

Keywords: image, cultural diplomcay, national interest, tourism.

Chapter I

Introduction

A. Problem Background

Human beings cannot live alone because humans are social creatures as they interact and need each other. Likewise a country in this world cannot stand alone in the sense of life itself without contacting other countries. A country that prefer standing alone and not associated with other countries would be in difficult position, so for that the reason that is why countries around the world prefer building relationship to other countries in various forms of cooperation for the achievement of national interests of each country.

Image in the international political studies is the national interest. Building a good image for a state is very important. Image is not just important as a reflection of power but can be an important foreign policy consideration for states that ack power. Perception of image can provides tremendous effect, either

positive or negative. The image of a nation will influence the attitude of other countries.¹

In this era of globalization, the image's issue becomes important. Therefore, strengthening the country's image becomes very relevant. Image problems will likely to find the important point when realize the image as the capital of confidence in the interaction, as well as an instrument of competition in the globalization.

Indonesia itself builds relationship and cooperation to other country and one of focuses in South East Asia Region. The relationship between Indonesia and the member's countries of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) has lasted long enough and the relationship developed embraces in various fields, such as economy, politic, and cultural.

Historically, Indonesia was one of five countries that initiated the formation of the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) there are: Indonesia (Adam Malik), Malaysia (Tun Abdul Razak), Thailand (Thanat Koman), Philippines (Narciso Ramos), Singapore (Rajaratnam). Since its founding on August 8, 1967, ASEAN has been a major focus of Indonesia's regional international relations. ASEAN in Indonesia, together with Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, helped construct a regional multinational framework to facilitate economic cooperation.

¹ <http://www.lemhannas.go.id/id/images/eksum>

Indonesia and ASEAN member countries need each other, and those countries have many similarities and same problems that should be solve so that they can exchange experiences and open cooperation with each other in various fields. For example the cooperation in the economic field of ASEAN members is expected to be stable. Then in the political field in social and territorial integrity is expected and the guarantee of the sovereignty of ASEAN countries. To avoid potential threats and transnational crimes, in both traditional and nontraditional forms, through cooperation among states more intensively so that the ASEAN members, created a situation more conducive area for ASEAN countries, and other collaboration-cooperation..

In the runaway, Indonesia image in international worldview, especially Southeast Asia (ASEAN) have been up and down. Keeping the image of Indonesia is very important; one of the focuses is in the ASEAN region. ASEAN is a stepping-stone to involv in the constellation of foreign policy more widely.

Long time ago, exactly under Soekarno and Soeharto era. Indonesia become the Tiger of Asian. As s result, Indonesia could influence other member's politically; Become Asian Tiger makes Indonesia a very respected by other nations, and Indonesia become an ASEAN leaders. Recently the influencing power of Indonesia in ASEAN in Soeharto era is stronger than in other regimes. Now Indonesia is considered just by one eye. To the problems that existing in the region today, such as Myanmar crisis, Indonesia is not enough authoritative to restrict it, then neighbors countries such us Malaysia and Singapore does not seem like respect Indonesia again.

In the last few decades, Indonesia image in international worldview was degraded. According to The president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyoni in the National Annual Meeting of the Badan Koordinasi Kehumasan (BAKOHUMAS) Government, Indonesia had a tremendous crisis in during this time. Now so many criseis of events that truly concerned both the social and security problems. Until now there are people who perceive the world, imaging Indonesia is still not safe, full of violence, full of terrorism, the law in shambles, democracy does not run properly, human rights violations everywhere, corruption is still rampant and there is no attempt to eradicate it, and more news that make Indonesia image is degraded.²

One of them is taints the image of Indonesia because the bombing happened in several places like bombing Bali I & II, and a second bombing that hit the JW Marriot Hotel and Ritz Carlton Hotel in Jakarta has been tumultuous for Indonesia society and the world. The diplomats from various representatives of countries deplores the explosion that occurred Indonesia at two hotels the which is planned to be used as the location of the Manchester United team and Indonesia Football Team in the same time.

Political observers and international relations, Beginda Pakpahan said, “the bombing that occurred in Indonesia or terrorism would affect International trust and the image of Indonesia, especially Jakarta area in the internationals view.

² http://www.setneg.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=874&Itemid=26

The International Trust and the image of Indonesia, especially Jakarta, which was safe and well up for this time, will decrease because of that event.”³

Safety factor becomes an important prerequisite for the growth of tourism in Indonesia, in addition to the items Sapta charm of the safe, order, cleanliness, cool, beauty, hospitality, and memory.⁴

Developing a positive image (Positive Image Building) is not a simple problem but is a big job, with complex and complicated issues and institutions involved in the Lemhannas RI, as well as other government institutions. Therefore, each institution will also affect the government's image as a whole. So that every government institution shall attempt to build a positive image of each their institution. To develop the image of Indonesia, the government made various efforts to create specific programs to develop the image of Indonesia.

Therefore, Indonesian government exactly the Ministry of National Education (DEPDIKNAS), in cooperation with the Department of Foreign Affairs (DEPLU), opened Darmasiswa Scholarship program that has a mission to develop relations to other states based on art and culture also diplomacy. The Darmasiswa Scholarship is a tool of cultural diplomacy and use art and cultures that are available happen in Indonesia.

Cultural diplomacy as a part of diplomacy, Diplomacy is the way to certain rules that are used a State to achieve the interests of a State in relation to other countries. Diplomacy does not have to sit an official on a table, in advance

³ http://news.id.finroll.com/nasional/nusantara/104850-____ketika-bom-itu-kembali-mencoreng-citra-indonesia____.html

⁴ www.badung.go.id

cultural diplomacy was sometimes prove more effective than official diplomacy in achieving a national interest but in certain situations.

The Darmasiswa program start in 1974 as part of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) initiative, admitting only students from ASEAN. However, in 1976 this program was extend to include students from other countries such as Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and USA. In early 90's, this program was extended further to include all countries which have diplomatic relationship with Indonesia, until to date, the number of countries participating in this program is more than 75 countries.⁵

The Darmasiswa program becomes popular affection and success to the desire of other countries outside of ASEAN. The interest of international students to participate in this program keeps increasing year by year. This program has produced 1312 alumni scattered in 57 countries who are ready to disseminate information about Indonesia in the State of origin. The alumni who have attended one year in Indonesia has shown activity should be appreciated in disseminating information about Indonesia.

The Darmasiswa purpose is to develop a positive image in the International Societies especially Countries in South East Asia region by the culture diplomacy.

Here the writer will attempt to explain the existence of an increase in the number of foreign students who follow this Darmasiswa program. The increasing

⁵ <http://darmasiswa.diknas.go.id/>

of participants of Darmasiswa in the last five years can be seen in the following description: In 2003 the numbers of participants are 87 from 34 countries, in 2004 are 86 participants from 32 countries, in 2005 are 104 participants from 37 countries, in 2006 are 171 participants from 43 countries, in 2007 are 450 participants from 60 countries, in 2008 are 500 participants from 58 countries. And in 2009, on last 16-18 Augusts, was held academic orientation to Darmasiswa students 2009-2010 in Jakarta that followed by 210 participant from 51 countries that as the result of selection processed from 1.073 participants.⁶

Program Darmasiswa is one of programs to spread and promote Indonesia culture to other countries and as the feedback of foreign scholarship to Indonesia societies. Beside that, according to Bambang Sudibyo “Darmasiswa program is believed as effective tool of cultural diplomacy through people to people contact. The participant after returning to their state, it is expect they will be the ambassador to spread and inform about Indonesia to other society in their state”⁷

During following those orientation activities, the participants will get information about Introduction to Indonesian culture, procedures and directives of darmasiswa program entirely done by the National Education Department (DEPDIKNAS) in this case the Bureau of Planning & International Cooperation Affairs (BPCLN) with the support of several universities. Based on the facts the writer was interested to discuss how Darmasiswa scholarship programs can developed Indonesia Image.

⁶ http://dikti.go.id/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1

⁷ <http://republika.com/republika-cetak/0805/dikbud/perg33.htm>

B. Research Question

From the understanding of problem's background, a question deserves to be discussing **“How the Darmasiswa Scholarship Program can developed Indonesia Image in the International societies especially the member countries of ASEAN?”**

C. Theoretical Framework

To analyze the mechanism or device, this paper will apply two following concept: cultural diplomacy and national interest.

1. Cultural Diplomacy

Diplomacy or any other term of negotiation does not have to be settled at the negotiating table but can be done through other means such as through the field of culture. In International Relations, the term was known as cultural diplomacy. This term is usually used by a country that wants to achieve its national interests outside the political field.

Cultural diplomacy means as diplomacy that put forward the cultural aspects as the media to obtain the national interest. Culture can be manifested through education, art, sciences, tourism, tradition, technology, and sport. And the other hand, it can be seem as propaganda or effort that's not politics, economic, neither military.⁸

Culture can be used as means for foreign politics. A nation building process is a cultural process, so cultural diplomacy is an international relations management

⁸ Tulus Warsito, & Wahyuni Kartikasari, *Diplomasi Kebudayaan konsep dan Relevansi Bagi Negara Berkembang*, Ombak, Yogyakarta, 2007, page 1

that use cultural as a means. It is important because culture diplomacy as like a way for make relations with the other country.

Cultural diplomacy becomes one of diplomacy to states because, the cultural diplomacy can create some kind of positive image in order can give appreciate and respect to its states. Cultural diplomacy can be conduct by government or non-government actor likes individual, and groups with the main purpose that influences public opinion in keeping peace without breaking over the national interest in the scopes neither national nor international.

Its case using a culture diplomacy, because in this term diplomacy that using culture aspect fight for national interest in international community it means for showing the level of nation civilization or culture, Is a technique for using cultural dimension in international relations.

Cultural Diplomacy through this cultural field is considered more effective in diplomacy process because the own culture have universal elements which mean that the elements were presented all cultures of the nations in the world. Basically, culture has communicative character, which can be understood, even by people who have different cultural backgrounds. Culture is also human nature: that can make people be closer to one another. The positive nature of culture could open the way to carry out the goal of cultural diplomacy. To know how far things that considered relevant to identification the phenomenons as cultural diplomacy, can be categorize like this:⁹

⁹ Ibid., page 21

1. The study of any diplomatic effort to use culture media in the micro sense, such as exhibitions, competitions, exchange of educational missions, sports, and others. Although micro natures, the meaning of culture itself is the most conventional sense or meaning.
2. The study of the diplomacy effort to use culture media in a macro way, such as propaganda, cultural hegemony and others.

Exchange of mission is one form of cultural diplomacy. This exchange of mission includes the exchange of cooperation issues broadly cultural exchanges, namely the cooperation inter-state scholarships, up to the exchange of experts in certain fields. Cultural diplomacy is often referred to as the conduct of technology transfer that gives the impression that the countries concerned have a mutual interest in certain aspects.

Cultural diplomacy in Indonesia is emphasized to the introduction of education of Indonesian culture. From the explanation of the concept of cultural diplomacy mentioned above, the Indonesian cultural diplomacy toward ASEAN countries and others even in the field of education through the introduction of culture in Darmasiswa Scholarship is Indonesia's effort to take measures through cultural dimensions including educational use. The target of this diplomacy is the public opinion of the member countries of ASEAN and other states that participant that are expected to build a positive image of Indonesia.

Now the views of other nations about Indonesia that has not much changed in the last decade. Corrupt state , ineffective time management, safety problems, and some other negative label that give bad image of Indonesia is still exist,

although the reform has made Indonesia the third largest democratic country after India and the United States. To achieve this attempts build that build, repair, and promotion of the image of Indonesia is required. Sometimes the state's image campaign is an effort that expensive and futile effort advertises the state did not succeed because the state tends to be difficult to hold on to a communications strategy, projecting a clear message, and measuring the success rate.

The Indonesia cultural diplomacy through Darmasiswa Scholarship program attempts to convey the goodness and progress of Indonesia to the public, good in domestic and foreign. To the foreign, it is clearly important to show that Indonesia is not as bad label.

The activities of Darmasiswa Program provide opportunities for learning by providing educational costs for the student participant from member countries of ASEAN can be classify as a form of cultural diplomacy mission exchanges with the goal of building a positive image of Indonesia that affect friendships or strengthen cooperation with educational field.

The member countries of ASEAN and other countries send many students who follow Darmasiswa scholarship program. In addition, it is expected that students who have already followed Darmasiswa program have better perception on Indonesia and this can build a positive image of Indonesia and to make easy relationships and cooperation that are or will be established later.

Image is result from perception repeatedly comes. Perception itself as a basic from reality or fact that happen¹⁰. The effort of image recovery in international viewed, Directorate of Public Diplomacy, Department of Foreign Affair of Indonesia as a agency qualified on the recovery to good image. This suitable with strategy politic of Indonesia to achieve national interest is recovery Indonesia image there are:¹¹

Reduce negative perspective about Indonesia, through coordination campaign of Indonesia image in the local area or international, on the art and culture form and illumination.

According of that strategy which builds by government to recovery national economic viewed from foreign politics of Indonesia, Darmasiswa programs The participants of Darmasiswa learn about Indonesia art and culture. Culture is communicative and can be understood by people who have different backgrounds. Culture is also human nature that can bring the one with the other nations closer. So cultural diplomacy is one of the effective media that can be used as a tool to interact, understand each other's cultures of each country, and achieve the interests of a State. So with the program of Darmasiswa Scholarship is a good opportunity where is the participants can study about Indonesian's culture like to Bahasa Indonesia, arts, music and crafts. The participants will identify, understand Indonesian's culture and it can influence the perspective of the participants

¹⁰ <http://koalisi-ham.org/opinion/tampil.php?no=4> take it on Monday, 24, August, 2009.

¹¹ Drs. Djumadi M. Anwar, *Diktat Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia*. Fisipol UMY, Hal. 65

Darmasiswa where they directly know about Indonesia so they have better perception about Indonesia.

The actors of cultural diplomacy are not only from official government can be done by government-government, government-collective, individual-individual and others, because the object of cultural diplomacy is not the government from other state but the society from the target of state, this can be explain by the following scheme:¹²

Table 1.1
The Scheme of Actor and the Object of Cultural Diplomacy

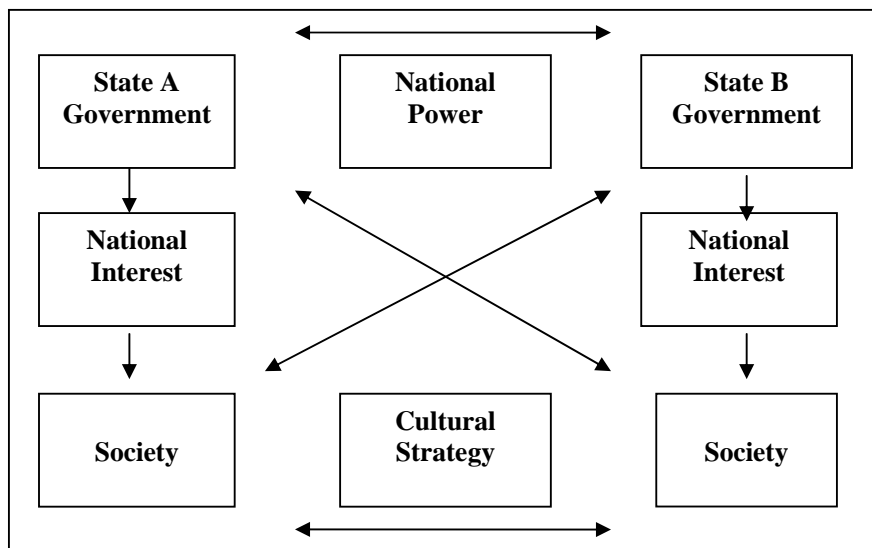
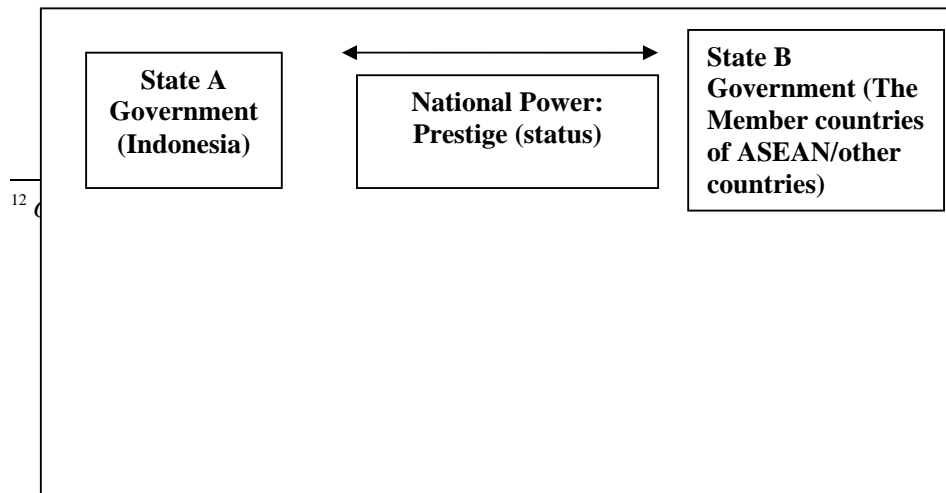
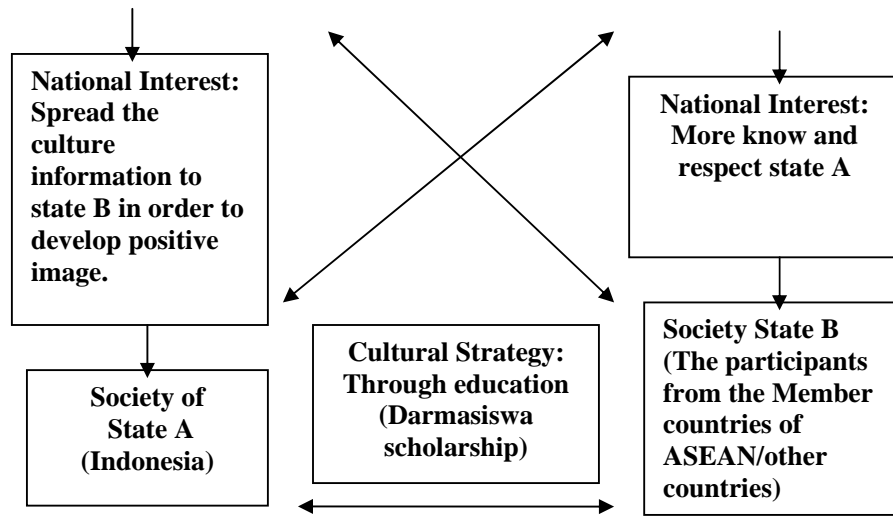


Table 1.2
The Scheme of actors and objects of Darmasiswa Scholarship as cultural diplomacy





Based on scheme, it can explain that Indonesia as the actor of cultural diplomacy not only interact with the government of state B (the Member countries of ASEAN/other countries) but Indonesia government interact with Society State B also (The participants from the Member countries of ASEAN/other countries). Then through cultural strategy, Indonesia society interact to the participants from the Member countries of ASEAN/other countries in the process of education in the program of Damasiswa Scholarship. The actor Cultural Diplomacy can be done by society also or let say as people-to-people contact.

According to Ali Margono, The Head of Political Affairs, Indonesia Embassy in Yemen, said that 'people to people contact. "As the point to emphasize the importance of a "interpersonal" relationship among the citizens or the nation. Ideally, people-to-people contact is positive; with almost no distance and the substance is regularly charged friendship or peace. Through communicative ways, its manifestations will be dialogue, diplomacy, cooperation, or working together. People to people contact would be more useful if the time needed will be able to avoid the negative elements, moreover, that tends towards the occurrence of a feud.¹³

The cooperation is typically covers the economic sector, trade, environment, education, and health. People to people contact are the things that are quite promising, but to realize it would need enough time and processing stages.

¹³ <http://alimargono.wordpress.com/2009/05/22/people-to-people/>

The participant of Darmasiswa scholarship can be ambassador for their country when they were back to their countries, where they have been educated and understand about Indonesian art and culture in Indonesia. When they return to their country, they will bring their own story, or what is called the 'contact people to people' where this type of campaign is usually very effective and more credible because it comes from credible people who come directly and see and be involved directly in the customs and culture of Indonesia.

2. National Interest

According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton concept of National interest is the basic purpose and factors that determine in making any foreign policy in each state. National interest is a very general concept but the basic unsure that become a vital necessary covered viability of country, freedom, economic prosperity, and military secure.¹⁴

National interest has meaning as a common prosperity, protection from law, interest to maintain their viability likes cultural identity and politics. Morgenthau defined national interest as the capability of the state to protect politic and cultural identity or a state has to be able to defend territory integrity as a state identity to keep state values, ethnics, religious, linguistics, and history as the cultural identity. That is why the decision makers in a state maintain the national interest to be able to protect and defend the identity.

¹⁴ Mochtar Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional : Disiplin dan Methodologi*, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1990, hal. 109

According to the society itself, generally national interest is freedom, security, independence, justice, prosperity, legitimacy, happiness, and national intelligence so national interest is a vision that has to be fought by a state to utilize in international orderliness to formulate state foreign policy.

National Interest can draw the aspirations of operational state in the implementation of policy actions which actual or proposed plan by a State. The national interests of Indonesia government opened Darmasiswa Scholarship program for ASEAN and other countries are disseminating information on Indonesian culture so that Indonesia can build a positive image toward neighbor's countries and others. In addition, it can be the reciprocal of the scholarship offer has been given by other countries to Indonesia students and later to strengthen cooperation in other fields with other countries.

The efforts to build and develop of Indonesia image in International level expected brings good impact in some sectors, such us social, politic, and economic. The conveying of the goodness and the progress of Indonesia to public, good for domestic or foreign is important to show Indonesia is not bad like what that during this time Indonesia is near to negative image. The message to domestic itself is important too to rise the optimist of Indonesia society and involve to promote the goodness of Indonesia to their partner in foreign. Then to foreign, the participants of Darmasiswa Scholarship, they will introduce Indonesia in their state after they return to their home countries..

Culture Diplomacy through Darmasiswa Scholarship used to get Indonesia national Interest. National Interest which Indonesia government wants is culture promotion and tourism sector for stability Indonesia Image that has been buried.

The other National Interest is Interest in the economic country, through foreign exchange from tourism sector.

- Prestige

The positive image of a country will build the good relation and cooperation with other countries. Indonesia wants a positive image view from the other countries. Darmasiswa Scholarship program as form of Indonesian culture diplomacy attempts to develop International trust toward Indonesia. Not only does this program function as the education tool and exchange student, but this program is also expected to become way to make cooperation with the other countries, especially South East Asia region. With Darmasiswa Scholarship program, benefit effect for stability Indonesia Image which is down because of bad condition that happens in Indonesia will be obtained, and then it can supporting the government to do cooperation with the other country in other sector will be easier.

- Economic

With the Darmasiswa Scholarship program, it is expected that it will help the increasing development of tourism sector and economic welfare. The participants will be tourists and when they back to their countries and tell to the other people in their state, it will pull desire of foreign tourist to come to Indonesia and it will increasing the number of foreign tourist that come in Indonesia.

The increasing members of the participant's members of Darmasiswa that comes to Indonesia will bring benefit for economic sector of Indonesia and economic welfare of Indonesia society. For Indonesia government the increasing of Devisa

(Foreign Exchange) will strengthen Domestic Exchange (Rupiah). As we know that more increase of Devisa of a country, so the value of domestic exchange will increase also and the economic will more stabile. Economic stability in some country is important because it directly relates with system and development of a country. Then it can rise economic in informal sector.

- Promote Indonesia Culture

Indonesia is a unique country. Indonesia is an archipelagic country with diverse natural wealth, with different cultures, has been recognized and many attractive nation-interest of various nation. The culture Diversity that happens from Sabang to merauke it has uniqueness and Indonesia to be famous as multicultural country.

The participants of Darmasiswa scholarship can be ambassadors for their country when they are back to their countries, where they have been educated and understand about Indonesian art and culture in Indonesia. It as expect they will tell about Indonesia culture to other people in their country, and it will influence Indonesia art and culture; they also become important actor for achieved Indonesia National Interest to pull desire of foreign tourists to visit Indonesia country.

With the proof of the increasing number of state participants Darmasiswa scholarship, it is means that it can provide other state information participants that Indonesia is a country rich in culture, comfortable and safe for occupancy and it is one how to build a positive image and increase the prestige. Therefore, with the high interest of foreign students Darmasiswa Scholarship program, they will have

the access to information and education process that has been implement With join this program, they know that Indonesia is also safe and comfortable country.

D. Hypothesis

According to problem background and theoretical framework, the following hypothesis can be put forward:

Darmasiswa Scholarship program can developed Indonesia image by Darmasiswa's program. The participants that followed Darmasiswa can see and experience directly the cultural and condition of Indonesia with its various activities that has been draw by Darmasiswa programs. The participants of Darmasiswa scholarship learn about Indonesia's culture such as Indonesia language, art, music, and crafts, it can influence the perspective of the students to have better perception about Indonesia.. Then Darmasiswa Scholarships can be as a means of cultural diplomacy through people-to-people contact to inform the condition of Indonesia.

E. Range of research

In this writing, the writer focusing more on the topic research, the writer limits the time that the research was conduct. The writer wants to explain the effort of Indonesian Government especially the Ministry of National Education (DEPDIKNAS) in cooperation with the Department of Foreign Affairs (DEPLU) as the organizer of Darmasiswa Scholarship program.to minimize dissimilarity of the world as well as can be develop cooperation and diplomacy in any aspect with the other countries. The writer collects the data as long as it is relevant to be used in this research starting from 2003-2008.

F. Data Collection

Data collection technique of this thesis, by the writer will use a common method to sustain and arrange the data. Therefore, the library research method will be used in order to explain the problems and verify the hypothesis based on empirical reality. By using qualitative research, the writer also will get the secondary data. The sources of information will be collect by references in the forms of books, encyclopedia, and newspapers. In addition, various data from internet will also be used since some information and data dealing with the topic forwarded are only available through the internet media. The writer also did the media research by surveying the data from internet survey on article about Darmasiswa Scholarship.

G. The System of Writing

The systems of writing this thesis are:

- a. Chapter I contains the introduction that includes; problem background, research question, purpose of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research, and system of writing.
- b. Chapter II will discuss about the movement of Indonesia Image, the image of Indonesia in the ASEAN post-1998. the impact of Indonesia image to Indonesia's economic post 1998. the impact of Indonesia image to Indonesia's tourism post 1998.

- c. Chapter III will contains about the form of Indonesia cultural diplomacy through Darmasiswa scholarship, the background of Darmasiswa scholarship program, the cooperation between Indonesia and ASEAN, the purpose of Darmasiswa,
- d. Chapter IV will discuss about the Darmasiswa scholarship programs as a tool of Indonesia Cultural Diplomacy, Darmasiswa scholarship program, the participants of Darmasiswa scholarship program in Indonesia, Darmasiswa scholarship program, the program of Darmasiswa, the facilities of Darmasiswa, place of implementation, the process education of Darmasiswa, establishments after closing of Darmasiswa program, the purpose Indonesia government through Darmasiswa
- e. Chapter V is the conclusion of the entire writing in each chapter that has been described by both writer and the closing writing of this thesis.