turn determines the national behavior. [4] Therefore, the expectations and views of the international community on Indonesia will also affect the construction of Indonesia's identity. Indonesia is an outstanding representative of emerging middle powers. Naturally, it needs to give priority to handling basic domestic issues and be a "protector" of the domestic environment in order to win sufficient voice in international climate governance issues. At the same time, only by participating in the global climate governance process, expanding cooperation with other countries and international organizations, and jointly addressing these climate security issues can the security situation be improved and governance capacity strengthened, thereby ensuring the country's long-term stability. However, Indonesia still has heavy tasks in domestic governance such as poverty reduction, anti-corruption, and economic transformation. There is a misalignment between domestic governance capacity and global governance requirements, which also restricts the construction of Indonesia's identity. It can be seen that Indonesia's identity as a "protector" of the domestic environment in climate governance is based on both Indonesia's national consciousness and historical and cultural traditions, and is also a rational cognition based on realistic considerations. It is shaped and transformed in domestic and international interactions.

2.2 Builder of the Economic Society

At the beginning of his term, President Joko Widodo proposed the vision of "Global Ocean Fulcrum", aiming to use Indonesia's important geographical location to promote connectivity between archipelagos, develop marine economy, maintain marine security, conduct marine diplomacy, reshape regional marine order, become a marine power, and comprehensively enhance Indonesia's influence as a regional power and medium power. Indonesia's climate governance policy largely serves Indonesia's marine strategy. The sea level rise, sudden change in sea temperature, and marine water pollution caused by climate change are not conducive to Indonesia's development of marine economy. Therefore, the Joko Widodo government strives to promote marine economic cooperation through climate cooperation, reduce marine water pollution, and protect the interests of marine industries such as fisheries and shipping on which Indonesia depends for development. In addition, developing countries such as Indonesia have long been subject to Western developed countries in the world economic system. The history of marginalization has exacerbated Indonesia's insecurity about its own economic and trade development and industrial upgrading, which has also stimulated Indonesia to form its identity as a "builder" of its own economy and society.

In his first term, Jokowi launched an ambitious infrastructure development plan and attached importance to the development of clean energy industry and green economy, which was fully reflected in the National Medium-term Development Plan 2015-2019. Jokowi's vision, philosophy and program of governance are mainly summarized into nine priorities (called Nawacita). [5] These include reducing energy imports by improving oil and gas extraction, improving the efficiency of state-owned power companies, state-owned wind power and photovoltaic companies, vigorously developing renewable energy to achieve energy independence, and strengthening economic independence by developing domestic strategic industrial sectors. With the accumulation of governing experience and the increase of political pressure, Jokowi paid more attention to economic stability and efficient governance in his second term. In his inaugural speech in 2019, he put forward the vision of "Golden Indonesia 2045", that is, to promote Indonesia to become a high-income country in 2045, it is necessary to accelerate Indonesia's

modernization. [6] In the economic field, the strategic focus of the Jokowi government shifted from infrastructure construction to industrial upgrading and digitalization, reducing the proportion of high-pollution, high-energy consumption and high-emission industries in the national economic structure, and accelerating the process of green development. The air pollution problem in many major cities in Indonesia has not been improved for a long time, which has caused damage to people's health and the sustainable development of the country's economy. After his successful re-election, Joko Widodo began to implement his ambitious new capital construction plan, striving to build the new capital into a smart, green, sustainable modern city, alleviate the population pressure in Jakarta, and balance the development gap between regions in the country. [7] In order to support the promotion plan of new energy vehicles, the Joko Widodo government relaxed restrictions on the purchase and production of trams and provided financing support for tram consumers and producers. In addition, the government also issued Green Sukuk, which not only broadened the financing channels, but also promoted sustainable development, which was highly praised by the member countries of the Islamic Development Bank. [8]

Successive Indonesian governments have made economic development the primary goal of their national strategy, but unlike former President Susilo, the Jokowi government believes that it is urgent to promote national sustainable development and green economic transformation. It has formulated the "Green Planning and Fiscal Strategy to Support Sustainable Development in Indonesia 2015-2020", which aims to respond to the challenges brought by climate change and natural resource degradation through a set of sustainable policies. The strategy is centered on the green economy approach and focuses on mitigating and adapting to climate change and the coordinated development of the environment and the economy. Taking the governance of the "blue carbon" ecosystem as an example, in the past 50 years, nearly half of the mangroves in the Indonesian archipelago have disappeared and degraded due to aquaculture and coastal development. In 2017, the Jokowi government issued Presidential Decree No. 16 on Marine Policy, integrating blue carbon development into the key work plan for marine environmental protection. In 2020, the "National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024" (RPJMN) was issued, and projects such as "mangrove wetland restoration" "marine ecological ranch" and "offshore wind power photovoltaic" were vigorously carried out to protect marine ecological resources. [9] Indonesia has made full use of its national advantages and used marine activities or technical means to enable marine organisms to absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and fix it in the ocean, which can not only develop the marine economy but also achieve the goal of alleviating climate problems.

This series of policy changes reflects the Jokowi government's deepening understanding of its own economic structural problems and its keen grasp of the global low-carbon economic development trend. Although Indonesia has formed multiple complex identities in this process, certain identity characteristics will be given priority in specific scenarios, such as the "formulator" of domestic climate governance laws and policies or the "arbitrator" of climate issues and their secondary contradictions. These identities serve Indonesia's identity as a "builder" of national sustainable development and green transformation of economic structure. Through the performance of these functions, Indonesia has played an important role in promoting economic and social development. The identity of a "builder" of domestic economic green development has given Indonesia the motivation to actively participate in global climate governance and demonstrated the responsibility and commitment of an emerging power.

3. Regional Identity is the Pillar of Indonesian Identity

Indonesia's identity cognition not only includes the domestic identity cognition shared by all state actors, but also mainly manifests itself in its cognition of regional identity. National material conditions are the basic background or source for the formation and development of national identity. Therefore, Indonesia's identity needs to be discussed in the structural system first. Indonesia's strength is between global powers and small countries. It does not have an advantage in competing with traditional powers at the global level. The region where Indonesia is located has become the main place for Indonesia to participate in global climate governance. In order to gain regional leadership, Indonesia has constructed the identity cognition of a regional "power", which is synchronized with the process of its regional "power" identity status. On this basis, Indonesia further constructed the identity of a "leader" in regional development and a "coordinator" of regional issues, which has become an important pillar of Indonesia's identity cognition in global climate governance.

3.1 Leader in Regional Development

The realist theoretical paradigm emphasizes defining the status of a country by the power hierarchy and regards the international community under anarchy as a hierarchical society. Indonesia is a country whose national strength is between that of a big country and a small country, and is in the middle of the international system. [10] This makes Indonesia more inclined to construct an identity of “leader” at the regional level rather than the global level. In addition, since the security threat of climate issues is less than that of political and military issues, the advantages gained in the climate field are relatively difficult to transform into actual power or interests. Therefore, participation in global climate governance outside the domestic level is more out of moral norms rather than material interests. The most prominent manifestation is the pursuit of regional leadership. After the establishment of ASEAN in 1967, Indonesia gradually played a leading role in the Southeast Asian region. Indonesia has successively promoted ASEAN to issue the Kuala Lumpur Declaration in 1971, the Bali Agreement and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia in 1976. These three core legal documents have determined the common rules of conduct for ASEAN countries. The ASEAN Secretariat is located in Jakarta, Indonesia. The ASEAN Regional Forum, established in 1994, was also promoted by Indonesia to spread the “ASEAN Way” to the new Asia-Pacific regional security architecture. In 2003, Indonesia passed the Bali II Agreement under the auspices of Bali and officially launched the “ASEAN Security Community” plan. In 2007, the ASEAN Charter was passed, and Indonesia incorporated the concept of “norm shaping and sharing” it proposed. The above examples fully reflect Indonesia’s regional status, which is also the source of Indonesia’s recognition as a “leader” in regional green development.

The “leader” of regional green development has two meanings. First, Indonesia’s economic sustainable development level should be in a leading position in the region and play a leading role in the low-carbon transformation of industries. Second, Indonesia intends to spread the concept of green development and industrial transformation experience to regional countries and provide financial and technical assistance to other countries in the fields of clean energy development, low-carbon technology research and development, and ecological and environmental protection. Indonesia is rich in energy resources and is known as the “Tropical Treasure Island”. According to data from British Petroleum (hereinafter referred to as BP), as of 2021, Indonesia’s coal reserves are about 34.869 billion tons, oil reserves are about 2.4 billion barrels, and natural gas reserves are more than 1.3 trillion cubic meters, all ranking among the top five in the Asia-Pacific region. Affected by special geographical and climatic conditions, Indonesia’s renewable energy reserves are also diverse and large in size, with hydropower, geothermal energy and bioenergy ranking first in Southeast Asia. [11] However, as of October 2024, the country’s renewable energy resource utilization rate is only 0.3%, clean electricity accounts for a low proportion of the power structure, and half of its electricity generation still comes from coal-fired power. [12] The Jokowi government recognizes that the development of the clean power industry is an inevitable trend. It will transform the high-carbon structure of the energy industry, reduce energy dependence on foreign countries, fill the energy demand that has increased sharply due to economic and social development, ease the contradiction between development and environmental protection, and transform the country’s resource potential into a driving force for green economic development, which can form a demonstration effect in Southeast Asia. In addition, Indonesia, like many Southeast Asian countries, retains the extensive production model of “slash-and-burn farming”. As the world’s largest palm oil producer, its palm oil production in 2020 was about 48.3 million tons, accounting for about 44% of the world’s total. The growth in palm oil demand has stimulated deforestation and peatland development. About 90% of Southeast Asia’s peatlands are located in Indonesia, and peatland development emits a large amount of greenhouse gases. The Jokowi government realizes that poor governance of climate issues will affect Indonesia’s regional reputation, so it has established a relatively complete ecological protection mechanism and natural disaster emergency response mechanism. It has made outstanding contributions in the field of low-carbon environmental protection, and has actively imparted forestry resource management experience to other Southeast Asian countries with similar national conditions, and carried out exchanges and business training for experts and scholars.

As a regional “power”, Indonesia often regards itself as the “actual leader” of ASEAN. In recent years, its enthusiasm and motivation for participating in regional climate governance have gradually increased, attracting the attention and expectations of Southeast Asian countries. While promoting ASEAN to become a core role in regional climate governance, it is also striving to become a core role within ASEAN. By participating in global climate governance, Indonesia hopes to build itself into a “bridge” or “bond” for climate cooperation between the ASEAN region and the international community. For example, the Group of Twenty (G20) Ocean Conference initiated by the Joko Widodo government in 2018 further highlighted Indonesia’s leadership and sense of responsibility on the international stage by implementing action plans on ocean-related issues and actions to address climate change. Indonesia plays the role of “the de facto representative of the ASEAN Group” in the G20,

actively promoting the connection between the ASEAN and G20 cooperation agendas, and making important contributions to regional and global sustainable development and cooperation. The focus of Indonesia's foreign strategy is to truly become a regional leader by promoting middle power diplomacy, actively participating in international and regional cooperation mechanisms, and widely expanding the multilateral diplomatic stage. [13] Indonesia has actively promoted the renewal of its identity in global climate governance, transcending the ASEAN region as a "leader" and exerting its influence in a wider range of international occasions. With the improvement of its comprehensive strength and its increasing contribution to global climate governance, Indonesia's "leader" identity has been more widely recognized by the international community. By promoting climate diplomacy, it has connected the cooperation mechanisms at the global and regional levels, widely expanded the multilateral diplomatic stage, and effectively consolidated this identity.

3.2 Coordinator of Regional Issues

The international power distribution hierarchy system shapes the model, structure and priority agenda of global climate governance. The United States and Western developed countries still play a leading role in the operation of the global climate governance system. Indonesia, lacking the ability to effectively influence the practice of international institutions, focuses on regional climate governance. Although there is still a big gap between Indonesia and some countries in the region in terms of scientific and technological level and per capita GDP, Indonesia's performance in political and economic stability has made it a traditional regional power. It actively relies on ASEAN to mediate relations between member states and has established the identity of a "coordinator" in the Southeast Asian regional framework.

Its identity as a "coordinator" of regional issues has two meanings. First, transnational climate issues such as haze, exhaust gas, and wastewater require Indonesia, an influential country, to mediate. Second, the development of regional climate governance and green economic cooperation projects requires Indonesia to act as a coordinator to connect all parties and ensure the long-term operation of the mutual benefit and climate cooperation mechanism. Non-traditional security issues such as climate issues are complex and transnational, and it is difficult for a single country to effectively resolve them. As some scholars have pointed out, global and regional cooperation is the focus for Indonesia on non-traditional security issues. [14] The Jokowi government also recognizes that, based on Indonesia's current reality, the use of "power diplomacy" may be counterproductive, not only damaging Indonesia's status as a regional power, but also undermining ASEAN's unity and stability. To this end, Indonesia actively participates in regional climate cooperation mechanisms and promotes the establishment of a meteorological disaster prevention and safety mechanism to deal with transnational climate issues. These measures have enhanced Indonesia's voice in regional climate governance affairs. In 2023, when Indonesia serves as the rotating chair of ASEAN, it will propose the theme of "hoping that ASEAN will become a regional and world economic growth center" to promote ASEAN cooperation in the three major areas of economy, political security, and social culture. [15] Indonesia has vigorously advocated the development of a green economy in Southeast Asia and strengthened cooperation in the construction of clean energy infrastructure, such as cross-border investment in green power grids, hydropower stations, wind power and photovoltaic projects. On the issue of forest clearing leading to wildfires and haze, Indonesia has played an important role in mediation within the ASEAN framework. On the basis of signing the ASEAN Transboundary Haze Pollution Agreement, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and other major stakeholders have resolved disputes through dialogue and consultation, promoted the improvement of the climate governance mechanism in the ASEAN region, and maintained the unity among member states.

Indonesia has also long been committed to promoting ASEAN regional integration through the climate agenda, mainly through the following ways: promoting the establishment of ASEAN climate governance principles and mechanisms, and integrating green development concepts and environmental protection ideas into them, laying the foundation for ASEAN's stability and development; mediating internal conflicts in ASEAN, using the "ASEAN way" to coordinate relations among member states, and mediating climate disputes within ASEAN. For example, Indonesia has actively carried out diplomatic actions to prevent the "politicization" and "securitization" of the Mekong River water resources issue; promoting regional cooperation and maintaining ASEAN's prosperity and stability. The implementation of the "ASEAN Connectivity Master Plan 2025" has strengthened the circulation of energy-saving technologies and green funds within ASEAN, accelerating the process of regional integration. Coordinating ASEAN's relations with external powers. Indonesia has established a climate cooperation partnership with major powers, which will help Indonesia act as a "coordinator" between ASEAN and major powers outside the region and ensure ASEAN's independence and central position; promoting the implementation of the "ASEAN Indo-Pacific Outlook", adding content to climate security cooperation, and elevating it to the mainstream framework status of regional cooperation. Through these means, Indonesia has made important

contributions to ASEAN's stability, development and international status, provided important impetus and support for achieving regional and global sustainable development goals, and effectively consolidated its identity as a "coordinator" in regional climate issues.

Although Indonesia naturally has different identity perceptions in an anarchic international system and at the domestic level with supreme sovereignty, the identity perceptions at different levels will, to some extent, present common or similar identity characteristics. Indonesia's identity perception as a "coordinator" of regional issues can be seen as an extension of Indonesia's identity perception as a "maintainer" of the domestic environment in a broader space. In January 2018, Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi said at her annual press conference: "Faced with changes in regional and global geopolitics, Indonesia will continue to play a prominent role in the regional architecture together with other Southeast Asian countries located at the intersection of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean." "Indonesia wants to build a peaceful, stable and prosperous ecosystem not only in ASEAN, but also in the Indian Ocean and Pacific coast or the Indo-Pacific region." [16] This means that the connotation of Indonesia's regional perspective is constantly expanding, and its identity perception as a "coordinator" of regional climate issues is also developing.

4. Global Identity is the Extension of Indonesian Identity Cognition

Indonesia's identity recognition at the global level is the result of multiple factors, including the self-positioning of domestic political elites, the construction of diplomatic discourse, and interaction with the international community. Although the international community more generally regards Indonesia as a medium-sized power, Indonesia still projects its "great power dream" into the construction of its identity recognition at the global level, becoming an "innovator" in promoting the healthy development of the global climate governance system and a "connector" of the global climate cooperation network.

4.1 Innovator in Global Governance

As the leader of ASEAN, Indonesia has actively integrated into the global governance process in recent years and has become an outstanding representative of emerging economies participating in global climate governance. The international community praises emerging countries with titles such as the "Prospect Five" "Civet Six" "Vitamin Seven" "High Growth Eight" "New Diamond Eleven" and "G20", all of which include Indonesia. In the "Index of State Participation in Global Governance" (SPIGG), which aims to examine the participation of countries in global governance, Indonesia ranks 14th in the world. This means that Indonesia is not only a "bearer" of global climate governance responsibilities, but also an "innovator" of the global governance system. Its contribution to the global climate governance mechanism is mainly reflected in its innovative proposals and unique positions, and has led to profound changes in the old unfair and unreasonable global climate governance system.

Climate diplomacy strategy of the Jokowi government has gradually shifted from focusing on the region to the world. In the early days of his administration, Jokowi proposed the vision of a "global ocean fulcrum", emphasizing Indonesia's identity as a maritime power and actively participating in global affairs. However, with the changes in the international situation, especially the intensification of strategic competition between China and the United States, the United States has promoted confrontational and exclusive climate politics to maintain its world hegemony. Its politicians have attempted to "securitize" climate issues and undermine the global coordination mechanism, which has further exposed the defects of global climate governance and highlighted the fragmentation trend of the climate governance mechanism. The international community urgently needs to improve the global climate governance system. In response to the call of international public opinion, the Jokowi government actively promoted cooperation among "global South" countries during Indonesia's presidency of the G20 in 2022. The G20 is regarded by Indonesia as the main stage for playing a global role. Indonesia's goal is not only to represent ASEAN, but also to represent the entire developing world. [17] Indonesia's diplomatic space in global climate governance has been significantly expanded. It will adhere to multilateralism and regard international cooperation on climate change as a common cause of mankind. It will use multilateral platforms to make its voice heard and strive for its international discourse power. As the rotating chair of the G20 and a member of the Climate Vulnerable Forum (CVF), Indonesia has enhanced the voice of the "global South" countries through climate governance, strived for a balance of interests in international climate negotiations, and safeguarded the rights and interests of developing countries in climate governance. At the 29th United Nations Climate Change Conference, Indonesia called for fairer collective action to address the challenges of climate change, promoted discussions on climate adaptation funds and compensation for losses and damages, and ensured that climate issues were taken seriously in international negotiations. After joining the BRICS in 2025, Indonesia, together with Brazil

and South Africa, proposed a “climate debt swap plan” to allow high-debt developing countries to repay foreign debts with rainforest protection and renewable energy projects, and obtain infrastructure investment through the BRICS mechanism to support energy transformation. For example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo obtained a \$2 billion debt relief guaranteed by Indonesia by protecting 100,000 hectares of rainforest, promoting the reform of the international financial system and climate policy coordination, and creating a new model of South-South cooperation.

The Jokowi government relies on a set of climate governance concepts, mechanisms and models to deal with the global climate crisis. It advocates the establishment of a fair and just world order, advocates that the United Nations plays an important role in maintaining the global natural environment and promoting green and low-carbon development, and hopes to strengthen the United Nations system and promote it to solve global climate problems on the basis of effective and reasonable multilateralism. For existing international climate governance institutions, Indonesia calls for all-round and multi-level reforms to reflect the principles of comprehensiveness, transparency, inclusiveness and balance, increase the representation and voice of developing countries at the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and increase the power of developing countries in climate governance institutions such as the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). These changes show that the Jokowi government is working hard to shape Indonesia into a representative of developing countries participating in global climate governance, and has shown the identity characteristics of an “innovator” in the global environmental protection industry, green economy and climate politics, which will help Indonesia seek greater strategic space and voice in an increasingly complex international environment.

4.2 Contact of the Collaboration Network

As the only G20 member of ASEAN, Indonesia’s unique position in regional and international affairs enables it to effectively bring ASEAN’s concerns and priorities into discussions on the global climate governance platform. Through its “liaison” status, Indonesia has not only promoted the expression of interests of ASEAN countries on a broader international platform, but also promoted dialogue and cooperation among developing countries. President Joko Widodo first expressed the concept of “Global Ocean Fulcrum” to the international community at the East Asia Summit, and then passed Presidential Decree No. 16 in 2017 to legalize the concept of “Global Ocean Fulcrum”. In fact, it is also intended to compile a global climate governance cooperation network centered on the country’s marine strategy, promote Indonesia’s complementary climate cooperation relationship with other countries in the world, and grow from a developing regional power to a major power with global influence.

Indonesia’s identity as a “liaison” in the global climate governance cooperation network has three meanings. First, it is a liaison between the regional organization ASEAN and other international organizations in the world, playing a role in connecting cooperation mechanisms and initiatives; second, it is a communicator in the “North-South Dialogue”. Indonesia’s strong comprehensive national strength is also regarded as a target for cooperation by developed countries, and Indonesia can also convey the voices of the majority of developing countries; third, it is an advocate of “South-South cooperation”. By building a platform for climate governance and green economic cooperation, it gradually alleviates the obstacles to cooperation caused by differences in national conditions in developing countries. Indonesia has ratified almost all treaties related to the environment and climate change, including the Vienna Convention, the Montreal Protocol, the Kyoto Protocol and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and actively participated in climate change negotiations. Indonesia’s attitude has also changed from the tough position that “climate change is entirely the responsibility of developed countries” to “environmental protection can be coordinated with economic development”, which has won the respect and recognition of the international community, helping it to play the role of a “liaison”.

The initiator of the “Bali Roadmap” resolution, Indonesia urged the international community to jointly address the problem of global warming, strengthen actions to implement the Climate Convention, and proposed that developed and developing countries reach a consensus to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The Jokowi government actively promoted the implementation of the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities”, emphasized the historical responsibility of developed countries, sought financial support from developed countries for low-carbon technology cooperation, advocated voluntary emission reduction by developing countries and enhanced the “mitigation” and “adaptation” capabilities of developing countries. Indonesia took good international citizenship, supported multilateralism, and was recognized by other countries as a supporter of the current international order. [18] Indonesia’s actions to make friends with “clean energy partners” “green development partners” and “environmental governance partners” have also enhanced Indonesia’s soft power. Indonesian scholar Adumali

Kisma believes that by hosting international conferences and promoting the global governance process of developing countries, Indonesia can expect to play a more important role in international affairs. [19] At the 2015 Paris Climate Conference, President Joko Widodo pointed out that Indonesia plays the role of “the heart of the world” based on the country’s forest resources. In the future, it will effectively manage its land and forests and contribute to the protection of the world’s environment. In 2016, the Indonesian Parliament approved joining the Paris Agreement, supporting all countries to control global temperatures to 2°C above pre-industrial temperatures. In 2021, Joko Widodo reiterated Indonesia’s commitment to working for the global public interest and making green economy and sustainable development a priority. [20] As the rotating chair of the G20 in 2022, Joko Widodo once again proposed making “inclusive and sustainable green economy” one of the priorities of the G20 agenda, and pledged to work for the welfare of all countries. [21]

Has effectively constructed the identity of a “connector” in the climate governance network at the global level, and has won more voice and interest balance for the “global South” countries. However, different political forces in Indonesia have different or even conflicting policy views on participating in global climate governance based on their own ideological orientations and interests. Generally, citizens in developing countries are more worried about the adverse impact of globalization on their lives, and they are not sure that they will benefit from globalization. [22] In addition, there is sometimes a conflict between national interests and international responsibilities. Amitav Acharya pointed out that Asian powers are eager to be treated as global powers and receive corresponding treatment, but they are hesitant to participate in global governance and have limited contributions. The two constitute a seemingly contradictory contradiction. [23] This shows that Indonesia’s identity cognition construction as a “connector” in the global climate governance network is restricted by both internal political factors and external system factors. This identity cognition will also lead to diverse specific practices.

5. Conclusions

On the issue of global climate governance, Indonesia’s multiple identity construction is reflected in its different climate governance roles at different levels. By sorting out its policy practices and international interactions, Indonesia’s identity cognition in global climate governance can be summarized into the following three key dimensions. (I) At the domestic level, the core function of the state is to maintain order and security and promote economic and social development. At this time, Indonesia’s identity includes the “maintainer” of a good environment and social order, the “protector” of the health and safety of the state and citizens, the “builder” of national sustainable development and green economic transformation, the “formulator” of domestic climate governance laws and policies, and the “arbitrator” of a series of social problems caused by climate issues. (II) At the regional level, Indonesia is an “advocate” of regional climate governance multilateral mechanisms, a “promoter” of regional integration through cooperation on climate issues, a “promoter” of shared concepts such as green and low-carbon development, and a “model” of promoting the transformation of an economic structure dominated by high-emission industries and an energy structure dominated by fossil fuels. (III) At the global level, Indonesia is a “supporter” of the multipolarization of the climate governance system, a “bearer” of global energy conservation and emission reduction responsibilities, a “promoter” of international norms such as the Paris Climate Convention, a “balancer” of international climate disputes, and an “innovator” in promoting a more just and reasonable global climate governance mechanism.

In the complex landscape of global climate governance, Indonesia’s national identity presents distinct multidimensional characteristics. The construction of this identity cognition is rooted in its unique geographical environment and resource endowment, and also deeply reflects the strategic balance between climate justice and development rights in the global South. As the world’s largest archipelago country, an important preserver of tropical rainforests and a supplier of key minerals, Indonesia’s climate governance path carries the dual mission of local development and global responsibility.

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