

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. Background

International Relation is specifically majoring about the relations within the nations. According to Sheriff Folarin, International Relations as a course of study reflects the dynamics of the International System. IR is a broad discipline that encapsulates the multivariate aspects of man in the global contexts (Folarin, 2015). Speaking about international relations means aware of the globalization that the world is facing. Each day, the world is rapidly becoming more globalized. The connection between the essentials aspects of human life in the world includes fashion, music, film, culture, trade, religion, politics, etc. is one proof that globalization is influence our life. Regarding from James and Steger, globalization can be defined as a procedure where government, people, and institution is interconnected and integrated, it could be through the trade, the investments and information technology (James P. &., 2017) Therefore, the ability of states to interact with others and maintain close relations is known as diplomacy.

Diplomacy is an essentials activity to the ongoing process of International Relations. Sumaryo Suryokusumo on his Book “*Praktik Diplomasi*” said, Diplomacy plays a role as a political process to preserve a Government’s foreign policy to influence policy and behavior of other nations (Suryokusumo, 2004). However, diplomacy nowadays not only concerns about political activity, because it also depends on the globalization phenomenon. Globalization has opened so many gaps for the state to broaden its diplomatic. This phenomenon brings diplomacy into a multi-dimensional way, which makes the countries cannot help but to encourage their non-traditional diplomacy to achieve their interests. The non-traditional diplomacy involved economy aspects, socio-culture aspects, human rights and environmental issues.

Soft Diplomacy is a diplomacy that wrapped by a strategy, to do and to gain things with tender and smooth movement. Soft Diplomacy is considered more effective to resolve a problem rather than hard diplomacy, because it’s using smooth approaches through value, highlighting attractiveness and also

appearance. In Soft Diplomacy, we know a cultural diplomacy which contend a nation's national interest through culture, on a micro level as sports and art or on a macro level as propaganda and others which in conventional sense is considered as a non politic, economy, neither a military (Kartikasari, 2007, p. 5). Culture is a something communicative, it can be easily understood by all circles within different cultural background. Therefore, cultural diplomacy is considered effective to achieve the goals, since the execution can take place in every situation, whether in a state of peace, crisis, conflict or war (Kartikasari, 2007, pp. 19-20). The common evidence of this is diplomacy is Japanese anime, Korean drama, and also the Bollywood film industry. In this case, a film or a movie acted as a political language, when it comes to the relations between countries, film could be an identity of each and other society. Meanwhile, the same phenomenon happened in Fashion. Fashion nowadays also softly moves as a political language, hereinafter referred to as *Fashion Diplomacy*. *Fashion Diplomacy* matches with the term 'soft diplomacy' because it uses culture, norms, and attractiveness in its movement.

Fashion has been seen as apolitical phenomenon in the past, outside of politics and of little concern to politicians. The perception of fashion as an apolitical phenomenon has also been a partial *misconception* as fashion and appearance have always played a key part in the politics of difference. The politic of difference here refers to those politics which effect and reinforce difference within society with regard to class, gender, race, or simply the politics of bodily regulation.

Fashion and Diplomacy, two seemingly different topics, actually have a mutually beneficial role. Fashion in its use, is very vital to convey an identity. Fashion is also can be used as a non-verbal communication tools because fashion comprises a symbol that has significations. *Fashion Diplomacy* is an art of negotiation practice which contributing fashion or art of dressing up to give a certain influence towards other populace or other parties. *Fashion Diplomacy* nowadays can be used as a Soft Power to create a line to links countries to establish a better relationship. It can help a city branding, political branding, or

even a personal branding of an actor of a country. It can happen since the way people dress up and appear in public will show where they come from, their social level classification, and how they can influence others. The use of sumptuary law in time of Roman when Jews and Muslims had to dress in distinguish ways from those of Christian's is one sample of how fashion is political. In the Middle Age, sumptuary law prohibited commoners from dressing above their social station while in Britain, people were also not allowed to wear clothing woven elsewhere in order to protect the wool industry for some decades. Rojek highlights the crucial turning point in the development of more aesthetically oriented and visually driven cultures, here fashion played as the key point: "In the eighteenth century, fashion became more prominent marker of cultural capital. In becoming more prominent, it also became more differentiated, since individuals began to compete more intensively with one another to impress others with aesthetic impact and body culture (Rojek, 2001). Even though this concept is considered as a new study but the practice of this concept actually has been running years ago. Some sociologist believe that fashion diplomacy can give a delitescent and significant influence. Moreover, Fashion Diplomacy has been running in Indonesia since the New Order Era of President Soeharto. At that time, the way of Siti Hartinah Soeharto dressed up represent the *Javanization* era at that moment, which could be seen from her choices to wear Kebaya, Batik and Konde (*Java Bun*) from the Javanese culture. Besides that, she wore Kebaya to create the Indonesian Female identity that upholding a female nature values. Because the *Batik* itself has different pattern that tells different story and values of Indonesia. And it makes there's so much following messages in the way she dressed.

Michelle Obama on his husband leadership was the first and one of the political figure that was publicly known for using *Fashion* as one of her political diplomacy tools. The choices of Michelle's fashion was often labeled as Sartorial Diplomacy, it was pictured from the dress she chose to attend overseas diplomatic visit. To be example, she wore the dress from Naeem Khan; an Indian-American designer, when she had to attend dinner at India, or when she wears dress from Gucci, a reputable designer from Italy; when attending Kennedy Center Honors

awards the same day as when Italy did the constitutional referendum voting to demote their Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi on 2016.

On this era, Michelle Obama is not the only person who known for neatly map out their fashion diplomacy toward political meanings. The president Joko Widodo who since running for DKI Jakarta governor until President Election (first round) has already attached his political views towards certain symbols, especially his attire. The same plaid rolled up sleeves shirt that he wears on his governor and first round president election campaign has the meaning of diversity of society which he will lead, meanwhile the rolled up sleeves, pictured the attitude of the leader who ready to step in right away for his society. Thus, from this moment, the plaid shirt is becoming very popular and this phenomenon is used by a local tailor to produce and sell the same shirt while the demand is increasing. It creates a new “identity” for the Indonesian head of states which speaks louder the terms of “Indonesia” in the eye of the world’fpolitical actors at that time. Today’s fact that fashion diplomacy has become a prerequisite for the leaders of global era can be seen through the way politicians and diplomats using fashion to their advantage.

B. Research Question

Based on the background of the problem as described above, the problem of this undergraduate thesis can be formulated in the following question:

How is Indonesian Government strategy to implement Fashion Diplomacy to convey its political messages to international community?

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the research question above, the theory is used, and it is expected to clearly explain that Fashion Diplomacy could be implemented in Indonesia.

a. Soft Power

Soft power was firstly introduced by Joseph S. Nye to explain *non-traditional diplomacy* which has developed since the 21st century. He introduced this concept in Foreign Policy Journal in 1990. According

to Nye, “power” is an art to influence other parties to carry out what we wish. Power is divided into two; *hard* and *soft power*. *Hard power* is a diplomacy using threats to influence other parties (transactional). The examples are; embargo, economical funding, and military aggression.

On the other side, *soft power* does not use a coercive or sanction acts, but maximizing the power of *attraction*, such as culture, values, foreign policies, and so on. Soft power also works as a kind of persuasion, which has more power than to propel others with arguments.

Soft power has its own way to headed into an agreement or to persuade others, without threats, and reward, but with the exchange of culture, value and norms.

b. Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural Diplomacy is one of the various forms of diplomacy that is included in Soft Power, cultural diplomacy achieves a country’s national interest trough culture, which in a conventional sense is a non-politic, economy nor military. This form of diplomacy can be played by the actor from state government or a non-state government. It can be among individual, NGO, and citizens. This diplomatic relationship can be formed by *government to government*, *people to people*, *individual to individual*, *government to individual* and so forth. Cultural Diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their people to foster mutual understanding. Thus, it forms an important component of the broader endeavor of public diplomacy (Cummings, 2003).

Diplomacy goals are known to seek recognition, adjustment, persuasion, threats, hegemony or subversion. While, theoretically Cultural Diplomacy is a peaceful diplomacy with the purpose to fulfill national interests. Cultural diplomacy can be defined as a state’s goal

to ensure that its cultural assets and accomplishment are recognized abroad. Some countries have pivoted on their foreign policy objectives to advance the transport of some aspects of their culture (Cull, 2009). Thus, the goal of Cultural Diplomacy is to influence foreign society's opinion to support a foreign policy to other country. Common pattern that usually occurs on a cultural diplomacy relationship is an opinion of a society (of a particular country) with the society (of another country). However, it is an opinion that influences *policy* of the communities concerned (Kartikasari, 2007). Furthermore, to explain the situations, the forms, objectives, and facilities of Cultural Diplomacy can be seen from the following table:

Table 1.1 Table of Cultural Diplomacy (Kartikasari, 2007, p. 31)

Situations	Forms	Goals	Means
Peace	Exhibition Competition Mission Exchange Negotiation Conference	Recognition Hegemony Friendship Adjustment	Tourism Sports Education Trade Art
Crisis	Propaganda Mission Exchange Negotiation	Persuasion Adjustment Recognition Threat	Politics Mass Media Diplomatic High-Level Mission Public Opinion
Conflict	Terror Penetration Mission Exchange Boycott Negotiation	Threat Subversion Persuasion recognition	Public Opinion Trade The Military Official Forum Third Party
War	Competition Terror Penetration Propaganda Embargo Boycott Blockade	Domination Threat Subversive Recognition Conquest	Military The Military Smuggling Public Opinion Trade Supply Consumer Goods (Including Weapons)

Regarding to this table, Art is a one means of cultural diplomacy. Art is a part of a culture with the means to express the sense of beauty in the human soul. Art is one of the elements of universal culture which is a reflection of its supporting human civilization. Fashion is using the art of dressing up to express a value and identity. Thus, fashion as an art is a part of cultural diplomacy. Fashion is used as a

tool to convey a message, to give influence and even change one's perspective, to create a new identity or an image.

c. Fashion Diplomacy

Fashion diplomacy is a term that uses Fashion as a tool. Fashion on its use can communicate, and persuade others, or create the new identity of the particular meaning. Fashion Diplomacy is an art of negotiation practice which contributes the art of dressing up to give a certain influence towards other populace or other parties. The term "Fashion" in diplomacy can be used to reach a various national interests; such as to create political/city/personal branding, to create a links to each country to build a better relationship, to exchange values, and so forth. Therefore, Fashion diplomacy is one of the forms of public diplomacy.

The basic distinction between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy is clear; the former is about relationships between of states or other international actors; whereas the latter targets the general public in foreign societies and more specific non-official groups, organization and individuals (Melissen, 20015). The non-traditional diplomacy involved economy aspects, socio culture aspects, human rights and environmental issues.

Regarding to Nye, there are three dimensions of a public diplomacy, daily communication that involves an explanation of the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions; strategic communications as in political campaign and or advertisements; and public diplomacy which builds key figures through scholarships, exchanges, training, conferences and access for the media (Joseph S.Nye, 2004). Fashion Diplomacy is classified as a public diplomacy because fashion can trade norms and values. However, Fashion Diplomacy is considered as an open door to create more international interactions, create a country's identity, to link between people who

have many differences and soon expected to be a strategic communication tool to help the cultural and political campaign for Indonesia because Fashion has a strong non-verbal way to produce a new value.

The term of Fashion Diplomacy is defined as the example of 'Soft Power', the ability to persuade through culture, value, and ideas as opposed to 'Hard Diplomacy' which often conquers or coerces through military process.

d. Multi-track Diplomacy

There is a *Multi-track diplomacy*, which is a continuation of a *first track diplomacy* and *second track diplomacy* as following the emergence of non-governmental actors in International Relations.

Multi-track diplomacy is firstly stated by Louis Diamond, according to him, multi-track diplomacy is a “the diplomacy within countries, categorized as a *community diplomacy* or *public diplomacy* which is a system from the component of a diplomacy processes and acts” (McDonald L. D., 1996). Multi-track diplomacy is used because government couldn't handle the problem complexity in all aspects. Thus, the non-governmental actor's role is needed to participate for the diplomacy processes. Each track which connected with the goal of peace and fear could be effectively used to resolve the problem. This can be explained as follows (McDonald L. D., 1996):

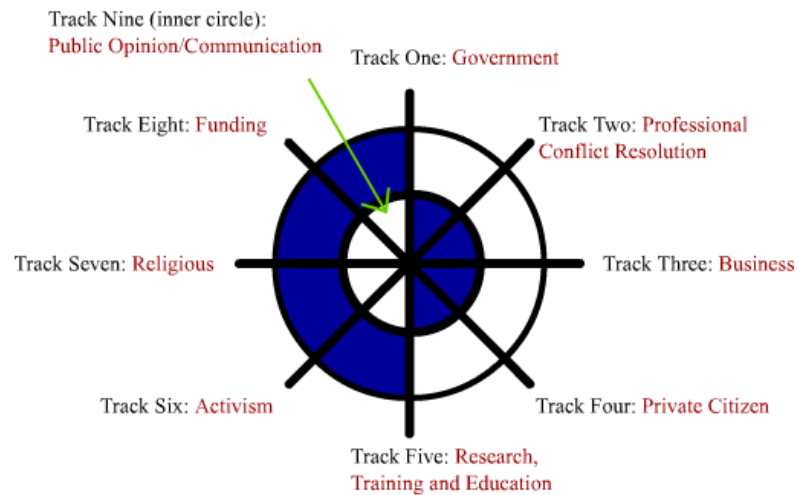


Figure 1.1 Multi-Track Diplomacy by Louise Diamond and John McDonald (1996)

Regarding to the diagram above, it can be obtained the nine tracks than can be passed to do the process of diplomacy. Track 9 – Communication and the Media, or Peacemaking through Information. Track 9 is the most suitable track which can be implemented. Track 9 is utilized the dissemination of information through public opinion/communication. In this track, public opinion is created and spread by the help of the electronic and printed media (McDonald L. D., 1996). It can be said that media has the big power to persuade the public opinion.

The media is a very influential tool in creating public opinion responding to something that will have a big impact on the government’s decisions making process. While media makes the information is easily accessible anytime and anywhere.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the correlation of background and the theoretical framework that has been explained above, in order to reach further national interest using the implementation of fashion diplomacy, the author came up with the hypothesis: A more focused implementation of fashion diplomacy strategy to represent Indonesian’s rich and multicultural cultures need to be well planned and carefully executed through Exhibition, Fashion Show, and Education Showcase.

E. The Purpose of Research

- a. The purpose of this undergraduate thesis is to obtain a Bachelor Degree in International Program of International Relation. Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
- b. This thesis is made to find what is Indonesian Government strategy towards the fashion diplomacy to reach its political agenda using the concept of Soft Diplomacy.

F. Research Methodology

a. Data Collective Method

This research uses a qualitative method that emphasizes the technique of library research. Furthermore, the data obtained is using the analytical method and the elaboration of each existing data. The data is obtained in the form existed books, journals, magazines, and article both online and offline from an officials and valid sources.

b. Methods of Analysis

The method of analysis used is a descriptive analysis, which is a research methods that seeks to collect, compile, and interpret existing data with the aim of describing or explaining events. With this descriptive method, the author wants to find out the strategy of Indonesian Government to implementing fashion diplomacy.

G. Scope of Research

To limit the focus of the discussion in this study, the authors limits the scope of this thesis from 2008 to 2020 as in Michelle Obama started to use fashion to connect and communicate in every political activity she attends, however the thesis will mainly focus on the recent events that happen in Indonesia to prove the fashion is implemented by the Indonesian government nowadays to achieving interests.

H. Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of 5 chapters, and an explanation of each chapter will be described in detail in the sub-chapters. The research outline is as follows:

CHAPTER I

This chapter describes the background of the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research objectives, research methodology, the scope of research and the organization of writing.

Development of fashion diplomacy since it started to arise.

CHAPTER III

This chapter explains when and how fashion diplomacy enters and influence Indonesia.

CHAPTER IV

This chapter discusses what Indonesia Government has done to implementing fashion diplomacy and how is the Indonesia Government strategy to keep implementing fashion diplomacy to reach its further national interest.

CHAPTER V

This chapter contains a conclusion of the explanations from the previous presented chapters.