

Unpacking Indonesia's Cultural Diplomacy: Potentials and Challenges

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Abstract

Cultural diplomacy is an influential element of soft power. The concept covers a wide range of activities that aim to promote national interests through strengthening relationships and enhancing socio-cultural cooperation among countries. Cultural diplomacy is built upon the culture, identity, and values of the country. As government apparatuses often activate cultural diplomacy, it is civil society that plays the most prominent role. This study takes Indonesia's diplomacy as a case study to highlight the importance of cultural diplomacy as a soft power instrument. The study seeks to identify the challenges in the creation of a grand narrative of Indonesia's cultural diplomacy. Finally, the study argues that in the age of globalization in which the world is moving toward a global culture, Indonesia's cultural diplomacy concept that is rotating around its unique culture, identity and values needs to be reassessed to not only contain unique Indonesian cultural products, but also contain the spirit of the culture, values, and traditions of the Indonesian people who have sustained the unity of Indonesia.

Keywords: Cultural Diplomacy; Soft Power; Indonesia

Abbreviations:

CD	:	Cultural Diplomacy
US	:	United States
MOFA	:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Program
SDGs	:	Sustainable Development Goals
USSR	:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USIA	:	United States Information Agency
MEC	:	Ministry of Education and Culture
RBI	:	Rumah Budaya Indonesia
ASEAN	:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
MT	:	Ministry of Tourism
IGA	:	Indonesian Gastronomy Association

1. Introduction

Cultural diplomacy (CD) is the broad suite of state and non-state actors' activities in enhancing socio-cultural cooperation and sustaining beneficial reciprocal relationships with other countries' civil society. The main objective of CD is to promote national interests. CD's importance is also to strengthen relationships and develop interdependency among countries and to create neutral ground for reconciliation when diplomatic channels are constrained.

CD is understood as a subset, a linchpin, or public diplomacy dimension that plays in the low political arena [1] [2]. Ordeix-Rigo and Duarte [2] understand CD as the core of public diplomacy. The notion of public diplomacy itself refers to a more citizen-oriented form of diplomacy that targets more than just governments of other countries, but diverse audiences on a national and global level [3]. Concerning soft power, public diplomacy is conceptualized as an instrument of soft power [4], the nearest theory to soft power theory [5], or overlap and interchangeable with the concept of soft power [6]. According to Nye [7], soft power refers to power that originates mainly from culture, values, and policies, exercising its influence through attraction and persuasion, rather than by coercion as is the case with the contrasting concept of so-called hard power. Thus, following Nye [4] soft power theory is defined as 'the power of attraction' to obtain desired behavioral outcomes, in which the cultural diplomacy concept can be located as a soft power mechanism due to its role as an attractor.

On CD as a working concept of soft power, Chitty [6] argues that soft types of public diplomacy, such as culture, can generate high soft power responses with the public by winning the hearts, minds, and appetite of policy opponents. In a similar vein, Hayden [5] suggests that external influence is the main result of soft power; further, persuasion and other symbolic activity can have a tangible effect on the target. Hence, CD within the concept of public diplomacy leverages soft power assets that allow agents to persuade a target to perform desired behaviours.

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In a different setting, such as in a crisis, CD can be a beneficial weapon to win other countries' sympathy. Countries with a strong positive image of others will likely benefit from the strong bond of amicable relationships even though they do not form a formal security alliance. An example of the situation is the situation during the COVID-19 pandemic. In the early stages of the pandemic, supplies and demands for medical equipment and drugs were imbalanced, with countries competing to obtain the products. South Korea was one country that claimed it would prioritize Indonesia, along with the UAE and the US for its medical supplies due to the good bilateral relationships [8]. Similarly, Japan, the producer of the drug Avigan, decided to prioritize Indonesia, Turkey, and Germany to receive its first delivery of free Avigan flu drug [9]. Several months into the pandemic, a few countries started to complete COVID-19 vaccine research. China, has used its Sinovac vaccine as a diplomatic tool by prioritizing Indonesia, the Philippine, Brazil, Pakistan, and Russia to receive the product [10]. Even though the end of the COVID-19 pandemic is still hard to predict with unforeseen development regarding diplomacy, alliances, and competition among countries in beating the global health crisis, these situations show the power of engagement and alliance-making that relies on soft power, rather than hard power, to win over other countries during a crisis. Soft power relies on harmony and peace to be effective; in practice, CD generates good impressions, positive images, and friendliness that support the sustainability of peace.

Indonesia, in the above cases, is clearly the target. However, is Indonesia, a player in the use of soft power? According to the Soft Power Index in Asia, Indonesia is ranked in ninth position, far below Japan in the first rank and other Southeast Asian countries [11]. The case of Indonesia's position as a target of soft power during the COVID-19 crisis and Indonesia's soft power index ranking shows that Indonesia is an attractive potential ally for many countries, but has not yet unlocked its soft power capacity. This paper argues that Indonesia's weak soft power is due to the lack of focus in CD as an Indonesian diplomatic instrument.

Given the CD objectives and the importance of having a narrative to be projected to global audiences, the study will answer the question of "What are the challenges of creating a grand narrative of the state's CD concerning its soft power function?". This study analyses the problem with regards to Indonesian CD.

In organizing the discussion, this study starts with identifying the foundations of CD to understand its origin and what is entailed in its principles. Next, the paper looks at Indonesia's CD in its soft power function to illustrate its challenges in the age of globalization. Finally, the study concludes that for a country rich in culture, with strong collective identity and indigenous values, Indonesia has not maximally ventured into CD as a vehicle to gain power in the global public. To be able to do so with long term effect, Indonesia needs to recognize and promote its narrative and use it to respond to the current global problems so that Indonesia can appeal to global audiences as a relevant country.

2. Resources and Dimensions of Cultural Diplomacy

Culture, identity, and value are resources of CD. The notion is, perhaps, connected to Lapid & Kratochwil's argument that since the early 1990's, culture and identity have become essential concepts in international relations [12]. The importance of identity and culture, in addition to values as a resource of CD, is also highlighted by the United States in the post 9/11 period in its search for new avenues in diplomatic strategy [5]. How do the three entities become core sources of CD principles?

2.1. Culture and cultural pertinence

Obviously, culture is a source of CD since cultural attractiveness forms the core of efforts to win the heart of the target's public. By definition, culture is "a passed-down complex concept relayed from generation to generation in a community of a series of values, sentiments, tradition, norms, perceptions, and symbols" [13]. Thus, culture is a vague web or system embedded in a community and drawing people from other communities closer due to its uniqueness or attractiveness. Hence, cultural attractiveness is the heart of such a system, and its sustainability is maintained and capitalized-on by cultural industries. Culture, nevertheless, is an active process and not a static situation. In this sense, culture evolves, interacts with other cultures, and shapes into new forms. Most of the time, the evolving culture responds to people's interests; what attracts people becomes the direction of evolution. The situation allows the growth of cultural industries seeking to attract people to the new-formed culture.

Nevertheless, Ang et al. [3] suggest that cultural attractiveness alone does not signify soft power. Culture can be an effective soft power resource only when elaborated strategically in a clear policy objective connected with the nation's interests. As an example of the precise objective, US cultural diplomacy utilizes national culture to build a positive image that enhances national security and helps the nation's international standing [1].

South Korea is one country that benefits from culture in attracting the global public. The core of its cultural diplomacy is in its pop culture industries known as Korean Wave or Hallyu. Korean Wave refers to Korean domestic pop culture industries' strategic marketing to win the global market and audiences. Korean popular music, known as K-pop, and Korean movies and soap operas are the machines behind the industry. Activated by the private sector and civil society, the South Korean government acts as the backer and beneficiary. Kim and Jin [14] argue that since Kim Dae-Jung's presidency in 1998, the state has actively utilized the Korean Wave industries as a soft power instrument by gradually assisting its development with policies, financial aid, and institutional support on the rational basis that the industry is supporting the growth of the national economy. In addition,

the national economy, supported by cultural diplomacy, works as both the country's hard power and soft power.

Another example is the case of Japan. Due to its pacifist constitution, Japan is limited in its exercise of hard power and should use soft power as its main influencing power, rather than as an alternative or supplementary resource. Culture, both traditional and popular, are resources of Japan's soft power to accommodate Japan's foreign policy objectives. The job to promote Japan's attractiveness lies in two agencies: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Japan Foundation. The Japan Foundation was established in 1972 firstly to counter anti-Japan movements in the US and Southeast Asian countries in the 1970s [15]. After Japan's government launched the Council on the Promotion of Cultural Diplomacy in 2004, the Japan Foundation has operated Japan's cultural diplomacy using strategy and policy set by MOFA. The strategy includes the promotion of Japanese cultural values and cultural products, as well as the promotion of Japanese manga/animation, fashion, and popular culture industries that are branded as Cool Japan. While previously, the Japanese language was not a part of the Cool Japan strategy, in 2011, the Japanese language was added as an element of Japan's soft power. On the contrary, Hashimoto [16] argues that Japan's rhetoric that foreigners want to learn the Japanese language just because of their interest in anime or manga is invalid and has produced confusion and misconceptions towards the Japanese language in the soft power context.

2.2. Identity matters

Identity is a source of CD through the accentuation of collective and shared identity. CD highlights collective identity to appeal to the global public based on the notion that people identify themselves with a group based on their perceived sameness. By definition, collective identity is the commonness in aspirations among people that encourage a shared feeling of being in a group. Mutual identification of peoples is what forms a collective identity [17]. Karowleski [18] emphasizes the function of many individuals' shared aspirations to support a group's general commitment. Thus, collective identity is useful in leveraging the influence of one entity to people in a group.

Collective identity can be used either to consolidate the domestic public under the frame of national interest or call for solidarity to the global public. In the global world, collective identity generates sympathy, understanding, and comradeship to a nation-state from other countries' civil societies. Identity is an important perspective used by international relations analysts in re-reading a state or a system because interests depend on conceptions of identity [12]. Berenskoetter highlights that identity goes both ways; on the one hand, identity perspective helps to explain the causes of war that is rooted on contested collective identities such as nationalism; on the other hand, identity perspective helps to form the conditions for peace because collective identities endorse peaceful relations between states [12].

Reich and Lebow [19] emphasize the importance of common identities based on shared values, to support an effective persuasion that allows an actor to influence others to cooperate. In this sense, framing a collective identity in CD will attract camaraderie from other countries' civil society beyond their national border and national interests.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is one example of the use of identity –religious identity– to promote its CD. Feizi and Talebi argue that Iran relies on common bonds for a deeper spiritual and moral connection with its target audience [20]. Russia also used a collective identity to rebuild a relationship with Ukraine before the 2014 Ukrainian crisis. Aiming to win Ukraine as an ally, Russia nurtured a notion of a 'Russian world' or a Russian-centric community using the identity markers of Russian language, culture, and glorious past [21]. The two countries have had limited success in using identity to attract people's solidarity from their targeting countries, before peaceful relations ended in bloody conflicts in 2014.

2.3. Domestic Values as a source

Values are deeply connected to culture, as they are the heart of a culture. If the practical level of culture is art and customs, values are the philosophical entity that fuel the beliefs and motivation. How values work in cultural diplomacy is connected with the power of influence to shape the targets' concerted narrative. The public's accepted values are acknowledged as successful when, as Nye suggests that "in today's information age, success is the result not merely of whose army wins but also of whose story wins [4]." A framed-story with an inserted value accepted by the global public is perceived as a success in diplomacy.

European countries were the forerunners of using CD to promote their values. The British established the British Council in 1935, France created a commission for French action and information abroad in 1936. The Nazi party also notoriously used CD to disseminate its ideology [2]. Nevertheless, it was the Soviet Union/ USSR that most strategically and effectively using CD to promote its ideology abroad. Both the Soviet Union and its allies used CD to challenge the US and its allies during the cold war in their values contestations.

The US uses its values, in the form of democracy, as a resource of cultural diplomacy. The United States Information Agency (USIA) worked to combat Soviet values under the motto "telling America's story to the world." Later on, the US promoted democracy through its popular culture to forge relations with the global public. Schneider argues that even though the US CD is uncoordinated by the nation-state and relies more on US popular culture's free-market distribution, US popular culture has still helped restore the US reputation concerning the War on Terror in high politics [3].

Another example is Japan's enthusiasm for advocating Human Security by adapting it as a core value in foreign policy and diplomacy. Human Security was first introduced in 1994 by the United Nations Development Program

(UNDP), and since 1998 Japan has been promoting the Human Security concept globally, as a working approach to achieving peace. Japan found an affinity for Human Security within Japan's constitution and the Japanese people-centered spirit [30]. In total, since the Keizo Obuchi administration, eleven prime ministers have taken turns to disseminate and practice the value through diplomatic channels, ranging from providing trust funds to education. Peace as the essence of Human Security was declared as a global goal that manifested in a consensus, namely the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), 2015-2030. Hence, Japan's ideation of Human Security has become one of the mainstream agendas on the global stage, like the concept of democracy, to be used in analyzing and measuring development in the world. Japan's success in identifying Human Security as a Japanese value measures the success of its public diplomacy, more so when the Human Security paradigm positively resonates with the targets in the SDGs [31].

3. Indonesia's Cultural Diplomacy

As a country with 714 ethnic groups, Indonesia is rich in culture, identities, and indigenous values. Unfortunately, the Indonesian government has not fully exploited culture as the main instrument for advocating national interests. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) conducts CD in Indonesia's diplomatic strategy as part of the Public Diplomacy agency's activities. MOFA uses public diplomacy as a tool to engage the global public and win the global audience's hearts and minds. Such soft power will be tested when the global public associates with Indonesia during a rift in the international stage.* Unfortunately, Indonesia does not yet have a blueprint or grand strategy for the planning and execution of Public Diplomacy in promoting values and messages to the public. Also, MOFA's Strategic Objectives 2015-2019 does not mention cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy, instead highlighting maritime diplomacy and economic diplomacy.

3.1. MOFA on Indonesia's public diplomacy

Rather than focusing on CD, MOFA focuses more on public diplomacy, with the means of multilateral dialogues and global forums, to paint a desirable image of Indonesia as a democratic and tolerant country. The role of MOFA in such international meetings is to be the facilitator while civil society conducts the activities. Civil society is given arenas to share best practices on specific issues with other countries' civil societies, such as the Bali Democracy Forum, Interfaith Dialogues, and the like. On CD, MOFA's celebrated program is a scholarship for overseas students to study Indonesian culture, namely *Beasiswa Seni dan Budaya* (the Indonesian

art and cultural scholarship). From 2003 to 2019, the scholarship graduated 920 alumni from 77 countries. In 2019, Indonesia granted the scholarship to 72 students, 6 from Indonesia and 71 others from 39 countries. The students will study for three months in six cities learning dancing, music, local cultures, and the Indonesian language. The six cities are Yogyakarta (Javanese culture), Banyuwangi (Using culture), Bali (Balinese culture), Padang (Minangkabau culture), Makassar (Mandar and Toraja culture), and Kutai Kertanegara (Dayak and Malay culture). In the last five years, MOFA also introduced Indonesian popular culture to build modern Indonesia's image by holding Jazz events, Batik or Muslim clothing fashion shows, public lectures of young entrepreneurs, movie screenings, and joining international book fairs, among others. Still, Indonesia's rich cultures, identities, and original values have not yet been carefully packaged to attract global affiliates.

3.2. Other agencies of Indonesia's CD

MOFA is not the only cultural diplomacy agency of Indonesia as other ministries also undertake activities. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) carries out CD by establishing *Rumah Budaya Indonesia* (RBI, Indonesia Cultural Center) with 29 Indonesian representatives abroad. As stated in the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 99/2014, the RBI's objective is to support Indonesian cultural diplomacy overseas. RBI promotes Indonesian art such as artifacts, painting, performing arts, literary arts, new media arts, traditional clothing, culinary, film, and other cultural products [22]. MEC is also targeting the promotion of the Indonesian language as a *lingua franca* in the ASEAN region. Up until 2017, MEC reports eight countries in ASEAN have been teaching Indonesian in their national curriculum, and around 3000 non-Indonesians are Indonesian speakers in ASEAN (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018). In coordination with MOFA, MEC is on preparation to erect a statue of the first president of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno, in Mexico City in 2019. The plan, though, is an answer to the request of the mayor of Mexico City, which is also an example of CD to promote Indonesian values. Another agency that conducts CD is the Ministry of Tourism (MoT) through culinary diplomacy and coffee diplomacy to promote Indonesia as a tourist destination. The MoT learns from Thailand's successful promotion of "the Kitchen of the World" as a model to promote Indonesian culinary heritage. Indonesia takes three strategies to activate Indonesia's culinary diplomacy: deciding the national dishes, establishing culinary destinations, and promoting Indonesian restaurants abroad.

* Interview to Mr. Azis Nurwahyudi, the Director of Public Diplomacy, the MOFA of Indonesia, September 29, 2018.

3.3. Indonesia's CD effectiveness

Even though several ministries are actively conducting Indonesia CD, the effectiveness of the activity is ambiguous. This has resulted in Indonesia's unflattering profile in international media, such as depicting Indonesia's limited freedom of the press despite Indonesia becoming one of the world's largest democracy and one of the world's major emerging economies [23]. Moreover, the absence of a diplomacy blueprint has caused the unfocused diplomacy strategy more broadly. In practice, it is up to the creativity of diplomats in Indonesian consulates abroad to carry out CD.† Moreover, when various ministries tackle CD, it is done with limited or almost no coordination with MOFA and has often created tensions between the agencies.‡ Examples of such cases included the Tourism Ministry's decision to connect with the Vatican to promote tourism in 2018, which MOFA deemed amiss because Italy was considered more suitable for this purpose. Another case is the tourism promotion of three temples (Borobudur, Prambanan, and Ratu Boko) in the Netherlands in 2018, which were carried out separately between the MOFA and the Ministry of Tourism with different budgets.

On actors and platforms, Indonesian CD heavily depends on people-to-people relationships rather than the government-to-people platform. The business sector also supports CD, indirectly. In addition to government agencies, Indonesian CD actors are the Indonesian diaspora, Indonesians living abroad, civil society, and business entities. The Indonesian diaspora and those living abroad, including the overseas Indonesian student associations, conduct CD by holding cultural events and exchanges, opening Indonesian restaurants, providing lectures on Indonesia, teaching languages and arts, or merely being "Indonesian" among the crowds. The civil society undertakes the same activities by bringing Indonesian culture abroad in cultural missions or promoting it via online platforms. One civil society organization, namely the Indonesian Gastronomy Association (IGA), tackles CD as one of their goals by targeting both the domestic and international public. In particular, IGA carries out three activities to promote Indonesia's culinary heritage, that is: branding, entrepreneurship, and gastrodiploacy.§ Private sector corporations support CD by providing grants and funds for scholarships, cultural exchanges, Indonesia's promotion, sports events, academic collaborations, and humanitarian aid abroad. The advantage of the people-to-people nature of Indonesia CD is its flexibility, diversity, and versatility as it does not always require professional presentations. However, at the same time, the amateurish deliveries of cultural events and exchanges may create a blurred, less appealing, and confusing image of Indonesia in front of the global public.

Finally, considering MOFA as the leading agency of Indonesian diplomacy has not yet explicitly used CD as an instrument, and the objectives of "winning the people's hearts and minds" and "creating a neutral platform for people-to-people contact" seem to be rather unrealistic. As discussed above, the soft power function of cultural diplomacy will only be practical on an elaborated strategic policy in line with the state's interests.

4. Challenges of Indonesia's Cultural Diplomacy

In order to develop an effective CD Indonesia can dwell on the richness of its culture, identity and values to come up with unique attractiveness and use it to tackle global problems. To do so, several predicaments, as follow below, need to be addressed.

4.1. The lack of consensus on Nation Brand

The concept of CD sometimes intertwines with the concept of "branding" or the Nation Brand. The two concepts are similar for both are rooted in the nation's identity and aim to persuade other nations and global audiences. The difference is that CD is a complex activity to influence others while the Nation Brand is image building through crafted messages to promote the power and influence with other countries. This study considers that the Nation Brand can be added as a strategy and part of CD.

Coined by Anholt in 1996, Nation Brand refers to the strategic "marketing" to maintain the reputation and national image of a country in the minds of its global audiences [24]. Dinnie defines it as "the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences" [25]. Later on, Anholt backpedaled on his own coined term of Nation Brand by arguing that nation branding is less connected to the national image than national identity and the politics and economics of competitiveness; He introduces another term, namely "competitive identity," to replace the Nation Brand notion [24]. Nevertheless, many countries have exercised the concept of the Nation Brand. Such cases include the Korean Wave that is used by the Korean government to strengthen the Nation Brand of the nation's economic power and popular culture [14]; Brazil IT to forge Brazil's reputation as a country that excels in information technology and has been using it to respond to the world's need for renewable energy [25]; the campaign series of Germany that was Deutschland-Land der Ideen (Germany-Land of ideas) and Partner für Innovation (Partner for Innovation) to maintain a reputation

† Interview to Ms. D.A, a senior diplomat posted at Turkey.

‡ Interview to Mr. Azis Nurwahyudi, the Director of Public Diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, September 29, 2018.

§ www.gastronomy.id

as a country prominent in science and culture [26]. Thus, the Nation Brand is pertinent and can be assumed as a label to present a national image and maintain the country's reputation as the countenance of CD.

The need to develop a Nation Brand is because, in this information age, crafted and selected information needs to be pointed out to target people who look for brief highlight knowledge about a country. Otherwise, curious spectators will find random data that may not precisely reflect a country's spirit and character. Fan argues a nation's image can also be repackaged, repositioned, and communicated professionally to advocate a particular reputation, just like a commercial brand, to keep up with the dynamics in the global audience [27]. However, it is crucial to notice that the marketing and techniques of branding of a nation are different from that of corporations. The difference of nation branding compared with the commercial sector is that since many elements in the Nation Brand's construction are not under the control of branding management, as in the corporate branding case, they are difficult to change in the short term [27].

Branding's disadvantages are that branding can be a one-dimensional simplification of a nation's otherwise rich and complex character. Therefore, to avoid fabricating a stereotype through Nation Brand, a country should engage its civil society to seek its genuine wisdom that allows the gradual development of a national image. Also, as popular culture and trends in society drive and influence strong brands, to be successful, branding must be done according to the current zeitgeist. More importantly, the need to engage civil society in branding a nation is because a nation is not a corporation belonging to several people; a nation belongs to all its citizens. Therefore, the Nation Brand's branding management should not be in the hands of brand managers but the state agencies as the people's extension. So, even though civil society may initiate a trend that can lead to nation branding, it is the state that develops or supports branding.

Considering the diversity of Indonesia's local cultures and cultural values, a Nation Brand that is based on national identity is crucial for Indonesian diplomacy. With one strategic nation brand as part of CD, Indonesian CD will be more focused and influencing. The absence of Indonesia's diplomatic blueprint also means an absence of a focused nation brand. Being aware of the Nation Brand's needs for compelling image building, Indonesia's government promoted activities labelled as a Nation Brand. At least two activities were undertaken with this notion. Since 2015, the Ministry of Tourism, with support from MOFA, has been promoting a Nation Brand through the Wonderful Indonesia campaign. However, in line with Dinnie's argument that to brand a nation, a long-term strategic view is more fundamental than a short-term advertising campaign that only brings a brief effect; Indonesia's Wonderful Indonesia is not an adequate Nation Brand for it serves the purpose of a tourism advertisement rather than crafting the nation's reputation [25]. In 2018, the Cabinet Secretariat held a seminar aimed to build gastrodiploamacy as Indonesia Nation

Brand. The state organs' two efforts are meaningful but not enough to be called a Nation Brand since they are too practical. A Nation Brand calls for multiple symbolic actions and should be done by different actors, in all levels of diplomacy and across a long period to develop a clear image of the nation. Moreover, to develop a reputation, the Nation Brand can be used to respond to global problems such as human rights, war, famine, climate change, extremism, or others. As Anholt puts it, symbolic actions should be rich in content and relevant to the world's problems as they must deliver the substance of a message beyond just communication [24].

The Nation Brand will reflect Indonesia's identity, culture, and value to distinguish the nation from others, more than just promoting culture for economic purposes. The chosen identity should be based on the value that is agreed to be fostered. The lack of consensus among the civil society on what value will be put forward as the national identity has made the crafted message unfocused. Nevertheless, the problem for the development of the Nation Brand will be on how to generate civil society consensus on what is the so-called national identity to be projected to the global world.

Perhaps, Indonesia's opportunity of a Nation Brand is in the –almost abandoned– original value, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), that is also the nation's slogan. The *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* wisdom reflects the Indonesian collective identity of a multicultural, tolerant, and peaceful people and society; therefore, it will perfectly serve as the Nation Brand. Another option for an Indonesian Nation Brand is Pancasila, the country's philosophical foundation. Pancasila is the Indonesian political culture's base that promises to build a religious, humanist, united, just, loyal and egalitarian society by relying on mutual solidarity or burden-sharing (*gotong royong*) as a problem-solving mechanism and consensus (*musyawarah-mufakat*) as the decision-making process. Concerning an Indonesian national identity, returning to what the people have agreed on is likely more workable than reinventing a new identity as the Nation Brand.

4.2. The majority group's bias

The second challenge of Indonesia's CD will be on the majority group's bias on cultural practices. The bias arises from the lack of acknowledgment of the minority groups' cultures and beliefs in the country.

This study entertains the notion that culture is a dynamic process and is not a cloistered "software of the mind" of a group of people. Culture evolves in line with interaction with other groups that trigger a group's uniqueness to diminish in favour of new habits absorbed from other groups. In the contest of cultures and groups' habits, the majority group has a bigger chance to influence minority groups than vice versa. The majority group is defined not only by their numbers in the population but more because of their power. In everyday practice, the majority group's culture dominates social

decorum and common identity formation. Frequently, behaviours out of the majority group's accepted norms are perceived as wrong even when the behaviours in discussion are part of the minority groups' culture. In a broader frame, the group's domination continues affecting the formation of national identity and culture.

In Indonesia, out of 714 ethnic groups, Java and Sunda are the majority in the country, with 40% and 15% of the population, respectively [28]. In practice, most of the state's philosophy and social norms are derived from the indigenous pearls of wisdom of those two ethnic groups. As ethnic groups, Java and Sunda are the two most influential groups in the country due to Java island's geographical advantage as the centres of government, politics, economy, and education. This political and economic power started from the early period of Indonesian nation-state formation when Javanese and Sundanese people were more advanced and held more prominent positions compared to other groups. During the early periods after independence, Indonesia was very much Java. The Javanese-centric attitude at the national level has shaped the Javanese-bias in national culture.

One of the proofs of Javanese ethnic cultural domination is the spread of Batik. Batik has been acknowledged as a national cultural heritage and national fabric. It has also been inscribed in UNESCO's list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2009 as Indonesian art. A Javanese art, craft, and cultural fabric, Batik has now been adopted as a local specialty in non-Java regions that duplicated Javanese Batik for its economic opportunities as well as holding up national identity. In a place like Papua Province, rich with indigenous arts and cultures based on Melanesian culture, Batik is embraced and promoted as one of the specialties. The differentiation is only in the fabric's patterns and motifs, and still very much centred on Javanese techniques. The same goes for Batik from Aceh, Toraja, Balikpapan, and other places. Batik's acceptance and acknowledgment surpass other Indonesian traditional fabrics. Even if other traditional artful fabrics are not diminished, their art has certainly not yet received prominent attention. In a diplomatic venue, Batik shows and exhibitions are generic activities in Indonesian representations abroad.

Other than Java and Sunda, only a handful of other ethnic groups' cultures such as Bali, Padang, Aceh, and Bugis received national attention; most ethnic groups have received little to no attention. The highlighted CD program of MOFA, the *Beasiswa Seni dan Budaya*, put the scholarship awardees in communities perceived as culturally rich with communities in Java island as the regular hosts. From CD activities conducted by government agencies, the Javanese centrality is also shown. In 2018, the Ministry of Education and Culture conducted CD with activities such as a Gamelan Festival in Solo, Indonesian Culture in Suriname, and the Kresna Duta Puppet Show, among other CD activities that are more neutral were Vinculos, Cultural Caravan, Indonesian Corner, Fulan Fehan, World Indonesianist Forum [29].

Even though the government's priority is not on the utilization of CD, the government framework is still essential

to encourage minority cultures to flourish as one of the country's cultural treasures. This study does not suggest that having one or two cultures more popular than others is wrong. However, in a country characterized by diversity and a plural society, acknowledgment of minority groups' cultures guarantees the nation's sustainability. In the context of diplomacy, the bias of majority culture and the marginalization of CD have reduced the potency to capitalize on culture as a soft power tool. Thus, even though CD is supposed to be based on people-to-people connection, the government framework is indispensable to support and ensure minority cultures' growth as part of CD resources. In turn, the cultural diversity of the country might be transformed as a powerful attraction for CD.

4.3. Conflict of values

Diversity in cultures also means diversity in indigenous values. Those indigenous values can be similar from one culture to another, but also can be very different. As an example is the value of the idea of self-esteem. In Madurese and Bugis' ethnic groups, a person's self-esteem is highly respected, and the use of a certain degree of violence to restore honour from others is understandable. However, in other ethnic groups such as Sunda, a person is expected to be more assertive and keeping the group's harmony is more important than individual self-esteem. Values regarding social norms and beliefs also vary, that create contesting values and make it challenging to name a national character. At the same time, in the information age, new values also grow in society. Those new values have changed, altered, and sometimes erased the indigenous culture while forming a new culture. In that situation, values contestation becomes a reality.

Indonesia has experienced value contestations in recent decades. The wave of spiritualism in the form of Islamism, for example, has considerably changed Indonesian values and culture. The religious values rival Indonesian indigenous cultures that were heavily influenced by animism and dynamism. New habits gradually replace old cultures. Heritage and cultural practices are replaced by practices that are considered as better practices. In the advanced form, they can be manifest as conflicting values between modern values (liberalism, feminism, inclusivism), the in-group values (Islamism, atheism, veganism, environmentalism), and traditional values (kinship, nationalism, ethnic-oriented).

Conflict of values can also arise from conflicted identities, between the cultural identity and group identity. The cultural identity characterizes indigenous communities in some parts of Indonesia. Those unique cultural identities hold specific values that are often seen as a perversion in religion when it comes to religious practices. For instance, in several new Islamic groups that want to purify Islamic teachings, indigenous societies' cultural identities and values are considered threatening to Islam's purity. Those groups often prohibit practices that have been society's long-

standing traditions. Most of the time, the situation incites conflict in society.

A relevant example of the clash of values between traditional values and the new group's value is in the case of the so-called Islam Wetu Telu of Sasak ethnic groups in Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat Province. Due to differences in the way of worship, Indonesian puritan Muslim groups consider the practices of the traditional Sasak community to deviate from Islamic teachings. Even though Islam Wetu Telu is the cultural heritage of a particular group of Sasak people that has been practiced for generations, they have become the target of new puritan Islam groups' *dakwah* (missionary endeavour). Basically, this new group is challenging the ethnic identity of the Sasak people as adherents of Wetu Telu Islam by challenging their traditional practices and cultural heritage.

Other examples are traditional rituals, namely Larung Sesaji in East Java Province and Perang Ketupat in Bangka Belitung Province. Larung Sesaji is an offering ritual by the farmers or the fishermen to mother nature, by sailing food into a lake or the sea. Several communities in East Java Province, such as in Magetan, Ponorogo, Blitar, and Banyuwangi, are familiar with the practice and have been practicing it annually for centuries. Perang Ketupat is a ritual to repel future calamities that might befall the community by having a mass brawl in which all participants throw rice cakes (*ketupat*) at each other, followed by lunch and then sailing the rest of the food into the sea. Puritan Islamic groups consider these two rituals meaningless and inconsistent with Islamic teaching because they waste food by throwing it into the sea or lake. More so, making an offering to mother nature is forbidden in Islamic religious teaching, for it is considered to be against the concept of God's oneness. Even though the two traditional rituals are unique from the cultural perspective and hold particular values that are important to the respective communities, Larung Sesaji and the Perang Ketupat must be abolished according to puritan Islamic groups.

The perspective gap on how to respect traditional cultures and minority groups' values can influence CD development. Thus, to construct shared values among communities, the Indonesian government needs to negotiate conflicting values between the old and the new. Ethnic identities with their specific values might be a vital source for a CD due to their uniqueness. However, new groups in the society that are not in the same spectrum in perceiving ethnic identity and values as unique are also a reality that needs to be addressed. Society is a living organism in which traditions, values, and identity are changing over time. In that respect, values contestation is a factor that should be considered in building a strong concept of CD.

From the perspective of actors' interests, different values can lead to different goals. State and non-state actors alike can execute CD with different agendas. While state actors use cultural diplomacy to paint a good image of the nation, non-state actors might aim to a different objective, such as to advocate new international norms or values that can be contradictory to the nation's interests. The difference

between civil society's value with the state-apparatus' stance on value can make civil society's CD powerless in front of national interests and fragile to the government's control. It is evident that even though non-state actors are the mechanism of CD, they are still susceptible to state control through censorship, propaganda, and coercion. Still, it is important to note that even if the government might decide to contain specific values and promote others, it will be nearly impossible. In the internet age, spreading and receiving information have become everyone's business. Information is no longer solely the government's authority. In addition, when values for CD are fabricated and do not correspond with reality, the message becomes weak and will likely be resulting in weak CD. In that case, the CD objectives of both actors may be fruitless.

Kim offers an insight that there are distinctions between old and new CD on their goals. According to Kim, "old CD" has an ideological purpose, while "new CD" focuses on the universality of shared values and concerns [2]. Therefore, before sorting out what values to promote as the national value and identity, it is essential first to identify the role of culture in Indonesia's diplomatic realm; Is it to promote Indonesian value or uphold shared values accepted by the current world? The middle way is probably to activate CD that boosts traditional Indonesian values that also corresponds with shared values accepted in the current world. Finally, as CD aims to promote nation-states' interest, dialogues to form "new" shared values and collaboration of all diplomacy actors should also be based on peoples' interests.

5. Conclusion

Cultural Diplomacy is a powerful instrument of soft power; to use it calls for contemplating what culture among diverse cultures can be developed and presented as the national culture and identity. Indonesia is blessed with a peaceful and multicultural society, as reflected in the nation's slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* or Unity in Diversity. Hence, an amicable, tolerant plural society is a national identity that can be further developed as the Nation Brand for Cultural Diplomacy. Unlike countries with relatively homogeneous societies, such as Japan and South Korea, Indonesia cannot rely on one culture or a dominant ethnic group in forming the so-called national culture and national identity. Learning from other countries' routes in developing the national identity and their respective cultural diplomacy, Indonesia should take a different approach in presenting the national identity in front of the global public because uplifting a specific culture of an ethnic group as a national character will marginalize so many other groups.

Indonesia is home to at least two broad races, namely Malay and Melanesian. How Indonesia has succeeded in making a diverse blend of identity with dialogue, cooperation, tolerance, and mutual respect, is an example of

soft power from local traditions and local policies that can be a model and an attraction for other countries. Soft power is also reflected in how Indonesia has now developed into a vibrant democratic country. Indonesia's democracy is the potential for soft power that Indonesia must develop in diplomacy in the international world. Thus, Indonesian cultural centres overseas should contain unique Indonesian cultural products and contain the spirit of the culture, values, and traditions of the Indonesian people who have sustained the unity of Indonesia. To reach that point, Indonesia needs to also continue to overcome the challenges that arise because of identity and communal conflicts that still exist between various elements in society.

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