

Research Article

Promoting Indonesia's Tourism to China through Public Diplomacy during The Reign of President Joko Widodo

Received: 8th March 2021; Revised: 8th May 2021;

Accepted: 10th May 2021; Available online: 13th May 2021

Isti Nur Rahmahwati¹, Yuliannova Lestari²

¹School of International Relations, University of International Business and Economics,

No. 10, Huixin Dongjie, Chaoyang District, Beijing, P.R. China, 100029

²School of Politics and International Studies, Central China Normal University,

152 Luoyu Road, Wuhan, Hubei, P.R. China 430079

Abstract

During President Joko Widodo's (Jokowi's) administration, Indonesia and China tend to have closer partnership concerning tourism sector. On the other hand, as Chinese outbound tourists gradually increase year to year, China becomes a key market that is expected to boost international tourist arrivals in Indonesia. The article aims to explain Indonesia's public diplomacy to China in the tourism sector during the first period of President Jokowi's administration from the analysis of international relations. This article presents an analysis of Indonesia's public diplomacy models in enhancing tourism-branding to China based on the soft power theory. Public diplomacy represents a country's foreign policy through two-way communication and people-to-people interaction between representatives of a country and foreign publics as objects of diplomacy. The article mainly uses qualitative research methodology with analytical and descriptive analysis to understand and analyze public diplomacy and its practical implementations to China. The result finding is that Indonesia makes tourism as a potential soft power to strengthen its identity and enhance strategic and comprehensive relations with China. By developing diplomatic practices through a people-centered approach, the government would be more effective and efficient to reach all levels of Chinese society to promote Indonesia's tourism

Keywords: Public Diplomacy; Tourism Sector; Soft Power; Foreign Policy; Jokowi Administration

How to Cite: Rahmahwati, I.N., Lestari, Y. (2021). Promoting Indonesia's Tourism to China through Public Diplomacy during The Reign of President Joko Widodo. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 20 (1): 49-77 (doi: 10.14710/jis.20.1.2021.49-77), [Online]

Permalink/DOI:<https://doi.org/10.14710/jis.20.1.2021.49-77>

Corresponding Author: istinurrahmahwati@gmail.com (Isti Nur Rahmahwati)

INTRODUCTION

The strengthening of bilateral relations between Indonesia and China in the Jokowi era has been seen ever since he made China as the first country of his state visit at the APEC Summit in Beijing, 2014. In terms of tourism projects, the two countries have signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Tourism Cooperation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China) between the National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia. In 2015, President Jokowi and President Xi Jinping continued to deepen mutual trust and extensive cooperation in multiple priority areas in which tourism and people-to-people exchange were also concerned about. The two countries agreed to promote tourism by air transport cooperation, cultural heritage and marine tourism, Indonesia-China Joint Working Group on Tourism Cooperation, and collaborative program of Giant Panda and Komodo Dragon (Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Indonesia, 2015). As part of China's grand strategy, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) also serves as a strategic blueprint in expanding tourism cooperation between Indonesia and China. According to the Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia, establishing a department called International Marketing for Great China shows the government's commitment to market and promote tourism in mainland China. Indonesia's preference to China in the tourism industry is motivated by Indonesia's goal to become an important regional player in Southeast Asia and China's rise, which is challenging America's unipolar dominance.

Since President Jokowi took office in 2014, the tourism industry has been touted as a key sector that may assist Indonesia's economy to expand more quickly in the future. According to the Ministry of Tourism, tourism contributes 10% to GDP by spending approximately \$1 million, 9.3% in foreign exchange earnings, and 8.4% on job creation in the preceding five years, citing the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) (2016) and the World Bank (2016). According to data from the Investment and Cooperation Agency, tourist investment increased by 31% in 2017, or 1.7 billion US dollars, and the investment value has continued to rise at a rate of 20% each year since 2013, where China is one of the largest investors in Indonesia. At this point, the projection of tourism has significantly contributed to Indonesia's national economy. Thus, it can be an economic engine to stimulate the growth of other sectors. Moreover, Indonesia cannot continuously rely on natural resources such as oil, gas, and coal as the primary economic commodities for a long term because they tend to have fluctuating prices which can threaten the stability of Indonesia's foreign exchange earnings. Hence, allocating investment in the tourism sector is a wise option.

According to international tourist arrivals monthly reports released by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, the increased number of foreign tourists reaches from over 7 million in 2010 to 9.4 million people in 2014, which contributes to the foreign exchange reserving up to 11,166.13 million USD (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, 2015: 1). According to the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy data from 2015, international tourist arrivals continued to increase in the following years. For instance, in 2019, one year before the COVID-19 pandemic, more than 16 million tourists visited Indonesia and it has decreased to about 4 million tourists or 74,84% in 2020 (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, 2021). In 2017, the tourism industry contributed 3.3% of total GDP, or 28,208.9 million USD (WEF, 2017: 186). Due to the fast expansion of the tourism industry, the Indonesian government, led by President Jokowi, revamps tourism development plans and strategies under the supervision of the Ministry of Tourism. It includes regulatory reform, branding strategies, and overseas diplomacy that have been implemented through the enhancement of government and people-to-people ties.

The global tourism industry growth encourages President Jokowi's administration to develop Indonesia's tourism and increase its competitiveness in the global stage. According to the Chairman of the Committee of National Industry Economy (KEIN), Soetrisno Bachir, Indonesia has the potential to play a global strategic role in the tourism sector as so to increase the growth of economy (KEIN, 2019). Indonesia's tourism development is being driven by infrastructural development, according to the 2015 Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report (WEF, 2015: 17). The government's aims are to promote cultural and natural activities as tourist attractions, improve tourism expenditure, expand international openness, and reinforce the free visa policy for international tourists (WEF, 2017: 24). As a result of this success, Indonesia's travel and tourism competitiveness index (TTCI) rises from 50th place in 2015 to 40th place in 2019 (WEF, 2015: 5; 2019: 28). The Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI) is a measure of a country's competitiveness in terms of travel and tourism (T&T). It includes a number of variables and policies that influence a country's T&T growth (WEF, 2019).

While Indonesia's tourism competitiveness and the amount of overseas tourists are rapidly enhanced, Indonesia's tourism ranks 4th of Southeast Asian countries under Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand (WEF, 2019: 29). On the other hand, Thailand is still the top option for foreign travelers, notably Chinese tourists, due to its natural and historical attractions, and it is featured in the list, according to UNTWO (2019) "top 10 destinations receive 40% of worldwide arrivals". Improving the government's tourism capacity and competency on a regional level was a huge task. As a result, the government attempts to compete with Thailand and other Southeast Asian nations

to become a popular tourist destination, or a tourism hub. From this perspective, it shows that Indonesia has a strong desire to become a regional power, in which, tourism serves as one of its supporting tools. While competing with Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia, tourism may become a locomotive industry for Indonesia’s national growth and enhance Indonesia’s competitiveness and prestige at the regional level. Making Indonesia a Southeast Asian tourism hub may have good consequences for investment and trade growth and boost regional people-to-people relations (Ministry of Tourism: 6).

One of Indonesia’s public diplomacy activities during President Jokowi’s reign has been to promote tourism to China. Indonesia is seeking to improve its image and geopolitical power in the region and realize its objective of becoming a tourism hub. Because China is a developing global power that influences global economic growth dynamics and the potential for Chinese outbound tourists, the Ministry of Tourism collaborates with relevant authorities to attract Chinese investors and visitors to Indonesia. As a result, China is viewed as one of the major objectives of Indonesia’s tourism diplomacy. According to the Ministry of Tourism, Chinese tourist numbers have gradually increased in recent years prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. It is defined by its size, long-term viability (growth), and spending characteristics (Ministry of Tourism, 2018). Furthermore, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in International Tourism Highlight 2019 Edition mentions that “China remains the world’s largest spender” where “around 10% of China’s 1.4 billion inhabitants travel internationally” increase Chinese outbound tourists, especially in Southeast Asia (UNWTO, 2019: 15). While it motivates Indonesia to be the most popular tourist destination, Chinese tourists are anticipated to boost Indonesia’s tourism competitiveness through the increasing number of their visitors.

On the other hand, some of Chinese people still have misunderstanding about Indonesia as a result of the negative propaganda in 1998.

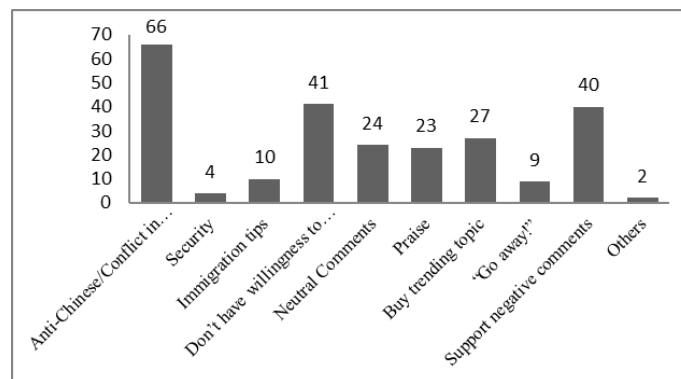


Figure 1. Comments and Postings on Weibo Platform

Source: PT Inter Ksatria Film and Ministry of Tourism, (2018: 74)

Figure 1 illustrates the impact of the May 1998 riots in Indonesia, which leaves unfavorable perceptions about discrimination and anti-Chinese ethnicity throughout the country. The issue of anti-Chinese ethnicity and the 1998 conflict has the most posts. It is followed by posts like “don’t want to travel” and “support nasty remarks”. Overall, the black campaign has tarnished Indonesia’s image and served as a deterrent to Chinese tourists. Therefore, a people’s diplomacy strategy is essential in fostering and offering understanding to the Chinese people and eradicating these unfavorable perceptions (Sofiyanto, 2019). It is not only a nation-branding strategy, but also a kind of public communication to build mutual understanding between Chinese and Indonesian people so as unfavorable opinions would eventually fade.

This article analyzes tourism promotion and marketing to mainland China through the practice of public diplomacy during President Jokowi’s first term in office. It explains how tourism plays a crucial part in public diplomacy. Because the literature on tourism and public diplomacy is sparse, it may be challenging to determine the important relationship between them. On the other hand, the authors try to figure out how tourism may be used as an instrument of public diplomacy.

Theoretical Framework

Tourism can be one of the soft power assets. Soft power is fundamentally about the ability to get the other the outcome you desire (Nye, 2004: 111). Soft power is more than persuasive acts. In other words, it is about the art of winning the minds and hearts of people to accept, emulate, and give positive feedback to a country’s values, norms, beliefs, and policies (Ooi, 2015: p. 1; Melissen, 2005: 10). Distinct from hard power which is transmitted through military and economic forces, soft power relies on culture, political values, and foreign policy instruments (Nye, 2004: 6, 111) to influence the behavior of foreign audiences towards a country in a different light. In this contemporary world, soft power is a multi-dimensional power in which its attributes consist of but are not limited to music, food, arts, tourism, education, digital media, literature, and environment (Weber Shandwick and KRC Research: 11; Ooi, 2015: 1). The role of tourism as soft power asset can be used in pursuing a country’s political goals such as economic benefits, destination branding, positive image, mutual understanding, and global competitiveness. It manifests through the attraction process in which a country establishing its positive image based on its policies and characteristics will attract the target audiences (whether states or non-state actors) (Nye, 2004 in Xu, Wang, and Song, 2018: 3). While it has greater influence to the audiences, soft power will be increased as they will be willing to follow or imitate that country’s agenda-setting, values, or institutions (Kearn, 2011 in Xu, Wang, and Song, 2018: 3).

Joseph Nye classifies public diplomacy as a form of a country's foreign policy that is conducted to gain soft power. He defines it as not only an activity to convey a message and sell the positive image to the public, but it "...also involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies" (Nye, 2004: 107). The other scholar, Hans J. Melissen (2005) in his concept of "new public diplomacy", emphasizes that public diplomacy represents the delivery of positive aspects of a country to foreign audiences exercised through a "two-way information flow" strategy. Public diplomacy is one of major elements of soft power (Melissen, 2005: 4). It is not just about directly conveying a country's diplomatic messages (one-way flow) to foreign public; however, it also reflects a strategic interaction and communication that attracts attention and brought understanding, branding, influence, and information about its nation's values, interests, ideas, and policy goals to foreign audiences (Sharp & Tuch, 1990: 3; Melissen, 2005: 8). By concerning this context, the authors agree that the concept of public diplomacy illustrates the practice of two-way diplomacy to influence and appeal to foreign publics that is more strategic, interactive, and comprehensive. It specifically aims to build the trust and credibility of a country and boost a long-term relationship with the target audiences. Public diplomacy mobilizes cultural, political values, and policy as sources of soft power to attract attention and encourage the interaction among government and non-governmental actors such as individuals, NGOs, private sectors of the target countries and build long-standing relationships through strategic communications and negotiations (Murrow, as cited in Leonard, 2002: 1; Nye, 2004: 114-115; Melissen, 2005: 5; Hall and Frank, 2013: 2).

Public diplomacy is defined as the establishment of two-way communication and people-to-people engagement between government representatives and foreign publics as referent objects of diplomacy. The established communication and engagement is meant to influence target audiences' policies and actions so that they accept, emulate, and achieve the diplomatic results desired by the hosting country. In this circumstance, inter-governments are no longer negotiated unilaterally, instead, a wide variety of non-state players – individuals, agencies, and organizations – acting as diplomatic agents or informal diplomats participate in such process. As public diplomats, they may engage in acts of cross-cultural communication – tourist promotion and marketing – to represent the government's interests. Tourism is an extended weapon of diplomacy that is pushed, sold, and advertised to attract and bring the international public closer together as part of cultural and economic engagement (Baranowski, et.al. 2019: 7). The rise of global tourism has altered the diplomatic landscape, making it possible to use tourist policy to achieve a country's political (international reputation and position) and economic goals (foreign exchange earnings). The Turkish Asian Center Studies in 2016 analyzes that public diplomacy in the tourism sector

has two bilateral activities: 1) diplomatic tourism to maximize national profits in political and economic realm and 2) touristic diplomacy to develop domestic tourism (Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studi, 2016: 3). In similar cases, quoted by *Baranowski, et.al.*, Wantanee Suintikul's article in 2017 and UNESCO's consecration of the French meal in 2010 argues that food and tourism are used as an instrument of public diplomacy (Baranowski, *et.al.* 2019: 9). To achieve tourism goals, public diplomacy aims to improve a country's tourism-branding, favorable image, and its global competitiveness. Melissen, for instance, discusses how China advertises its country through cultural and economic power. From a soft power standpoint, China uses cultural manifestations such as movies, fashions, and language as tools of public diplomacy to promote its international ties and tourism abroad in order to assuage other nations' fears and skepticism of Beijing's ascent (Melissen, 2005: 94).

Previous studies have analyzed the implementation of Indonesia's tourism diplomacy. However, they mostly discuss tourism diplomacy discourse and are unconcerned with the practical implementation of public diplomacy in China. First, Andalangi (2018) examines marine tourism diplomacy in North Sulawesi as a case study. He is particularly interested in how tourism diplomacy is used to promote marine tourism and strengthen collaboration with China. Second, Ivarachmawati and Issundari (2016) study discuss the citizens' role in public diplomacy through information exchange, economic, social, and cultural activities, and direct intensive communication between local people and foreigners under IACS (Indonesian Arts And Cultural Scholarship). Third, Yuniarto (2017) focuses on journalism as a marketing technique for Indonesia's tourism to China utilizing the *Wechat* platform. Fourth, Yuristiadhi and Sari (2017) investigate issues about Indonesia's tourism branding approach.

The purpose of this study is to analyze tourism promotion and marketing in China using public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is used not only for nation-branding purposes but also for two-way communication intended to boost Indonesia's tourism. The novelty of this article is the practical implementation of Indonesia's public diplomacy to China in the tourism sector during President Jokowi's first period. Specifically, this research attempts to explain Indonesia's public diplomacy to China in the tourism sector as a strategic instrument of Indonesia's foreign policy aimed to enhance Indonesia's soft power. This study analyzes how the actors implement three models of public diplomacy to China in the tourism sector: digital, cultural and exchange, and citizen model of diplomacy.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research is designed to analyze the implementation of Indonesia's public diplomacy to China in the tourism sector under Jokowi Presidency as a strategy to enhance its soft power. The results take the form of public diplomacy models, classified into three models: digital, cultural and exchange, and citizen models of diplomacy. This study mainly uses qualitative methodology. The type of analysis refers to analytical and descriptive analysis to understand and analyze tourism policies and strategies to China. The data are gathered from interviews, student questionnaires, and literature studies.

First, the process of in-depth interviews mostly involves two Indonesian officials from International Marketing for Great China, Ministry of Tourism and Directorate of Public Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While the interview with the Ministry of Tourism focuses on the tourism overseas policies and strategies that have been implemented in mainland China, the interview with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs focuses on the role of public diplomacy in the tourism sector, particularly for diplomats and government officials, in which the Ministry coordinates with the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Institute of International Relations. On the other hand, other interviews with international students are also conducted. Two, student questionnaires are required to understand the extent of Indonesian and foreign students, and some Chinese people who have ever or never been to Indonesia know and think about Indonesia's tourism and diplomatic efforts. Last but not least, the authors attempt to use rigorous analyses of journals, reports, books, internet sources, and interview transcripts.

The data analysis technique used Miles and Huberman models such as data collecting, reduction, presentation, and conclusion and verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10-11). Data are mainly collected from interviews, literature, documents, and questionnaire are selected and sorted out. Thus, these data are presented and organized to answer the research question and verify the conclusion of the research findings. The primary data in this research are mainly collected through the Ministry of Tourism in Jakarta, including in depth-interview and the practical implementations from PPIT (Indonesian Students Association in China). The secondary data are derived from the related literature and documentation. The process of research and collecting data has been mostly conducted at the Ministry of Tourism in Jakarta in 2019. The period of public diplomacy is during President Jokowi's government from 2014 to 2019 before the COVID-19 outbreak.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Indonesia’s Public Diplomacy to China in the Tourism Sector

Indonesia’s public diplomacy to China is implemented into promoting and marketing strategies that combine digital media, cultural and people-to-people exchange, and citizen participation targeting the Chinese public. Director of International Marketing for Great China, Mr. Vincent, explains that these strategies are developed in a structural and comprehensive manner from the ordinary phase to the super extraordinary phase (Jemadu, 2019).

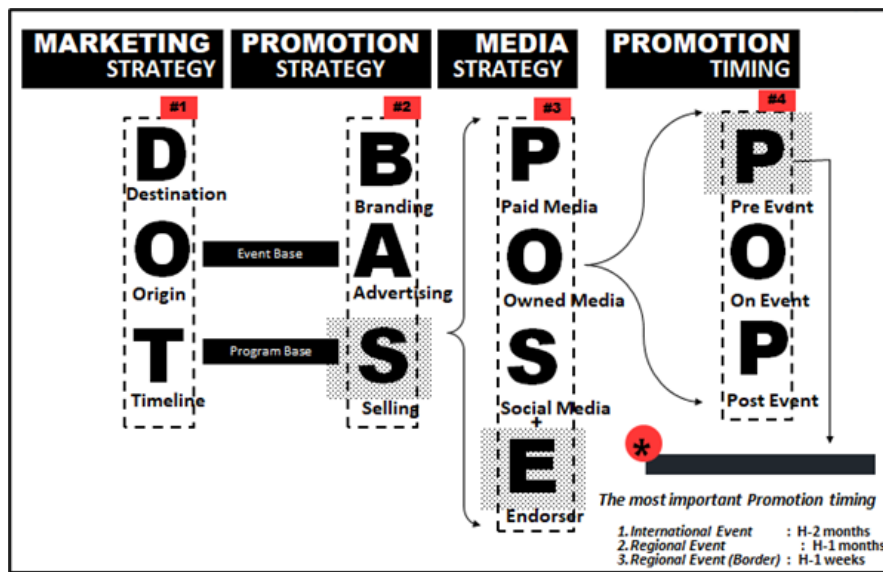


Figure 2. Tourism Marketing and Promotion Strategies

Source: Jemadu, (2018: 37)

According to Figure 2, the strategies are classified into three different policies. First, marketing strategy focuses on destination (attraction, access, amenity), the origin of tourists, and timeline (time of visiting), while promotion strategy concerns about tourism-branding (digital, printing, and space), advertising (exhibition, promotional events, cooperation with travel industries), and selling (sales mission, hot deals, digital destination) (Ministry of Tourism, 2018: 40). Second, media strategy focuses on paid media, owned media, social media, and is endorsed by collaborating with social media companies and news agencies.

Indonesia’s public diplomacy to China is categorized into three sub-divisions: digital, cultural, and citizen diplomacy. First, digital diplomacy becomes a trend in various countries, including Indonesia. Jay Wang, in *The Soft Power 30*, explains that the use of digital technology

for public diplomacy creates more spaces for the public’s interactions and engagements intensively and interdependently (Wang in Mcclory, 2019: 75-76). Through a digital media-based platform, Indonesia’s public diplomacy to China can provide greater prominence. Department of Media Communication, Ministry of Tourism, plays a larger role in the implementation of digital diplomacy.

According to the Internet Trends Report of the World Economic Forum, China is the largest digital media users, with 21% of internet users (Meeker, 2019: 11, cited in Charlton, 2019).

Table 1. Internet and Social Media Users in China

Year	Internet users	Percentage of the total population (%)	Active social media users	Percentage of the total population (%)
2015	680 million	49%	653 million	47%
2016	731 million	52%	787 million	57%
2017	751.3 million	53%	911.4 million	65%
2018	802 million	57%	1.07 billion	71%
2019	854 million	59%	1.04 billion	72%

Source: Has been processed from Hootsuite and We Are Social reports 2015-2019

According to Simon Kemp in Table 1, China’s internet users increased to 49% in 2015 and 47% for social media users in 2016. In 2017, there were 751.3 million internet users or 53 percent of the entire population and 911.4 million social media users or 65 percent of the total population. The number of active social media users increased significantly from 2017 to 2018. At the same time, the internet users increased to 57% and 71% for social media users in 2018. In 2019, the number of active internet and social media users increased significantly. Overall, Table 1 shows that China’s digital users annually increase. The increased number is inseparable from advanced China’s technology and their dependence on digital communication and platform in everyday life.

Since 2015, Wechat, Weibo, QQ, and Baidu have emerged as China’s most popular and active digital platforms. The increased use of digital technology by Chinese citizens may make it easier for Indonesia to communicate diplomatic messages and create relationships with the Chinese public, allowing the country to promote tourism and enhance its image. Digital diplomacy,

according to the Ministry of Tourism, contributes to 50% selling, 20% branding, and 30% promotion of Indonesia’s tourism, particularly to China, which is the country’s largest tourist market (Ministry of Tourism, 2018: 2). As seen in Table 2, digital diplomacy to China relies on the use of websites, social media, and mobile applications.

Table 2. Digital Diplomacy Implementation

Platform	Implementation
Website	– Wonderful Indonesia
	– Baidu (search engine, maps, travel)
	– Xinhua (top background, homepage focus)
Social Media	– Wechat (banner ads, broadcast messages)
	– Weibo (search billboard package, FST feed, finding page banner, posting)
Mobile Application	– Qunar
	– CTrip
	– Yizhibao
	– (flight banner, homepage banner, live broadcast/ streaming)

Source: Has been processed from Ministry of Tourism reports

First, in addition to establishing the official website of Wonderful Indonesia, the Ministry of Tourism collaborates with the Baidu Website Company to offer a variety of tourism-related information and destination priority (Ministry of Tourism, 2018). Baidu travel, a search engine, and maps are used to deliver the services. On the other hand, Wonderful Indonesia are promoted on the Xinhua news website’s top backdrop and homepage. Both Baidu and Xinhua are digital platforms that help promote, broadcast, and communicate Indonesia’s tourism to Chinese audiences (Ministry of Tourism, 2018). Tourism marketing and broadcasting through a website platform can simplify for the Chinese people to learn more about Indonesia’s tourism, such as tour packages, tourist sites, and comments. Second, Indonesia’s public diplomacy uses social media platforms to determine the information and promote Indonesia’s tourism activities. Furthermore, social media is an important platform to enable two-way communication between diplomats and the public (Bjola & Holmes, 2015: 74-76, cited in Dwikardana, *et.al*, 2017: 29). There are more

social media users in China than in any other country, in which, Wechat and Weibo dominate Chinese social media users. While Wechat’s official account contains banner advertisements and broadcast messages, public diplomacy to China through Weibo uses search billboard package, FST feed, finding page banner, and posting techniques (PT Inter Ksatria Film in Ministry of Tourism, 2018: 42-58). Third, in addition to websites and social media, mobile applications such as Qunar, Ctrip, and Yizhibao use digital diplomacy in the form of flight banners, homepage banners, and live broadcast or streaming (Ministry of Tourism, 2018: 10-19).

The second model of public diplomacy is manifested into cultural diplomacy. In contrast to digital strategy, this model emphasizes the promotion of culture and information exchanges among the government, students, and private sectors. The diplomacy activities stress the role of non-state actors in influencing one another through “*spread certain ideas and values*” (Woroniecka, 2016: 4). Practically, the model is implemented into several programs as presented in the following Table 3.

Table 3. Cultural Diplomacy Implementation

Program	Activities	Implementation
Festival	Arts, culture, culinary, gathering, music,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – PWI Festival in Wuhan, Nanjing, Harbin, Nanning, Xiamen 2018, 2019 – Festival Rhythm of the Spring 2018 in Nanning – INAFEST/INAWEEK Shanghai 2017, 2018 – Wonderful Indonesia Promotion 2017 in Luoyang – Wonderful Indonesia grand opening restaurant in Hefei 2016
Exchange Program	Student, ambassadors, diplomats, government officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Visit program of 30 students from Ping Guoyuan Junior High School – Indonesian Arts and Culture Scholarship Program (BSBI) – Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) – Darmasiswa program – Family Trip – Diplomatic tour “Exhibition of Women Empowerment in Papua Land 2018”

Program	Activities	Implementation
Sales Mission and Exhibition	Travel agent industry or tour operation (TA/TO) and hotelier [buyers&sellers]	- Sales Mission in North China (Jinan, Shenyang, Harbin)
		- Sales Mission BTB Beijing
		- Sales Mission Hot Deals China
		- Consumer Selling Wonderful Garuda Indonesia Travel Fair
		- Consumer Selling collaboration with Ctrip
		- China International Travel Mart (CITM) Shanghai 2018
		- Beijing International Tourism Expo 2018
		- CMT China Nanjing 2018

Source: Has been processed from Ministry of Tourism reports

According to Table 3, first, the government cooperates with investors, tourist agencies, and PPIT to organize Indonesian tourism festival activities such as PWI Festivals, Festival Rhythm of the Spring, INAWEEK Shanghai, and Wonderful Indonesia restaurants. The so-called PWI festival is a cultural festival in which Indonesian Student Associations in China mainly conducted it by associating with the Ministry of Tourism, Indonesian Embassy, and relevant sponsors from China and Indonesia. Since 2017, Indonesia Week (INAWEEK) has been held by the Ministry of Tourism coordinating with the Indonesian Consulate General in Shanghai and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce in China (KJRI Shanghai, 2018). On the other hand, Wonderful Indonesia restaurants promotion is also part of cultural diplomacy to promote Indonesia's positive trend of tourism and culinary to the Chinese public. These events aim to encourage and increase trade, tourism, and investment markets between Indonesia and China. Furthermore, according to the Ministry of Tourism, the festivals are intended as a medium of communication and the development of Indonesian art, culture, and tourism to the Chinese public and to build Indonesian cultural identity at the international level (Ministry of Tourism: 41).

According to Table 3, first, the government cooperates with investors, tourist agencies, and PPIT to organize Indonesian tourism festival activities such as PWI Festivals, Festival Rhythm of the Spring, INAWEEK Shanghai, and Wonderful Indonesia restaurants. The so-called PWI festi-

val is a cultural festival in which Indonesian Student Associations in China mainly conducted it by associating with the Ministry of Tourism, Indonesian Embassy, and relevant sponsors from China and Indonesia. Since 2017, Indonesia Week (INAWEEK) has been held by the Ministry of Tourism coordinating with the Indonesian Consulate General in Shanghai and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce in China (KJRI Shanghai, 2018). On the other hand, Wonderful Indonesia restaurants promotion is also part of cultural diplomacy to promote Indonesia's positive trend of tourism and culinary to the Chinese public. These events aim to encourage and increase trade, tourism, and investment markets between Indonesia and China. Furthermore, according to the Ministry of Tourism, the festivals are intended as a medium of communication and the development of Indonesian art, culture, and tourism to the Chinese public and to build Indonesian cultural identity at the international level (Ministry of Tourism: 41).

Third, the exhibition and sales mission strategy aims to build direct relationships and networks between Indonesian sellers and international buyers such as travel agent industry or tour operation (TA/TO) and hotelier. International tourism exhibitions such as CITM, International Tourism Expo, and CMT China have two objectives: 1) looking for business partners between Indonesian sellers and travel agents (PSA) and 2) selling tourism packages directly from seller to public (non-PSA) (Ministry of Tourism: 34). Similar to the concept of exhibition activities, the sales mission also facilitates the TA/TO industry, hotelier, and domestic tourist attractions (as a seller) to make business contacts (business matching) with the overseas TA/TO industry (as a buyer) or with specific communities (Ministry of Tourism: 38). The sales mission is carried out through direct promotion, tabletop, and business networking to establish tourism partnerships and explore market potential (Ministry of Tourism: 39-40).

Finally, the last strategy of Indonesia's public diplomacy is interpreted as citizen diplomacy. It is carried out by individual diplomats such as Indonesian students and NGO representatives to deliver diplomatic messages to the Chinese public supported by the Indonesian government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). In addition, they also have essential functions in bridging the differences and problems related to Indonesia's tourism development. In practice, citizen diplomacy to the Chinese public is implemented through the role of PPIT and GenWi China. These two organizations encourage the creation of new initiatives and collaborations to promote Indonesia's tourism in China. Several programs and activities have been carried out to develop Indonesia's tourism in the Chinese market, as seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Citizen Diplomacy Implementation

Actor	Program
Indonesian Students Association in China (PPIT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An Overview article about Indonesia’s tourism - Indonesia in My Eyes Video Project - Travel Blog/Vlog - Arts and Cultural Club and Festival - Indonesian language class
GenWi Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic Voyage to Indonesia - Promoting article through Wechat

Source: Has been processed from PPI Tiongkok, GenWi Tiongkok projects

Genwi is affiliated with the Indonesian students association in China, namely PPIT. Festivals, video projects, language classes, and online articles are all part of PPIT’s annual work plans to promote and grow Indonesian tourism in mainland China. First, the so-called Selayang Pandang or an overview article of Indonesia’s tourism such as culinary, nature and landscape, arts and culture, or adventures in English and Chinese language has always been uploaded every week through Wechat social media platform. This article aims to motivate foreign publics especially Chinese and foreign students to visit Indonesia. Second, travel blog and vlog are part of PPIT projects in which these programs provide a brief introduction about Indonesia’s culinary, culture, and tourist places that use English, Indonesia, and Chinese languages. Third, Indonesian culture and language classes are arranged by some of PPIT branches to provide knowledge and share mutual understanding to Chinese and foreign students in China. Fourth, most of PPIT branches organize annual cultural festivals and exhibitions collaborating with the Ministry of Tourism and the Indonesian Embassy and Consulate General in China as the practical implementation of Indonesian students’ talents which have been developed in arts and cultural clubs.

For instance, from 2017 to 2019, PPIT Wuhan, under Department of Arts and Culture, has arranged various events and projects to promote Indonesia’s arts, culture, and tourism, particularly to the Chinese and foreign public in Wuhan. The first PPIT Wuhan Festival Nusantara (Fesnus) has been organized in Huazhong Agricultural University, in which around 1000 audiences attend this event. This event is part of the work program series of PPIT Wuhan 2018-2019 “Lestari Budaya di Tangan Pemuda” which includes Indonesian culinary and product exhibition, badminton competition, and Fesnus (PPIT Wuhan, 2018: 2). In 2019, the second Fesnus

“Colorful in Harmony” was held at the same University attended by more than 800 audiences, mostly students from Hubei province universities (PPIT Wuhan, 2019). The performance is a musical drama with the collaboration of PPIT Wuhan, Xianning, and Huangshi arts and cultural clubs. Some of the students that have been interviewed at the end of the event enjoyed the performances. Five students coming from Pakistan are satisfied with the uniqueness of Indonesia’s culture and triggered to visit Indonesia soon, while Nepali, Bolivian, Morocco, and Ecuador students have willingness to attend such event again and come to Indonesia one day for tourism purpose. On the other hand, PPIT Wuhan collaborates with each university to conduct university-based cultural festivals to promote Indonesia’s arts, culture, and tourism through Indonesian students’ performances and product exhibitions. These events also involve other countries in order to share mutual understanding and cultural exchange among international students and Chinese people.

The authors have shared questionnaires with some international students who have ever or never been to Indonesia. They come from different countries such as Pakistan, Myanmar, Morocco, Laos, Bangladesh, Nepal, Turkey, Cameroon, Kazakhstan, and China .

Table 5. Questionnaire Result of International Students

Diplomatic Strategies	Results (highest percentage)
Digital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Website (30% good) – Instagram (40% good) – Blog (40% good) – Youku (30% fair) – Wechat (30% excellent) – Youtube (30% excellent) – Mobile travel app (30% fair)
Cultural and exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Festival and exhibition (40% good) – Dance performance (40% good) – Martial arts performance (30% good) – Theater performance (30% good) – Music performance (30% good) – Student exchange (40% good)

Diplomatic Strategies	Results (highest percentage)
Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Travel agency (42% good) - PPIT (42% good) - Genwi China (28% good)

Source: Has been processed from questionnaire to International students

About 70% of the students are interested and impressed with Indonesian students' missions to promote Indonesia's tourism. According to the finding results in Table 5, most of the students are impressed with tourism promotion through practical implementation of cultural and exchange performance as well as citizen model of diplomacy. Cultural and exchange strategy covers 30%-40% attraction for international students to know and feel curious about Indonesia's culture and tourism while around 42% of the students think that travel agency and especially PPIT plays a greater role in promoting Indonesia's tourism in China. 50% of the students who have not visited Indonesia agree and are attracted to travel to Indonesia while others who have ever been there are satisfied with Indonesia's diplomacy and some of them had expressed willingness to revisit Indonesia in the future.

This survey also includes Indonesian students to assess how well tourism promotion in China through public diplomacy and PPIT performance is in promoting Indonesia's culture and tourism in Table 6.

Table 6. Questionnaire Result of Indonesian Students

Diplomatic Strategies	Results (highest percentage)
Digital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Website (51% good) - Instagram (39% excellent) - Blog (39% good) - Youku (14% good) - Wechat (23% good) - Youtube (44% excellent) - Mobile travel app (53% good)
Cultural and exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Festival and exhibition (46% good) - Dance performance (44% good)

Diplomatic Strategies	Results (highest percentage)
Cultural and exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Martial arts performance (37% good) - Theater performance (34% good) - Music performance (37% good) - Student exchange (46% good)
Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Travel agency (44% good) - PPIT (41% excellent) - Genwi China (37% good)

Source: Has been processed from questionnaire to Indonesian students

About 62% of the respondents think that Indonesia’s tourism development and diplomacy to China during Jokowi’s era shows a positive sign. More than 85% of students believe tourism promotion in China is essential to attract more international tourists, particularly from China, to visit Indonesia and increase diplomatic relations between Indonesia and China. Moreover, China is the most populous country in the world, so as it can be beneficial to develop Indonesia’s tourism industry and broaden foreigners and Chinese people’s knowledge that Indonesia is not only about Bali. However, there are still other interesting places to be visited. From Table 6, cultural and citizen diplomacy are good enough.

In PPIT special projects, one of the authors interviewed international students regarding their perspectives after visiting Indonesia. A student from Turkey has been to Indonesia in 2018. She visited Jakarta and Bali for travel and leisure. Based on the interview, she felt so lucky to have visited Indonesia, where she saw beautiful scenic views, especially in Ubud, Bali. Another student from Pakistan was interested in visiting Indonesia in 2019. When he came to Indonesia, he was satisfied with the Indonesian environment and the people were so friendly. He visited Bali, Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Jakarta and stayed there for 20 days. He saw that Indonesia has rich cultures and every city has its own uniqueness. Another interview conducted at Shandong University with a master degree’s student from Georgia, found out that Bali is so amazing like a paradise and Balinese people are kind and friendly. She is interested in revisiting Indonesia due to its unique culture and tradition that are rarely found in other countries.

As public diplomacy agents, PPIT and GenWi have tasks and missions, one of which is to assist in improving the skills and interests of Indonesian students studying in China for cultural,

arts, education, and tourist development. The purpose of these programs is to promote the attraction of learning more about Indonesia to the Chinese public, as well as to eliminate unfavorable attitudes about the history of Indonesia-China diplomatic ties and to foster mutual understanding between Indonesian and Chinese people.

B. Tourism as Indonesia's Soft Power

Ooi (2016) proposes four perspectives of looking at how tourism and soft power are related to each other. They are 1) tourists develop more understanding of the destination country which results in increasing their empathy (likeability) towards it; 2) tourism authorities have task to deliver positive and attractive image to international audiences as destination branding strategy enhance the attractiveness of the destination country; 3) some big events such as games and world expositions are essential to gain geopolitical influence and show the destination country's tourism capabilities; 4) outbound tourists have on-going campaigns to reduce negative stereotypes of their own countries (Ooi, 2016: 2). Adopting Ooi's viewpoints, Hussin (2018) analyzes the relationship between tourism and soft power through five interlinked perspectives (areas) where Malaysia is the case study. He examines Ooi's (2016) four interlinked areas using the gastronomy tourism approach (the fifth area). The article mentions that gastronomy can be used as a soft power tool of a country to influence and impress the minds and hearts of international audiences towards its tourism.

Overall, the result findings are, 1) tourists have developed more profound understanding and empathy and they became more familiar towards the destination country; 2) the authorities use tourism to convey an attractive and positive image of the destination country to international audiences (destination branding); 3) the organized big events and games aim to gather geopolitical support and show the destination country's capabilities to attract international tourists; 4) tourism is useful to reduce negative stereotypes of tourists' sending country; 5) tourism (gastronomy) is effectively used as a soft power tool to improve the positive image (Hussin, 2018: 3). The author concludes that Malaysia has relatively achieved its desired tourism development and promotion outcomes by smartly using the only soft power tools without combining the hard power tools (Hussin, 2018: 8). He agrees that Ooi's four interlinked perspectives and gastronomy are adequate ways to analyze the correlation between tourism and soft power (Hussin, 2018: 8). Suntikul also articulates how tourism and food are intertwined within public diplomacy, particularly citizen diplomacy, which encourages positive associations with a country's national branding (Suntikul, 2017: 14). The combination of food and tourism diplomacy within the so-called gastro diplomacy contributes not only to impress the minds and hearts of the foreign public

regarding national culture and tourism attraction of a country but also to develop long-term people-to-people ties.

Another study by Carbone (2017) associates tourism and cultural diplomacy as a unit of a country's foreign policy, which contributes to promoting mutual understanding and peace for international communities. As a platform of soft power initiative, tourism-cultural diplomacy represents a country's identity which can provide effective contributions not only to demonstrate a positive image of a country but also to encourage global mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue to the target audiences (Carbone, 2017: 72). In this study, he points out that tourism is considered a powerful vehicle of cultural diplomacy (Carbone, 2017: 67) which can be beneficial to build more positive and peaceful relations among governments, individuals, and communities.

Comparing to the previous research, Xu, Wang, and Song (2018) look deeper into how tourism is used as a diplomatic strategy to build soft power. They primarily focus on Chinese outbound tourism, which has implications not only to attract the attention of the global audiences but also to gain economic advantage for both sending and destination countries. It is noted that the Chinese government uses outbound tourism as a soft power building scheme to achieve economic purposes as the desired outcomes (Xu, Wang, and Song, 2018: 12). From their perspective, tourism can also be used as a soft power building for presenting a country's positive image and drawing global attention and for political and economic engagement with other countries.

According to The Soft Power Index 30, issued by Portland in 2018, Indonesia ranks 9th as one of the most influential soft power countries in the region, as mentioned in Table 7. As described in Table 7, Indonesia ranks 9th out of 10 countries with strong soft power in the Asian region. It is not much different in 2019, Indonesia ranks with a similar score of 40.94 (Mcclory, 2019: 67). In Southeast Asia, Indonesia's position is ranked 4th under Singapore with its top enterprise power, Thailand with its best performance in the government, education, and digital strategy (Mcclory, 2019: 90) and Malaysia with its new government policies. Mcclory in The Soft Power Index 30 argues that Indonesia's best-performing sub-index is a government "which has a very high-profile head ..., even with starkly contrasting styles" (Mcclory, 2019: 91). Jokowi's leadership style and policy changes positively influence Indonesia's soft power in the regional stage .

Table 7. Asia Soft Power 10 Index

Number	Country	Score
1	Japan	76.22
2	South Korea	62.75
3	Singapore	62.44
4	China	51.85
5	Taiwan	47.25
6	Thailand	45.92
7	Malaysia	45.82
8	India	40.64
9	Indonesia	40.51
10	Philippines	37.68

Source: Mcclory, (2018: 88)

President Jokowi has said unequivocally that the goal of contemporary diplomacy is to improve Indonesia's image and foster a good public opinion of the country (Amindoni, 2018). Wonderful Indonesia branding symbolizes Indonesia's national character and tourism enthusiasm, as well as its richness and diversity (Yuristiadhi and Sari, 2017: 34). Improving this nation-branding can affect the view of the target audiences that Indonesia is a favorable place to invest and trade.

Following its foreign policy ideas and orientations, Indonesia places soft power strategies in dealing with international challenges, particularly establishing diplomatic ties with other nations. During Jokowi's presidency, public diplomacy takes an inward-looking and down-to-earth approach. He emphasizes the importance of developing the home sector in international realm and how it may benefit Indonesians. President Susilo Bambang Yudhono, his predecessor, similarly used a soft power strategy in his foreign policy. Jokowi's diplomacy aims to achieve his regional objective of playing more significant role in Southeast Asia, not only to improve Indonesia's favorable international reputation. As previously said, tourism can help Indonesia to compete with the three key regional powers of Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia. Because it is difficult for them to regain their trade and investment strength, tourism may be the best choice for greater development in the commerce and investment sector. Indonesia's public diplomacy must be strengthened in order to promote national economic growth and advancement.

Based on the theoretical and conceptual framework described in previous chapters, tourism is a source of Indonesian soft power in this article, comprising cultural, economic, and even political value that foreign audiences may accept and legitimize without using force. As Joseph argued, tourism may generate soft power in significant values represented via culture, political beliefs, and enacted policies. First, Nye emphasizes that culture consists of values and interests that may provide meaning to the public (Nye, 2004: 11). At this point, tourism uses the qualities of Indonesia's art, culture, distinctiveness, and natural beauty to entice international audiences to learn about research and offer particular feedback for both Indonesia and China. Second, from a political standpoint, tourism has the potential to promote new collaboration and strengthen good bilateral ties between Indonesia and China. Third, tourism is Indonesia's internal strength, with the ability to boost public involvement and interest. In this way, tourism becomes an important sector in developing Indonesian policy initiatives that may synergize and collaborate between the responsibilities of government, non-government, and the public.

CONCLUSION

During President Jokowi's government, Indonesia and China intimately strengthened their comprehensive strategic partnership. Concerning China, Jokowi emphasizes the importance of pragmatic cooperation in which tourism is concerned about in this article. It signifies a progressive step that Beijing is an important partner in supporting the strategic interests of Indonesia's national development. Public diplomacy to China in the tourism sector can be classified into three sub-divisions: digital, cultural, and citizen diplomacy. Despite the Ministry of Tourism as the leading agent of diplomacy plays a greater role in implementing public diplomacy, however, it is not limited to individuals, NGOs, travel agencies, businesses, and other relevant institutions.

Promoting tourism through public diplomacy to China aims to develop Indonesia's tourism sector at the regional and global level, especially in becoming the best international tourist destination and reaching the target of visiting million international tourists. In addition, it can create synergy and improve bilateral partnership between both countries. This good collaboration will create a good understanding and reduce negative stereotypes between Indonesian and Chinese people. Indonesia's public diplomacy to China will also encourage Indonesia to implement diplomatic efforts in other sectors and achieve its ambition to become a key regional player in Southeast Asia. Moreover, China is now an emerging global power. By strengthening its soft power and engaging with China, Indonesia can become an example or mirror for other countries to prioritize tourism as a leading sector of economic development that can contribute more to foreign

exchange earnings and become an alternative policy in maintaining the domestic economic growth.

However, this article still has limitations and it is necessary to conduct further studies on the analyzed policies. First, in particular, it needs further research on the role of tourism in public diplomacy activities. It is quite hard to interpret and combine these two studies, but other authors can explore their implications for changing global politics. Second, this article is limited only to the tourism sector. Other authors can broaden and deepen analysis into investment and trade sectors that are closely related to tourism development.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to all those who have supported and assisted in completing this research article, particularly Indonesia's Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Chinese Professors of Wuhan University. Any suggestions and criticisms are required to develop further research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aminsoni, Ayomi. (2016). "Jokowi wants Unified 'National Branding' for Positive Image". *The Jakarta Post* [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/09/27/jokowi-wants-unified-national-branding-for-positiveimage.html> (Accessed December 18, 2018)
- Andalangi, Christian Erens Ponglaba. (2018). "Tourism Diplomacy between Indonesia and People's Republic of China (PRC): The Implementation of Marine Tourism in North Sulawesi as A Case Study (2015-2017)". *Bachelor thesis*. President University.
- Baranowski, *et.al.* (2019). Discussion: Tourism and Diplomacy. *Journal of Tourism History*, 11 (1): 63-90 (doi: 10.1080/1755182X.2019.1584974), [Online]
- Bjola, Corneliu and Holmes, Marcus. (2015). *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Carbone, Fabio. (2017). International Tourism and Cultural Diplomacy: A New Conceptual Approach towards Global Mutual Understanding and Peace through Tourism. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*. 65 (1): 61-74 [online]. Retrieved from <https://hrcak.srce.hr/178623> (Accessed December 18, 2018)

- Charlton, Emma, 2019. "Most People on the Internet Live in This Country" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/06/most-people-on-the-internet-live-in-this-country/> (Accessed October 18, 2019)
- Djumala, Darmansjah. (2014). "Getting Diplomacy Down-to-earth". *The Jakarta Post* [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/12/16/getting-diplomacy-down-earth.html> (Accessed October 28, 2018).
- Dobson, Caitlin, *et al.*, 2015. "Public Diplomacy in Indonesia: Reflections for Progress. US Center on Public Diplomacy" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/story/mpd-indonesia-reflections-progress> (Accessed June 25, 2018)
- Dwikardana, Sapta, et al., 2017. "Transformasi Strategi Diplomasi di Era Digital: Identifikasi Postur Diplomasi Digital di Indonesia" [online]. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/123456789/4719> (Accessed June 25, 2018)
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Indonesia, 2015. "Joint Statement on Strengthening Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between the People's Republic of China and The Republic of Indonesia" [online]. Retrieved from <http://id.china-embassy.org/eng/zgyyn/zywx/t1249223.htm> (Accessed May 30, 2021).
- Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Beijing, People's Republic of China Accredited to Mongolia, 2019. "Strengthening People-to-People Contact through Receiving Chinese School Students at Indonesia Embassy" [online]. Retrieved from <https://kemlu.go.id/beijing/en/news/674/strengthening-people-to-people-contact-through-receiving-chinese-school-students-at-indonesia-embassy> (Accessed January 01, 2019)
- Hall, Ian and Smith, Frank. (2013). The Struggle for Soft Power in Asia: Public Diplomacy and Regional Competition. *Asian Security*, 9(1): 1-18 (doi: 10.1080/14799855.2013.760926), [Online]
- Hocking, Brian and Melissen, Jan. (2015). *Diplomacy in the Digital Age*. The Hague: Clingendael Institute.
- Hootsuite and We Are Socia, 2016. "Digital in 2016" [online]. Retrieved from https://www.slideshare.net/wearesocialsg/digital-in-2016/135-wearesocialsg_135 JAN2016_SOCIAL_MEDIA_USE (Accessed January 21, 2019)
- Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2017. "Digital in 2017: Eastern Asia" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.slideshare.net/wearesocialsg/digital-in-2017-eastern-asia> (Accessed January 21, 2019).

- Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2018. "Digital in 2018 in China" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.slideshare.net/wearesocial/digital-in-2018-in-china-86862144> (Accessed January 21, 2019)
- Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2019. "Digital in 2019 China" [online]. Retrieved from <https://wearesocial.cn/digital-2019-china/> (Accessed June 02, 2021)
- Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2020. "Digital 2020 China" [online]. Retrieved from <https://wearesocial.cn/digital-2020-china/> (Accessed June 02, 2021).
- Huijgh, Ellen. (2016). *The Public Diplomacy of Emerging Powers Part 2: The Case of Indonesia*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.
- Huijgh, Ellen. (2017). Indonesia's "Intermestic" Public Diplomacy: Features and Future. *Politics & Policy*, 45(5): 762-792 (doi: 10.1111/polp.12221), [Online]
- Hussin, Hanafi. (2018). Gastronomy, Tourism, and the Soft Power of Malaysia. *Sage Open*, 8(4): 1–11 (doi:10.1177/21582440188092), [Online]
- Investment and Cooperation Agency, 2018. "Industri Pariwisata - Gaya Hidup Ditawarkan ke Investor dalam RIF 2018" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www2.bkpm.go.id/%20id/publikasi/detail/berita/industri-pariwisata-gaya-hidup-ditawarkan-ke-investor-dalam-rif-2018> (Accessed December 15, 2018)
- Issundari, Sri and Ivarachmawati. (2016). The Role of Citizen in Indonesian Public Diplomacy through IACS (Indonesian Arts And Cultural Scholarship) Program. *International Journal of Political Science, Law and International Relations (IJPSLIR)*, 6(3): 1-12 [online]. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2838712 (Accessed December 15, 2018)
- Jemadu, Vinsensius. (2018). *Wonderful Indonesia Update: Strategi Promosi Kementerian Pariwisata Untuk Memenangkan Pasar China*. Ministry of Tourism.
- Jemadu, Vinsensius. 2019. Interview of Tourism Strategies to China at International Marketing for Great China, Ministry of Tourism, Jakarta.
- Kearn, David. W. (2011). The Hard Truths about Soft Power. *Journal of Political Power*, 4 (1): 65–85. (doi:10.1080/2158379X.2011.556869), [Online]
- KJRI Shanghai, 2018. "Bertemu dengan Menteri Pariwisata, Konsul Jenderal bahas INAWEEK 2018" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.kemlu.go.id/shanghai/id/berita-agenda/berita-perwakilan/Pages/Bertemu-dengan-Menteri-Pariwisata,-Konsul-Jenderal-bahas-INAWEEK-2018.aspx#> (Accessed January 19, 2019)

- Komite Ekonomi Industri Nasional (KEIN). (2019). “Empat Industri Potensial RI Hadapi Persaingan Global”. *CNN Indonesia* [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20191007222219-97-437609/empatindustri-potensial-ri-hadapi-persaingan-global> (Accessed October 07, 2019)
- Kurniawati, Dyah . (2017). Intermestic Approach: A Methodological Alternative in Studying Policy Change. *The Primacy of Civil Society*, 5(1): 147-173, (doi: 10.22146/pcd.26293), [Online].
- Leonard, Mark, Stead, Catherine, and Smewing, Conrad. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre.
- McClory, Jonathan, et.al. (2019). *The Soft Power 30*. Portland and USC Center of Public Diplomacy. Designed by Portland’s in-house Content & Brand team.
- McClory, Jonathan. (2018). *The Soft Power 30*. Portland and USC Center of Public Diplomacy. Designed by Portland’s in-house Content & Brand team.
- Meeker, Mary. (2019). Internet Trends 2019. *Bond* [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.bondcap.com/report/itr19/> (Accessed October 18, 2019)
- Melissen, Jan. (2015). *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*. The Hague: Clingendael Institute.
- Melissen, Jen. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Ltd.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China. “China and Indonesia” [online]. Retrieved from https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/yzs_663350/gjlb_663354/2716_663436/ (Accessed May 30, 2021)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017. “Kemlu Dorong Mahasiswa Jadi Citizen Diplomat” [online]. In <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/Pages/-Kemlu-Dorong-Mahasiswa-Jadi-Citizen-Diplomat.aspx> (Accessed January 25, 2019)
- Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, 2015. “Perkembangan Bulanan Wisatawan Mancanegara” [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.kemenparekraf.go.id/statistik-wisatawan-mancanegara/Perkembangan-Bulanan-Wisatawan-Mancanegara> (Accessed May 30, 2021).

- Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, 2021. "Statistik Kunjungan Wisatawan Mancanegara 2020" [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.kemendparekraf.go.id/statistik-wisata-wan-mancanegara/Statistik-Kunjungan-Wisatawan-Mancanegara-2020> (Accessed May 30, 2021).
- Ministry of Tourism, 2018. "Yes! Bali Raih Tiga Penghargaan Sekaligus di Tiongkok" [online]. Retrieved from <http://www.kemendpar.go.id/post/news-yes-bali-raih-tiga-penghargaan-sekaligus-di-tiongkok> (Accessed February 03, 2019).
- Ministry of Tourism. (2018). *Laporan Kegiatan Bidang Komunikasi Media Digital*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Ministry of Tourism. (2018). *Laporan Pencapaian Publikasi Branding Pariwisata Indonesia melalui Portal Berita Online Internasional 2018*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Ministry of Tourism. (2018). *Publikasi Branding Pariwisata Indonesia melalui Kerjasama dengan Pelaku Industri Internasional Paket II*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Ministry of Tourism. 2017. A letter collected from the Ministry of Tourism.
- Ministry of Tourism. *Capaian Sektor Pariwisata 3 Tahun Jokowi-JK. PPT*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Ministry of Tourism. *Sinergitas Promosi Pariwisata Pasar China*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Nye, Joseph. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Ooi, Can-Seng. (2015). Soft power, Tourism. *Encyclopedia of Tourism*. J. Jafari, H. Xiao (eds.) (doi:10.1007/978-3-319-01669-6_184-), [Online]
- PPIT Wuhan. (2018). *Proposal of Festival Nusantara 2018 "Lestari Budaya di Tangan Pemuda"*. Wuhan: PPIT Wuhan.
- PPIT Wuhan. (2019). *Proposal of Festival Nusantara 2019 "Colorful in Harmony"*. Wuhan: PPIT Wuhan.
- Peraturan Menteri Pariwisata Dan Ekonomi Kreatif Republik Indonesia Nomor 5 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Perjalanan Wisata Pengenalan, 2014. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia.
- PT Inter Ksatria Film. (2018). *Laporan Akhir 13.12.18 – Publikasi Branding Pariwisata Indonesia melalui Microblog Pasar Tiongkok*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Purwanto, Heru. (2015). "Indonesia's International Diplomacy to Focus on Public Interest". *Antara News* [online]. Retrieved from <https://en.antaranews.com/news/97620/indonesias-international-diplomacy-to-focus-on-public-interest> (Accessed October 07, 2019).

- Rigalt, Antonio Casado, 2017. ““Diplomacy 3.0”: From Digital Communication to Digital Diplomacy” [online]. Retrieved from [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/SalaDePrensa/Multi media/Publicaciones/Documents/2017_%20ANALISIS_9%20ENG.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/SalaDePrensa/Multi%20media/Publicaciones/Documents/2017_%20ANALISIS_9%20ENG.pdf) (Accessed March 10, 2019).
- Sofiyanto, Arifian. (2019). Interview of Public Diplomacy at Sub Directorate of Economy and Development, Directorate of East Asia and Pacific, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta
- Suntikul, Wantanee. (2017). Gastrodiplomacy in Tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 22 (9) (doi: 10.1080/13683500.2017.1363723), [Online]
- The Ministry of Tourism, 2018. “Continuing Partnership with BAIDU, Indonesia Ups Tourist Target from China” [online]. Retrieved from <https://www.indonesia.travel/fr/en/news/continuing-partnership-with-baidu-indonesia-ups-tourist-target-from-china> (Accessed January 15, 2019).
- The Ministry of Tourism. Sinergitas Promosi Pariwisata Pasar China at International Marketing for Great China. *PPT*. Jakarta: Ministry of Tourism.
- Tuch, Hans N. (1990). *Communicating With the World: US Public Diplomacy Overseas*. New York: St Martin’s Press.
- Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies, 2016. “Development of Sectoral Diplomacy. Sectoral Diplomatic Channels” [online]. Retrieved from http://www.tasam.org/Files/Etkinlik/File/VizyonBelgesi/SGPK_TURD_Turizm_EN_pdf_5b53be2d-5b10-4421-bce5-731c4711689b.pdf (Accessed June 03, 2021).
- Weber Shandwick and KRC Research. “Engaging Cities the Growing Relevance of Soft Power to City Reputations in Asia Pacific” [online]. Retrieved from <https://publicaffairsasia.com/engaging-cities-the-growing-relevance-of-soft-power-to-city-reputations-in-asia-pacific/> (Accessed June 1, 2021).
- World Economic Forum (WEF). (2015). *The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2015*. Geneva: WEF
- World Economic Forum (WEF). (2017). *The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2017*. Geneva: WEF
- World Economic Forum (WEF). (2019). *The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2019*. Geneva: WEF
- World Tourism Organization. (2019). *International Tourism Highlight 2019 Edition*. Madrid: UNWTO.

- Woroniecka, Anna Umińska. (2016). Cultural Diplomacy in International Relations Theory and Studies on Diplomacy'. *Actual Problems of International Relations*, 2(127): 4-19, (doi: 10.17721/apmv.2016.127.2.4-19), [Online]
- Xu, Honggang, Wang, Ke, and Song, Young Mi. (2018). Chinese Outbound Tourism and Soft Power. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*. 12(1): 34-49 (doi: 10.1080/19407963.2018.1505105), [Online]
- Yulianto, Wahono. (2019). Interview of Public Diplomacy at Sub Directorate of Economy and Development, Directorate of East Asia and Pacific, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta
- Yuniarto, Hendy. (2017). Promoting Indonesian Tourism to Chinese Tourists through Journalism Strategies in Wechat. *International Journal of Humanity Studies*, 4 (2) [online] Retrieved from <http://e-journal.usd.ac.id/index.php/IJHS> (Accessed June 1, 2021).
- Yuristiadhi, Ghifari and Sari, Shintya Dewi Lupita. (2017). Strategi Branding Pariwisata Indonesia untuk Pemasaran Mancanegara. *ETTISAL Journal of Communication*. 2(2) : 32-41 (doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21111/ettisal.v2i2.1265>), [Online]