

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIR
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA



ICOCSPA 2016



PROCEEDING
RE-EXAMINING GOVERNANCE:
STRENGTHENING CITIZENSHIP IN THE CHANGING WORLD

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Editor :

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Prologue

The Second International Conference on Social and Political Science (2nd ICoCSPA) 2016 was previously known as International Conference on Democracy and Accountability (ICODA 2015). The Conference is conducted by Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP Universitas Airlangga).

The word governance has a very strong color in the trajectory of social and political journey since the late 20th century. It does not only trigger the theoretical debate about the country and sovereignty but also opens an advocacy strategy against the despotic rule of the country. In countries with established democracies, governance practices showed significance when the citizenship have been entrenched. However, different conditions will be achieved in countries with relation between citizens and the unbalanced nation.

Instead of equalizing access in the space of participation, governance provides opportunity for market dominance over the country and even the civil society. Assessment of governance in strengthening citizenship is a big agenda, especially in this changing world. How can the governance and citizenship mutually strengthen themselves in social, economic, and political context within specific culture? What lessons can be learned from those cases? Are there any novelty cracks in the theoretical debate about governance and citizenship?

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The Implementation Of Public Diplomacy Through Paradiplomatic Activities For An Effective Place Branding

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Keywords :

*public diplomacy,
place branding,
paradiplomacy.*

Abstract

In the literature of International Relations, concepts of public diplomacy and place branding are deemed to be corresponding to each other. The notion of public diplomacy, which evolves from state-led policy intervention in legalizing state's action abroad to the involvement of private initiatives in promoting resources of a nation's soft power, depicts the enlarging concept of power and role of actors in International Relations. The notion of place branding, on the other hand, is rather alien for the study of International Relations. Both, however, asserts the importance of building positive and favorable image in order to achieve particular objectives. In spite of this, lack of empirical research on how they mutually reinforce between one another results in the void of reference in its possible implementation. Stemming from a qualitative, case-based research on place branding in Yogyakarta, the paper proposes the importance of inserting public diplomacy agenda in the implementation of place branding through the activity of paradiplomacy.

A. INTRODUCTION

Public diplomacy is a concept in International Relations discipline that explains the state's communication strategy to win public's opinion by promoting the image of the state. Public diplomacy is perceived as the government communication toward foreign public that is aimed at building ground of understanding on the nation, the attitude, the institution, the culture, and the interests of the state or the regions and the policies taken by the states (Wang, 2006: 52). Similarly, in municipal context, public diplomacy can be perceived as a strategy to win the public's attention through the formation of the local image to promote the local's interest.

In terms of implementing public diplomacy at the level of municipalities, there are three basic issues faced by the government when they develop international cooperation.

First, there is lack of understanding amongst the policy makers at the local level of what constitutes international relations and how to initiate this relation. Second, there are very few human resources available at the local government, who has certain knowledge, skill, and experience related to international relations. This can be seen from a number of staffs graduated from International Relations department, International Business Administration, International Cooperation, or those who have adequate English speaking and negotiating skills. Third, there is lack of infrastructure that supports international relations activities. Although nowadays there are divisions of international cooperation in every local government, their orientations remain in the frame of building relationship between localities within the country, instead of foreign countries. This paper is intended to reveal the opportunity and challenge in implementing public diplomacy at the municipal level,

especially in support of the implementation of place branding.

B. DISCUSSION

There are many ways in implementing public diplomacy especially in municipalities. Referring to Mark Leonard, there are three dimensions in executing public diplomacy, namely (1) daily communication, (2) communication strategy, and (3) relationship building. The first dimension refers to news management, which supports the government's traditional diplomacy and interests. This dimension moves in short period with a preventive nature by giving explanation about domestic situations to the non state audience. The second dimension is related to image construction with the main objective to promote the cities in international arena hinged on its economic, social, and cultural values. The third dimension is attempted to construct a long term relationship through personal bond through the activities of trainings, seminars, conferences, educational exchanges, and cultural exchanges (Leonard, Stead & Sweming, 2002).

The second dimension highlights image as the important point that needs to be developed by the region. Improving the image through place branding is believed to be able to draw investment, trades, and tourism visit. Therefore the region must be smart in finding the niches of international cooperation. The regional autonomy which was enforced through law (Undang-Undang) number 22/1999 has opened the opportunity for the local government to conduct international cooperation. The share of power and the allocation of authority between the central government and the local government were then stipulated in law number 32/2004. The latter law also describes the arrangement of diplomacy between local government with foreign actors, either government or non-government. As a result, the prospect to widen the area of cooperation in international context becomes inevitable, given that the central government has provide the legal base for the local government conducting international relations through this regional autonomy. However, the local government must obey the rules of the game imposed by the central government in terms of administering international cooperation, such as the law 33/2004 on financial parity between the central and the local government; the Indonesia's Foreign Minister's Regulation number 09/A/KP/XII/2006/01 about the General Guidance of the Protocol of International Relations by Local Government (Panduan Umum Tata Cara Hubungan dan Kerjasama Luar Negeri oleh Pemerintah Daerah), the Home Minister's Regulation number 3/2008 about the Implementation of Cooperation between the Local Government and Foreign Countries (Pedoman Pelaksanaan Kerjasama Pemerintah Daerah dengan Pihak Luar Negeri), and the Home Minister's Regulation number 15/2009 about the Cooperation between the Home Department and the International Non-Government Institutions (Pedoman Kerjasama Depdagri dengan Lembaga Asing Non Pemerintah). These regulations are necessary for the local government so as to not diverging itself from the provision set out by the central government of the Republic of

Indonesia in which the respected foreign partner must have diplomatic relations with the government of Indonesia and must not intervene to the domestic affairs of each country (Kerjasama Pemerintah Daerah dengan Pihak Luar Negeri, no date).

The type of public diplomacy which is practiced by the local government is usually termed as parallel diplomacy or paradiplomacy. The phenomena of the increasing numbers of cooperation by local governments in the international context have been observed by Ivo Duchacek in *Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of New Actors in International Relations* (1990). Paradiplomacy refers to activities administered by the local government to build relationship and cooperation with their foreign associates, either the government or the private (Lecours, 2008). As a global trend, paradiplomacy manifests in a varying degrees as it occasionally adjusts itself with the regional context. Therefore, the trend which was initially found in western countries alone has nowadays become imperative for the entire places. Some places may host or send missions abroad, others manage a representative office or widen bilateral and multilateral relations with foreign counterparts (Duchacek, 1990: 14-15), promote tourism or execute agreements (Cornago, 2013: 111), build up paradiplomacy network (Keating, 2001) or even oppose or devolve from the central government (Kuznetsov, 2015). Similar to the term paradiplomacy is constituent diplomacy (Kincaid, 2003), or city diplomacy (Van Der Pluijm and Mellisen, 2007). The emerging participation of sub-national actors in diplomatic arena is also part of multi-track diplomacy (Notter and Diamond, 1996).

For developing countries, paradiplomacy activities create some advantages. First, the activities give alternatives for local economic development, including the possibility of technology transfer and technical cooperation between cities. Local governments from two or more countries tend to cooperate on the basis of their similarity or their interdependencies so as to create mutual benefits. Second, paradiplomacy activities widen the opportunity to cooperate at the deeper, technical level, such as cooperation between universities, between business supply chains, and so on. Third, paradiplomacy activities give chances to develop democracy through transparent, accountable, and participative interactions.

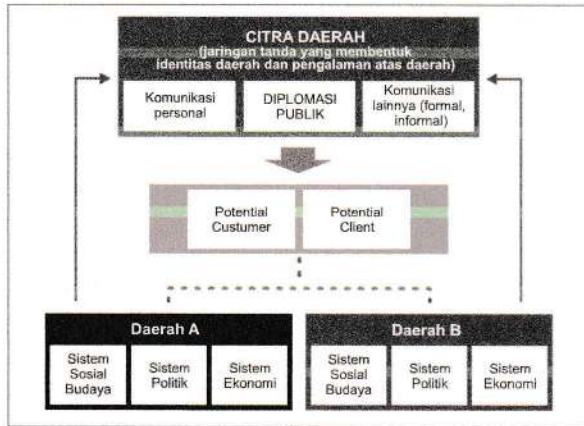
In practice, there are large varieties of paradiplomacy by different designation. Some local governments in Indonesia have already set up trans-border diplomacy with sub-national government of bordering countries, such as North Sumatera and Penang (Malaysia), Riau and Johor (Malaysia), West Kalimantan and Sarawak (Malaysia), East Kalimantan and Sabah (Malaysia), NTT and Northern Territory (Australia). Another type of paradiplomacy focuses on cooperation between two or more sub-national governments of non-bordering countries yet geographically adjacent, such as West Kalimantan and Sabah (Malaysia), West Sumatra and Johor (Malaysia), Central Java and Queensland (Australia), West Java and Southern Australia. The other is global diplomacy or cooperation between sub-national governments of non-bordering countries and of distant geography, such as Banda Aceh and Samarkand

(Uzbekistan), Padang and Rhudeshine (Germany), DKI Jakarta and Cassablanca (Marocco), Surabaya and Seattle (the United States), West Java and Kiyongi (Jepang), Ambon and Velisinger (Netherland), Yogyakarta and Kyoto (Japan).

In principle, paradiplomatic cooperation executed by sub-national governments is in line with the idea of participative and inclusive public diplomacy.

Illustration 1.

The Insertion of Public Diplomacy in Place Branding Activity



As seen in the above illustration, public diplomacy filters personal communications or other types of communications which are massive, sporadic, and asymmetric, thus it need to be reinforced to deliver a preferable message or image. The nature of public diplomacy is transparent, it encompasses a wider scope as it deals with global audience, performs in and outside its administrative territory. Public diplomacy is also inclusive and flexible. Instead of being the key actor, the government merely takes the role of facilitator and the citizens are acting as active diplomatic actors. In a whole, Ross (2003) describes the pillars that construct the concept of public diplomacy as follows:

1. developed through a coordinated policy, led by the government
2. all policies are made on rational based interest.
3. all policies and practices must be coherent, thus able to create a preferred message of high credibility.
4. utilizes all modes of communication.
5. extends cooperation with private sectors and other stakeholders.
6. attempted to construct trust and understanding through commitment and dialogues.
7. enforces people's perception toward a place, in a positive way
8. improves people's appreciation toward a place in a way that they willingly view the world from this place's perspective.
9. builds the bond between the place and the audience so that they want to be part of it, by visiting the place, by buying its local products, or by accepting its cultural values.
10. persuades public by attracting more investment

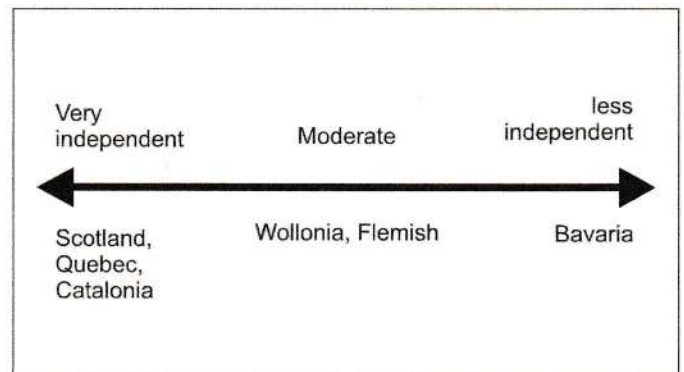
(Ross, 2003: 23-26)

Even though Ross developed those pillars for the state level, they also apply at the regional level. Linking to the idea of paradiplomacy, there are three stage areas of implementation, namely economic, culture (including education and technology), and politics. In the economic field, paradiplomacy are used to draw more investment and invite larger cooperation to improve export abroad. Second, in the cultural field, paradiplomacy are optimized through utilizing cultural aspects to bridge cooperation so much so that it increases human capital competence. In the political field, paradiplomacy is led by the government to formalize the relations, hence bring it to higher level and wider scope of cooperation. The implementation of the three stage areas is fitted with any governing type (unity, federation, or confederation) and flexible to the shifting challenges and opportunities that any place might encounter.

Some districts in the world implementing the concept of public diplomacy are Flemish (Belgium), Quebec (Canada), and Catalonia (Spain) (Huijgh, 2005). Besides the three districts, some other areas such as Scotland, Wollonia, and Bavaria have also adopted the concept of public diplomacy to be implemented in their regions. There is no common platform though that can be found in the implementation of public diplomacy in the six districts. In fact, the different style applied in each region is in line with the working political system and the relationship between the central and the regional government. Districts like Scotland, Quebec, and Catalonia, for examples, are very independent in managing autonomous authority in relation to the administration of public diplomacy, whereas Wollonia and Flemish have higher degree of independence, and Bavaria has higher flexibility in the authority of exercising public diplomacy. This difference is bound to the historical relationship between each region with its central government. The difference in the implementation of public diplomacy can be illustrated as follows:

Illustration 2.

Degree of implementation of public diplomacy



The advantage and the disadvantage exist in every policy alternative in implementing public diplomacy model. Scotland, Quebec and Catalonia are relatively independent in foreign policy making with minimum, if any, consultation to the central government. Hence, the local government is equipped with high capacity to develop policies of

its regional development. On the other hand, the relationship between regional and central government is very distant, latent with conflict, and very easily infected by anti-integration political interests. In Wollonia and Flemish, the local government has the chance to build up cooperation and to make foreign policy directly in some working areas which are considered to be outside the national security issue, such as social, culture, education, and human resource development in general. Elsewhere, Bavarian government technically has an office that especially handles the coordination with the central government and cooperation with their trans-government working partners and trans-sectoral interest holders. Therefore, Bavarian government develops public diplomacy through the coordination with the central government. Bavarian government has limited capacity to implement public diplomacy independently and this diplomacy is coordinated by its local government's bureau. Recently, however, Bavarian government broaden its capacity in public diplomacy for optimizing the advantage of tourism development by modifying Flemish's model.

By considering the various advantages and disadvantages in the implementation of public diplomacy in municipalities as described above, this paper observes that the possible implementation of public diplomacy at the regional level in Indonesia with some degree of political autonomy on the one hand while keeping policy coordination to the central government on the other hand is important. In this light, public diplomacy becomes both an inward and outward, which, confirms the vision of a well planned and integrated development as well as constructs collaboration with various stakeholders in a broad way. Furthermore, by reflecting on the case of Bavaria case, there might be modification in implementing a model of public diplomacy based on the context and the needs of particular period.

In Indonesia, the implementation of paradiplomacy seems ineffective. According to Max Pohan, the ineffectiveness of international cooperation in Indonesia is caused by the unreadiness of the local government in implementing the cooperation. The unreadiness is stemmed from the undeveloped technical matters such as the unclear objectives of the cooperation so it cannot maximize the region's potentials, between local secretariats with the associated bureaus, the working program dissemination, and the problems of communication. The factor of bureaucracy maturity and the 'contact person', or a group of people or even institutions that have a function to facilitate various activities in terms of cooperation relation and funding matters is at the end implicates on the communication obstructions to follow up the consented MoU or other technical problems (Pohan, 2002). This results to the temporary and ceremonial character of international cooperation in Indonesia, limiting it to merely MoU without effective implementation and outputs. To give an example is cooperation between Yogyakarta province and Ismailia Province in Egypt in 1990 in the field of trade, education and culture, tourism industry and technology, in which the MoU was not able to be followed up by policy implementation (Setda Prov DIY, 2008: 11). Another example is the sister city between Semarang and Queensland (2000 – 2007) in the areas of agriculture, tourism village and city develop-

ment that had no follow up (Windiani, 2011). Similar to the case of Semarang is sister city between Solo and Montana (2007 – 2012) in the areas of economy, environment management, infrastructure and transportation, culture and tourism, and human resource development which was stagnant (Solopos, 2013). The large numbers of failures that occur in international cooperation at regional level is very apprehensive given that the regions have great potential to support gross economic power, hence support national development. Unfortunately, there is no real impact visible.

Using the experience of countries that are successful in developing paradiplomacy; it seems that Indonesia needs to construct a consortium, which coordinates paradiplomatic activities among regional governments in Indonesia. Such consortium has been developed by Japan, which is known as Council of Local Administration for International Relations (CLAIR). This consortium serves not only as a coordinative institution but also the center of developing foreign affairs' cooperation for Japanese prefectures, including cooperation in human resource development. As the backbone for regional development, paradiplomatic activities in Japan was conducted at first stage area (economy) and second stage area (culture, technology, and education), leaving the political issue behind.

Even though constructing a division that especially handles public diplomacy in a region is important, the paradigmatic change which should be emphasized here is not at the change in government structure, but more importantly in bureaucratic culture and governance at all level of governments. Therefore, instead of giving priority to structural changes, change of culture and working mentality in serving society and developing cooperation for the interests of the people become much more essential than providing new division which might be far from the problem solving orientation.

The change of paradigm means shifting bureaucratic-monopolistic government into collaborative-competitive government through two layers. First, related to the actor involved in policy making, which includes not only the leaders or not only by considering the needs of [potential] investors, but also by inserting the importance of public opinion. Second, related to the inclination toward collaboration, in which multi stakeholders' engagement is made to enforce accountable governance and trust-based competitiveness. While multi stakeholders' engagement considers the importance of future investors, tourists, local people, and new inhabitants, it requires the local government to put society first upon all the other stakeholders' needs. Giving priority to society's needs is the basis for consensus, trust-based competitiveness. While open to access of global resources to build network for collaboration in development, the regional government must keep in mind that the real beneficiaries of the development is the society, hence development is understood not merely to increase cash revenues but more profoundly is to improve the quality of life of the people. In this light, provision of public services, improvement of infrastructures, all are meant to promote the wellbeing of the society, not only to attract future investors and tourists. In fact, all public service must be accessible for local inhabitants and new

residents at the same instance.

Places with public service access, such as safe and comfortable transportation, sufficient electricity and telecommunication network, clean water, as well as responsive and accountable public administration services will certainly attract businessmen, tourists, and investors (TTI/ tourist, trade, investor), besides the creative people, to escalate regional competitiveness on the hand hand and to amplify human resource development on the other hand. Since region is able to draw the best resources from both inside and outside to enhance its productivity, developing local competitive advantages will eventually improve the quality of life and living standard.

CONCLUSION

Although regions have developed their place branding as a marketing strategy to spur regional development, there are many things to be done by the government in making its place branding effective. This paper has elaborated how diplomacy is applicable at the regional level by implementing paradiplomacy ideas. Paradiplomacy places

the regions as the active actor of diplomacy activities that are usually interpreted as centered in national level. The combination of public diplomacy ideas and paradiplomacy give chances for various actors at regional level to participate in promoting and improving its regional comparative advantages.

There are two challenges that need more attention in implementing public diplomacy through paradiplomatic activities. The first challenge is related to question whether or not it is necessary to form a specific division that coordinates public diplomacy activities. A number of cases show how concession of unlimited authority has positive and negative impact to the political relations between the central and the local government. The second challenge comes from the capability of human resources who are assigned to manage the potentials of public diplomacy in their own region. Reflecting from Japan's experience, the formation of a paradiplomacy consortium can be adopted as an option to resolve the two challenges. The success of this consortium, nevertheless, must be supported by the paradigmatic change of bureaucracy from centralistic orientation to collaboration for competitiveness.

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