

Public Diplomacy in Indonesia

Reflections for Progress



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Foreword

Inaugurated in October 2014, Indonesian President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo has received both praise and criticism for being the “boy from the kampongs,” lacking in military or political background, yet considered a “man of the people.” International observers have likened him to United States President Barack Obama with promises of “hope and change” throughout his rise to power. In foreign policy terms, USC Center on Public Diplomacy Research Fellow Ellen Huijgh has described Indonesia as a nation with “a thousand friends” and yet “no best friends forever (BFFs),” an assessment even further complexified by a decade old issue of the Bali Nine drug smuggling case.

Culminating in the most recent Bali Nine executions, strained Indonesia-Australia relations, and heated international debate surrounding the topic of the death penalty in particular, analysts have suggested the Indonesian government’s recent stance as a return to Sukarno-style foreign policy. The executions have been considered by some an effort to use a decade-old issue as a “diplomatic offensive.” Simultaneously, it is appeasing its domestic audience, in which 86% have remained in favor of the death penalty for drug trafficking. An emerging nation with a young democracy, a new President, and an increase in international attention, Indonesia has proven a timely and fascinating case study of public diplomacy.

While it will be interesting to see how the Indonesian government presses forward within the current context in considering both its domestic, regional, and international audiences, Indonesia must continue walking that fine line between projecting an image of being a friendly and tolerant nation, while also being viewed as an equal partner, deserving of respect.

From the beginning planning stages to date, our team has shared photos, blog posts, and initial findings with the world through our website www.pdindonesia.com. Our hope is for this information to adequately reflect the current climate throughout Indonesia’s public diplomacy landscape and contribute to continued discussion of the progress of this rising nation.



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Public Diplomacy in Indonesia: Reflections for Progress



Executive Summary

Our team’s primary objective was to research current public diplomacy strategies being implemented by and within Indonesia. Our own strategy in this initiative was to conduct as much background research as possible prior to coordinating meetings with a range of organizations from the public, private, and nongovernmental sectors. Through face-to-face meetings with each organization, we were able to gain a deeper understanding of the roles they play in fulfilling both internal and external public diplomacy objectives.

This report outlines our findings and recommendations in seven key areas: **emerging powers, digital diplomacy, cultural and exchange diplomacy, faith diplomacy, democracy promotion, non-state actors, and government-NGO partnerships**. These areas of research were selected not only in relation to each team member’s individual interests, but also to cover as much ground as possible. While we hope the collation of our individual reports provides valuable insight, generating a better understanding of current efforts within Indonesia, we do not claim this report to be a complete assessment of the entire public diplomacy landscape.

What we did discover through our research was the Indonesian government is just as concerned with its domestic audience as it is with international audiences in implementing public diplomacy strategies. On a domestic level, the Indonesian Ministries are provided with ample opportunity in applying its “Bottom Up Diplomacy” initiative, as the general public understands the concept and importance of public diplomacy. On a global scale, now is as vital a time as ever for Indonesia to assert itself on a global stage, not only in terms of economy and rule of law, but also through maximizing its soft power assets.

As recent as April 2015, United States Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard Stengel traveled to Indonesia to meet with government officials from both Indonesia and the United States, as well as civil society leaders to discuss Internet censorship and “The Democratization of Information: Opportunities in a Changing Media Landscape.” With the largest Muslim population in the world, and the fourth largest market for Facebook, the Southeast Asian nation is provided with ample opportunity in promoting an image of religious tolerance, digital engagement, Internet freedom, and cultural diversity. Indonesia has the means and strategies in place, and with proper implementation the Southeast Asian country can generate stronger relations both at home and abroad while continuing its rise.



Indonesia as an Emerging Power

Key Findings

Indonesia has seen dramatic economic growth in recent years.

As Indonesia's economy continues to grow, its relationship with the United States is likely to change. Despite this growth, it seems the U.S. has maintained its asymmetrical power position over the island nation. There is a clear-cut difference between what the U.S. is projecting as its position with Indonesia and what is being felt by Indonesia. Since the beginning of the 21st century, Indonesia has seen impressive economic growth. Its GDP has averaged 5.4% growth since 2001, causing a jump from the 27th largest economy in 2000 to the 16th largest today. By 2040 it is projected Indonesia's economy will be the 4th largest, only behind China, India, and the United States. As a result, Indonesia will not only continue to see economic growth, but also an increasing share of the balance of power in the global community.

Indonesia's economic growth is supported by a large and growing population of approximately 250 million people. This population has been key to Indonesia's political reform and democratic transition. Calls by tens of thousands of students for former President Suharto's resignation in 1998 contributed greatly to his downfall. Although a very geographically spread out nation, the democratic transition would not have been possible without the participation of the general public.

A largely young, driven population, and expansive natural resources paired with the desire for democracy lends itself to economic development. An archipelago of hundreds of islands with even more diverse ethnicities wishing to be represented, the transition to democracy has been smooth and should be commended. This can be partially due to the local political representation belonging to the major islands, but can also be attributed to pluralism pushed by the government. The new Indonesian government is committed to freedom of expression, diversity and cooperation across peoples. Indonesia has six official religions and is a promoter of religious conservatism. This has allowed Indonesia to gain cultural attractiveness in tandem with its economic growth. Indonesia has seen continuous growth in tourism over the past ten years, specifically from countries within the region. Indonesia's cultural diplomacy has thus improved its economic wellbeing.

The United States' declared position differs from its implementation.

As stated earlier, there is a clear difference in what is being projected and what is being felt by the U.S. position in Indonesia. The U.S. indicates four relational priorities with Indonesia:

- People to People ties – Specifically focusing on educational ties, hoping to build positive attitudes toward the U.S.
- Increase trade and investment – currently 28 billion U.S. dollars in bilateral trade
- Monitor climate change – Indonesia is a top five greenhouse gas emitter. The U.S. currently has an agreement with Indonesia and their biggest producers to reduce carbon levels by decreasing deforestation.
- Good governance – treading lightly as not to come across as pushing U.S. policy

These policy positions are relatively new, as they coincided with the fall of Suharto. A transition to a more democratic political system and increasingly liberal economy has allowed the U.S. to improve relations with Indonesia. Modern day relations with Indonesia suggest the need for a partnership rather than an asymmetrical relationship. This is especially evident in its support for people-to-people ties.

Indonesia is the only country in the world in which the U.S. Government operates an @America center, a cultural high-tech, interactive operation heralded as the digital-age center inviting youth to explore U.S. culture without having to travel to the U.S. The center also serves as a facilitator for Indonesian students wishing to study in the U.S. Currently there are 8,000 Indonesian students studying in the U.S., although this number has slowly decreased over the past decade as the number of Indonesian students studying in China has risen.

The second priority, to increase trade and investment, is key to U.S. policy in the country, as it takes advantage of Indonesia's economic growth. Being aware of the continuous potential for growth, the U.S. has strategically placed itself as a trade and investment partner. Monitoring climate change throughout the developing world has been an aspiration for the U.S. in recent decades. This is due to the realization of the effects of global warming. As Indonesia continues to see economic growth, pressure on its natural resources will continue to grow, as will pressure from the U.S. to control the negative environmental effects.

Finally, good governance has been a U.S. priority toward Indonesia, however in a less obvious way. Because the relationship between the two nations, in its modern day form, is relatively new, the U.S. must be careful as not to be seen as intervening with Indonesian politics.

Indonesia perceives the U.S. position as progressive yet still asymmetrical.

The local perception of how the U.S. acts toward Indonesia differs from the positions projected. They do agree that since the fall of Suharto and Indonesian reform, their interests are more aligned. However, the approach taken by the U.S. is projected to change depending on U.S. administration. For the most part, Indonesians feel they are moving in the right direction in terms of partnership-based relations. Key to this movement is the increase in trade between the two nations. In 2008, the U.S. and Indonesia created a strategic partnership in order to increase cooperation in the areas of politics, economics, and culture. Trade has increased exponentially since the early 21st century, as the U.S. moves away from financial assistance toward mutual trade. Educational exchange has also been key to positive perceptions of the U.S. in Indonesia.

Although the rate of Indonesians studying in the U.S. has decreased, the value of an overseas experience is still apparent. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is very keen on maintaining strong alumni relations for their scholarship programs, including both Indonesian students studying in the U.S., and vice versa. Indonesian diplomatic representatives in the U.S. additionally make sure to stay connected to Indonesian students and diasporas in the states, providing funding and guidance to student groups. Although perceptions of the U.S. have improved, room for growth still exists. While public diplomacy is in full force from both nations and very obviously felt within Indonesia, it seems the strongest cooperation lies in areas strategically key to the U.S. The Indonesian government prefers greater discussion in areas beyond U.S. priorities, in which interests are shared and mutually beneficial progress can be made.



Recommendations

Support domestic growth as well as participation in the international community.

It is recommended for Indonesia to continue following its growth projection. Meanwhile it is just as important to increase participation in the international community. Current President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo has prioritized three objectives within his foreign policy strategy as Economic Diplomacy, Maritime Diplomacy and “Down-to-Earth Diplomacy.” It is interesting to see the explicit use of the word diplomacy to describe Indonesia’s foreign policy approach. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs described the approach as independent and active, acting firmly and with dignity in order to serve the needs of Indonesian people first. This is a stark contrast to the pre-reform era of Suharto. This approach has proven successful in President Widodo’s short term in office so far. His predecessor, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, envisioned Indonesia as a leader and role model for a democratic political system in the region. Due to Indonesia’s successful transition to democracy, the nation is better able to pursue successful economic policies that will improve the nation as a whole. The current foreign policy approach thus seeks to improve Indonesia’s economic standing whilst serving the people.

The inclusion of Indonesia as a MINT country (along with Mexico, Nigeria, and Turkey) in Indonesia’s Economic Diplomacy efforts is worth considering, however should be done with caution. Preceded by the BRICS concept of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and most recently South Africa as emerging economies, both concepts were developed by Goldman Sachs’ Jim O’Neill. On one hand, Indonesia’s role as a MINT nation may be one worth taking advantage of, particularly on a global stage as an emerging economic world player. On the other hand, while the conceptualization of BRICS and MINT is arguably not reputed as much more than clever acronyms, it may be worth Indonesia distancing itself from being too closely linked to other nations known for such poor infrastructure, high corruption, and societal problems.

As an independent and active nation, the Indonesian government shows they have a desire to make decisions and act in ways that prioritize Indonesia as opposed to being pushed into making decisions supporting the foreign policy stance of other nations. This is not a stance many nations are willing to explicitly state, and Indonesia’s effort to do so can be interpreted as an attempt to assert itself on a global stage. It serves as an indication to other powerful nations they will not be pushed around. However, it is just as vital for Indonesia’s future success to act as a partner to other nations. Acting multilaterally in areas of Indonesian interest can be beneficial to all participating countries, as it has been with Indonesia’s leadership in pushing democracy throughout the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) region. Indonesia employing diplomacy through its foreign policy strategies proves Indonesia sees the value in positive relations as a basis for cooperation. Making it clear Maritime and Economic Diplomacy are of the utmost value, Indonesia has positioned itself to cooperate in areas not only benefiting their position in the international community, but also among the Indonesian public.

On the other hand, Down-to-Earth Diplomacy lends itself to positive relations, both within Indonesia and abroad. In addition, it can be used as a soft power tool, attracting other nations who see Indonesia applying its policies in a non-threatening, participatory fashion. Furthermore, Indonesia should continue to pursue a leadership role within the Muslim world as an example of religious plurality, freedom of religious expression, and peaceful conservative Islam. With waves of extremism spreading throughout the world, Indonesian leadership in this issue alone will only add further value to efforts in advancing Indonesia’s position within the international community.

The U.S. should adjust its approach to Indonesia as a strong developing nation.

Indonesia will continue to grow not only economically but also globally in terms of its influence and power. It would be wise of the U.S. to not only state their interest in a relationship based on partnership, but also act in such a way. As previously stated, Indonesia will be the fourth largest economy in the world by 2040, with China and India leading the way. The U.S. should recognize a shift in economic power could possibly move from West to East, with a concentration in Asia.

Not only should the U.S. work to improve and maintain relations, they should maintain a strategy ensuring them a seat at the table of what could evolve into a power shift. The U.S. should realize their share of power may decrease, and thus should become allies to those whose power will increase, namely Indonesia. Although Indonesia is still years, perhaps decades away from having an economy the size of the U.S., it would be better for the U.S. to adjust its approach sooner rather than later. China has done well in improving and applying its public diplomacy strategies within the region. It has pursued a soft rise, in which it provides security and economic opportunities for its neighbors. Indonesians have been responsive, as students have increasingly shifted their interest in studying in the U.S. to studying in China, perhaps for economic, cultural, and location reasons.

The U.S. must prove to Indonesia it is in fact a soft, safe partner for the future. A current global issue is the rise in extremism and terrorism, specifically in connection to fundamental Islam. Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world in terms of population and has been able to balance its strong religious interests with a democratic political system. Officially, the church and state are separate entities. The Indonesian government assures the public any practice of religion is valued through freedom of religious choice. Its notion of religious pluralism encourages peaceful coexistence, financially and legally supported by the government. The U.S. and Indonesia should partner in resistance to violent extremism, with the U.S. looking to Indonesia for guidance.

Redefine the Indonesia–United States relationship.

Indonesia should see the value in its rise in economic prominence, especially in terms of redefining its relationship with the U.S. Indonesia is still a relatively young nation and newcomer to the prominent global economy. Indonesia should use this to its advantage. The nation has the ability to grow in ways older economies cannot as they become stagnant and exhaust resources. Indonesia, on the other hand, has a young population, huge reserves of natural resources, and the ability to grow exponentially. Other nations will be looking to Indonesia as a place for investment and increased partnerships. Although there exists the possibility of being perceived as a threat to other nations, Indonesia should recognize its value and welcome other nations as allies. Because of its proximity to China and India, these three nations will cause an eventual shift in the global economy. This provides Indonesia with the opportunity to increase its degree of power, especially should the three eastern powers improve and strengthen their bilateral relations. As the U.S. looks to this growing region of the world in strengthening ties, Indonesia should seek to be this mutually-benefit partner.

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Democracy Promotion

Key Findings

Indonesia is a leading example of democracy within the region.

As the world's largest Muslim-majority nation and democracy, Indonesia is seen as a beacon of moderation. With the election of President Jokowi Widodo in 2014, the country held accountable elections with nearly 140 million voters, a turnout of 75 percent, paving the way for democratic movements across Southeast Asia. With the official national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, or Unity in Diversity, the country has experienced greater freedom of expression and freedom of speech among its 249 million citizens. Both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Religious Affairs have emphasized Indonesia is committed to strengthening democracy and defending religious pluralism as they continue to promote harmony in Indonesia. Indonesia's developments led President Obama to view the country as a key partner and model the rest of the Muslim world.

The Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) in Bali, Indonesia was created to support and equip leaders who wish to implement peace and democracy in their nations. IPD is also the creator and implementing agency for the Bali Democracy Forum. The Bali Democracy Forum is an annual open intergovernmental forum that brings together leaders from different nations to discuss and share their experiences and best practices of peace and democracy. Each year, the Bali Democracy Forum emphasizes a different dimension of democracy. The Bali Democracy Forum has worked all year long with Egypt, Tunisia, Myanmar, Cambodia, Lao, Vietnam and Fiji to promote and foster regional and international cooperation.

Indonesian governance shows Democracy, Islam, and modernity can go hand in hand.

Indonesia has moved from an authoritarian state to one of the world's largest democracies, proving Islam and democracy can co-exist. It is home to the largest Muslim population in the world. Both religious freedom and tolerance are an essential part of democracy. Located in Jakarta, the city center of Indonesia, the Istiqlal Mosque is the largest Mosque in Southeast Asia. Sitting directly across from the Mosque sits the Jakarta Cathedral. According to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, during the planning and construction of the Istiqlal Mosque in 1978, President Sukarno insisted it be built near the Jakarta Cathedral, to symbolize religious harmony and tolerance in Indonesia. Since its creation, both religious sites have continued to show unity and true symbols of harmony as they welcome and support one other during religious functions and events. The Ministry of Religious Affairs promotes inter-religious harmony by sending its experts overseas to other Muslim majority countries to teach nations Indonesian methods.

Growing religious fanaticism, use of ethnic and religious sentiments for justifying terrorist actions and violations of human rights are not only vital threats to security but also for democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, throughout each branch of the government, NGOs, and non-profit organizations in Indonesia, the importance of respecting other religions and people is stressed. The Ministry of Religious Affairs emphasizes the difference between Gulf

regions and Indonesia, in which Indonesia is a more moderate state. The reason the Ministry of Religious Affairs classifies Indonesia as a moderate state is because out of 200 million Muslims in Indonesia, only a few thousand comprise as violent extremists. In order to continue practicing non-violence in the region, the Ministry has established many moderate Islamic organizations to teach moderate Islam throughout the country and to children at a young age. This method has allowed Muslims in Indonesia to practice religious tolerance toward other religions in Indonesia. Indonesia represents the embodiment that democracy, Islam and modernity can go hand in hand.

Indonesia vigorously uses soft power while building relationships with other nations.

Obtaining both openness and security is not an easy task for a young democracy. Indonesia today is a country blatantly targeted by terrorist attacks while its newly established democratic institutions are still fragile. To counter these, the country practices public diplomacy, a common theme throughout its government sectors. Indonesia also vigorously utilizes soft power while building relationships - a key strength in its public diplomacy efforts. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes "people-to-people" ties are the most effective form of public diplomacy, practicing soft power through the "Indonesian method," handling radicalization and extremism through a cultural and religious approach. They believe hard power will not solve problems.



Recommendations

Increase educational exchanges through “direct” people-to-people ties.

As the world’s most populous Muslim country, Indonesia has stood against violent acts, extremism, and has continued to encourage others to practice peace and democracy. It is recommended the relationship be strengthened between Indonesia, the United States and the Muslim World. The best way Indonesia can share its knowledge with the rest of the world is by building relationships in person. The U.S. should increase the number of students studying abroad in Indonesia to match the number of Indonesian students studying in the U.S. The U.S. has the potential and the power to bring students to Indonesia to view the country and what it represents, which will further strengthen people-to-people ties and relations between both countries.

It is recommended the EducationUSA team in the U.S. encourage more American students to study abroad in Indonesia, by providing more scholarship funds and opportunities for students that wish to study aboard in Indonesia. In order to increase people-to-people contact, it is also recommended Indonesia establish a program (similar to EducationUSA in the U.S.) encouraging students not just to the U.S., but students from all regions to study in Indonesia. The program can be a collective collaboration with EducationUSA in order for Indonesians to reach more universities across the U.S. By creating such a program, it will help Indonesia attract more international students to the region in the long run as well.

Utilize economic power to gain influence throughout other Muslim-majority countries.

President Sukarno was the first to introduce democracy to Indonesia over 70 years ago. Although Sukarno knew democracy would bring political stability into the region, he also believed Western-style democracy was inappropriate for the people and culture of Indonesia at the time. When President Sukarno introduced democracy to Indonesia, he installed a culturally-adapted democracy, instead of a Western style one. The democracy Indonesia has developed can guide other Muslim-majority countries toward democracy.

However, even though Indonesia has the potential to influence other Muslim-majority countries toward democratic progress, it does not have the power. Indonesia needs more economic power to increase its influence in countries in the Middle East, Africa and greater Asia. Muslim majority countries in the region are more likely to turn to other Muslim countries for guidance toward democracy rather than Western countries. Therefore, it is possible for Indonesia to carry a strong influence over these countries if they increase their economic power. The United States must work with and help Indonesia accumulate more power in order to shape developing nations towards democracy.

@America is a tech-friendly cultural center developed by the U.S. State Department in Jakarta, Indonesia. It was established for two reasons. One, to promote engagement between Indonesians and the U.S.; and two, to increase educational opportunities for Indonesians in America. @America has partnered with Google and Microsoft to bring state-of-the-art American technology to Jakarta for students to experience. It is recommended that @America develops a global entrepreneurship program specifically designed to help engage the youth and younger generations in Indonesia about technology to benefit the country’s economy long-term. It is recommended @America

works with their partners, to create entrepreneurship programs that can bring Indonesian students to Google and Microsoft headquarters in Silicon Valley to experience working with startup companies. This program can also be a joint collaboration with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology in Indonesia. Not only will Indonesia’s tech industry and economy benefit from a global entrepreneurship program but Indonesians younger generations will as well.

Nations that have power have the ability to directly influence the behavior of others. In order for Indonesia to have more influence over other countries, the nation gain power. Indonesia can accumulate power in two ways, internally and externally. The country can generate power internally by building on its own national resources and becoming reliant on themselves economically. Or it can gain power externally by working together with other nations, and allies to pull together resources. Either one of these methods will allow Indonesia to accumulate long-term economic power and will allow Indonesia to become an influential player in the global field.

U.S.-Indonesia relations must be a two-way connection.

The relationship between Indonesia and the United States must benefit both nations in order to create a long-lasting effect. Indonesia must be treated and seen as an equal counterpart to the U.S., rather than a country which requires assistance from the U.S. Unlike the U.S., Indonesia has only been an independent nation for 70 years. Therefore a lasting relationship should not be dependent solely on the interests of the U.S.

It is recommended that the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) in Bali, Indonesia creates a partnership with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington, D.C. USIP works to prevent and resolve violent conflicts around the world and is seen as a counterpart of IPD in Indonesia, here in the U.S. It is recommended that together, USIP and IPD create a partnership that will allow them to share knowledge and practices to one another.

By helping nations such as Egypt prepare for elections, IPD has also become a support system and backbone for countries moving toward peace and democracy. IPD can benefit greatly by working with USIP because of the experience USIP has working with over 50 countries in promoting and establishing peace in different regions. Together this partnership can bring new programs and initiatives to both foundations. This partnership will not only benefit the U.S. in assisting the promotion of democracy building but will strengthening Indonesia’s position as a champion of democracy building in other parts of the world.



Digital Diplomacy

Key Findings

@America successfully has positioned itself as an invaluable asset for youth.

Indonesia's digital landscape offers an opportunity for the United States to win the hearts and minds of the Indonesian people through digital diplomacy, by utilizing new forms of technology. With over 80 million Internet users, the largest in Southeast Asia, and a 112 percent mobile subscription penetration rate, the majority of digital users in Indonesia are early adopters between the ages of 12 and 34, 58.4 percent of users nationwide. This makes Indonesian youth a key target demographic for U.S. public diplomacy, particularly youth interested in learning about American culture and/or studying in the U.S.

Given the exponential rate of adoption of new forms of technology, creating an interactive space where new forms of technology serve as a medium to teach Indonesian youth about American culture proves to be an innovative public diplomacy initiative. As a result, @America has become a key asset of U.S. public diplomacy in Indonesia.

The first of its kind, established in Jakarta in 2010 with an initial investment of \$5 million, @America offers an updated, tech-driven strategy in promoting American culture abroad. At an annual operating cost of \$3 million (recently reduced to \$2 million) a year, visitors can attend lectures, music performances, and workshops, as well as receive counseling and guidance for studying in the U.S.

The wide variety of activities and resources available to Indonesian youth at @America makes this cultural center a unique space to learn about American culture. Indonesian youth acquire access to forms of technology and content otherwise unavailable to them. The space serves the main purposes of entertaining visitors, communicating the American message, teaching about American culture, and providing educational resources.

Moreover, @America serves as a space to amplify the U.S. Embassy's educational exchange programs. Students interested in studying in the United States have access to counseling and courses on standardized testing at the cultural center, as well as access to MOOCs. With the use of new technology, @America is facilitating the flow of information and digital exchange between the U.S. and Indonesia on a daily basis.

There is little awareness of @America.

The popularity and appeal of @America is evident by its more than 600,000 visitors and more than 2,200 events hosted in just the first three years of existence. However, there has been little measurement done to reveal the effect this innovative space has had in promoting a positive U.S. image within Indonesia. A survey facilitated with visitors and event attendees revealed, although attendance at these events and the cultural center was high, those

who attended were unclear of what @America was or its connection to the U.S. State Department, thus revealing a gap in the initiative as a space meant for Indonesian youth to learn about American culture.

@America's location proves a challenge.

@America is located at a storefront location within one of Jakarta's most upscale shopping malls. For security and space reasons, it is located within a corner of one of the mall's upper floors. Its neon sign makes it stand out among the surrounding number of high-end shops and restaurants. Its location poses an important obstacle when the U.S. Embassy seeks to engage Indonesian youth at large, as it seems the interactive cultural center is unavailable to a large percentage of the Indonesian population. However, partnering with both local public and private schools to schedule visits to the cultural center has helped circumvent such challenges. Additionally, students who visit the cultural center are given the opportunity to join a mailing list of more than 67,000 members, to stay informed about future events at @America, thus facilitating and maintaining direct communication with the students.

The U.S. Embassy in Indonesia rarely engages in digital diplomacy.

Despite @America's innovative approach to public diplomacy, research revealed there is very little engagement in digital diplomacy with the Indonesian people beyond the cultural center and the Embassy's social media platforms. The digital landscape of Indonesia indicates the importance of integrating technology and having a digital dimension in any form of outreach to the Indonesian public. This is not only evident in the way foreign governments seek to engage the local population, but it is also apparent in the way the Indonesian government engages with its people.

Most surprisingly, however, is the lack of engagement between the U.S. Embassy and the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology. This Indonesian Ministry has directly addressed the flow of information through traditional and new media to the Indonesian public. It is perhaps one of the most relevant agencies to engage with as the U.S. continues to advance Freedom of the Internet as a foreign policy objective. However, at the moment there seems to be very little engagement between the two. @America's potential to serve as a platform to mediate this conversation, in which American tech corporations play important roles, is also lacking.

Furthermore, as the country with the world's largest Muslim population, Indonesia is an important public for the U.S. given the current environment of religious extremism, in which the U.S. continues to intervene. Although the topic is currently addressed at @America with the "Muslim Life in America" series, engagement and collaboration with governmental agencies like the Ministry of Religious Affairs is absent.



Recommendations

Increase engagement with American corporations in the tech industry.

Matters of governance, access of information and censorship of the Internet continue to vary from country to country. As the U.S. continues to incorporate Internet Freedom within its foreign policy, it is vital for the U.S. Embassy in Indonesia to establish close relationships with the world's leading tech companies like Google, Twitter, and Facebook. Given Indonesia's growing number of Internet users, early adopters of new technology consumer base, and its overall digital landscape, the archipelagic country is an important and sizeable market for these companies. Currently, American tech companies are engaging in dialogue with Indonesian governmental agencies like the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology to discuss matters of censorship and access to online content. By establishing close relationships with leading American tech corporations, the U.S. can not only be part of these important discussions, but it can also become a key voice in conversations concerning new media, both of which are paramount to U.S. policy on Internet Freedom in Indonesia.

Duplicate @America to facilitate a multi-national conversation.

Although @America is the only one of its kind, the model's implementation within a different location could have significant positive effects on American public diplomacy in Southeast Asia. A second @America location in the region could facilitate cross-cultural communication for people-to-people diplomacy guided by the American narrative. Consequently, it would promote American culture through new technology establishing multilateral relations between the U.S., Indonesian youth, and Indonesia's regional neighbors.

Engage with Indonesian Ministries to amplify current initiatives.

The Indonesian digital landscape demands every public diplomacy or public affairs initiative have a digital dimension. This digital dimension can take many forms, from a governmental agency's online presence on social media, to ministers and ambassadors communicating via Twitter, to SMS campaigns. Currently, Indonesian governmental agencies implement many public affairs initiatives with some form of digital engagement. The Ministry of Religious Affairs, for example, has implemented an SMS program that allows individuals to denounce religious intolerance when they witness it.

Allocate a portion of the budget for evaluation.

Often evaluation of public diplomacy initiatives is least prioritized due to budget constraints. However, evaluation is key in understanding whether an initiative is successful, as well as providing important insight into how a program or campaign can be enhanced and altered. @America's digital platform has the potential to facilitate proper and thorough evaluation, thus affording the center an outlet to better convey its messaging to target audiences. Attendees could be asked to participate in short surveys via social media, as well as during visits to the center, whether they attend an event or engage with any of the forms of technology available at the cultural center. Although surveying a high number of event attendees can be challenging, surveying those on the mailing list, those who like

the @America Facebook page, and those who use the technology available at the center could provide a more comprehensive indication of Indonesian youth's perception of American culture. Through the measurement of outputs and outcomes it can also enable @America to better highlight its results and overall success with Washington.

Utilize multiple forms of technology, like SMS.

The forms of technology available at the cultural center characterize @America as a unique space where Indonesian youth can learn about American culture through new forms of technology. Although Indonesia's digital landscape of early adopters is a great match for @America and all the new forms of technology available at the center, engaging in other forms of digital diplomacy, such as SMS campaigns, will allow the U.S. Embassy to reach a wider audience. Indonesia's 112 percent mobile subscription penetration rate indicates the implementation of an SMS campaign would help amplify @America's message, reaching an even larger number of young Indonesians.



Cultural and Exchange Diplomacy

Key Findings

“Down to Earth Diplomacy” is an effective type of exchange.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs made it clear they focus on interactions between publics, rather than solely a government to public approach, named “Down to Earth Diplomacy.” They believe a more effective approach to public diplomacy and mutual understanding is through peer-to-peer interactions and meaningful dialogue. This is done through three different techniques: (1) the use of scholarships in sending Indonesian students to study abroad, (2) hosting foreign students interested in studying in Indonesia, and (3) creating forums in which students and professionals may come together to discuss important global issues.

Through the first approach, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs engages students in different provinces of Indonesia, selecting outstanding students within these communities, and offering scholarships to send them abroad through a number of exchange programs. By attending schools and universities overseas, Indonesian students become unofficial ambassadors of Indonesia, promoting the country and demonstrating its development as an advanced nation. In the second approach, the Indonesian government provides scholarships and promotes exchanges for students traveling to Indonesia. For the past 13 years, the Indonesian government has offered a cultural-based scholarship for two to three foreign students per year who have a background and interest in art and music. Once the international students are awarded the scholarship, they visit and experience six different cities within Indonesia, where they live with a host family in each community. The students conclude their exchange with an art performance gala, linking their own personal background with Indonesian culture. Alumni from this program describe this exchange as “eye opening” and “sparking their interest” in Indonesian culture, encouraging alumni to return to Indonesia again in the future.

The third approach is an opportunity to lead discussions on important subjects, such as environmental awareness, democracy, and interfaith harmony between politicians and religious leaders from diverse backgrounds. The Indonesian government provides the space for these dialogues. An example is the Bali Democracy Forum, which to date has held seven different forums revolving around topics of public participation, political development, socio-economic progress, and general debates on issues important to other nations. Combined, these in-person interactions are valuable for mutual understanding and progressive relationships.

Cultural exchanges revolve around religious harmony.

The mission of the Ministry of Religious Affairs is to “improve religious education and harmony.” By working together with the Ministry of Education and Culture, these ministries collaborate by organizing a regular dialogue among religious leaders, interfaith women and youth, and interreligious organizations. This dialogue is done on both a local and international level. The Ministry of Religious Affairs hosts an annual Interreligious Community

Harmony Forum, promoting international interfaith dialogue between Indonesians and those from all over the world. At these forums, Indonesians are given the opportunity to share their optimistic experiences and promote an understanding of Indonesian religious diversity and policies.

Accompanying the forums and discussions, the Indonesian government promotes an exchange program specifically for religious leaders, between countries such as Tajikistan and Germany. The Indonesian government aims to brand their nation as “Smiling Islam,” implemented through religiously concentrated student exchanges. Scholarships for Muslims to study in Indonesia are offered as an opportunity for Muslims in other countries to witness interfaith harmony firsthand. Scholarship students in the past have come from Russia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Morocco, Bulgaria, Sudan, as well as other African nations.

Cultural exchange includes science and innovation.

Indonesia is recognized throughout the world for its vast knowledge of various digital technologies. In an effort to cater to this knowledge, the U.S. Embassy’s @America cultural center offers a space for Indonesian students to study and develop new products with modern technologies such as 3D printing. Indonesian students also utilize Google Maps to locate universities within the U.S. offering Massive Online Open Courses (MOOCs), for those between the ages 18-35 with an “appetite for education.”

By sending students who are knowledgeable and skillful in science and technology, Indonesian students have a chance to represent their country abroad. They become representatives of an innovative culture. While the Indonesian government highlights traditional dance, music, and art with cultural exchange, in this digital age they also want to brand themselves as a technologically advanced and competitive nation. Ultimately, the Indonesian student exchanges can create innovative ambassadors for Indonesia.



Recommendations

Maximize digital platforms.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) facilitates a Digital Archiving Project of oral and intangible cultural heritage of humanity. By creating a digital archive, UNESCO can better preserve traditional art and culture otherwise lost in the future. The Indonesian Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Education and Culture already have a history of collaboration with UNESCO through various cultural programs, promotions, and sustainable tourism, but there is even greater potential for partnership through this particular project. More ministries should take initiative and promote Indonesian culture through UNESCO's Digital Archiving Project. The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology has the capability to both promote and assist in documenting aspects of Indonesian culture. This digital archive could then be used to encourage Indonesian cultural exchanges. A partnership between UNESCO and the Ministry of Information and Technology lends itself to future digital art exhibits, forums, and programs used to promote Indonesian culture.

Increase exhibitions and programs abroad.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned a scarce amount of cultural exhibitions and programs abroad. Their first (and last) art exhibit was during 1990-1991 in the U.S., sponsored by the Indonesian government. Based on this experience, it was a successful cultural display between Indonesia and a foreign nation, yet there have been few plans to create additional exhibits of this type. As an example, the Indonesian government has seen success in sharing its culture through the American Batik Design Competition, in which Indonesian culture was introduced to a foreign public. According to UNESCO, batik design is an example of intangible cultural heritage, highlighting the way the cloth, its design, and color are all created. The American Batik Design Competition took place in both 2011 and 2013 with the theme "The Spirit of America in the Heritage of Batik," focusing on future relations between Americans and Indonesians.

Indonesia has 700 ethnic groups on 17,000 islands with 300 local languages and dialects. Indonesian culture is diverse, differing dramatically from Java to Bali, with a culturally rich history and religious landscape. Indonesia has an opportunity to appeal to a broader audience also sharing this diverse characteristic. By emphasizing the theme of unity between minority groups and promoting more exhibitions under this idea, Indonesia's global image would further improve and potentially increase the desire for exchanges by other nations.

Strengthen relationships with the Indonesian diaspora.

Out of 150,000 Indonesians living in the U.S., 50 percent of them live in Los Angeles. Out of 7,600 Indonesian students studying in the U.S., 21 percent of them study in Los Angeles. Students with an Indonesian background have the opportunity to share their own culture within a university setting, regardless of where that university is located. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs spoke about inviting foreign students to Indonesia, but they also recognize the potential of promoting Indonesian culture abroad. In 2013, the Indonesian Consulate of Los Angeles collaborated with Permias Indonesian Student Association (Los Angeles Chapter), hosting the first Los Angeles Indonesian Film Festival.

At the University of Southern California (USC), an estimated 172 Indonesian students are enrolled in the 2014-2015 academic school year. With this large number, the students formed the USC Association of Indonesian Students, also called "IndoTrojans." As part of this group, they remind one another of their roots by participating in cultural events at USC and organizing live performances of traditional Indonesian dance. At USC's International Food Fair, the IndoTrojans held a booth, selling Mie Tek Tek (fried noodles), Rendeng (spicy beef dish), Spiced Chicken with Rujak (fruit salad), and Krokot (potato balls with chicken filling).

By increasing partnership with youth organizations and diaspora throughout universities abroad, it would be easier for the Indonesian government to produce and implement an increased number of cultural exhibitions. Through increased funding and sufficient government support, providing youth groups with necessary resources, the Indonesian government could increase Indonesian presence abroad and assert greater influence. Through this soft power approach, Indonesia can utilize its vast and diverse culture throughout a number of different platforms.



Interfaith Harmony and Faith Diplomacy

Key Findings

Interfaith dialogue is a collaborative effort.

Throughout most of the world, religion is a dominant element in the lives of individuals and (political) communities. In an era of globalization, there is increasing concern for the role of religion and religious actors at the international level. Globalization and the global resurgence of religion are reflective of how political and religious interests simultaneously influence one another, as well as relations and conflict patterns among nations. A number of factors from international and domestic circumstances must be taken into consideration when creating and implementing foreign policy.

Through multi-track diplomacy by the United States Institute of Peace, one of the tracks connecting with religion is Track Seven: peace-making through faith in action. Religious communities are driven by a specific mission and consider their role as transformational. Interfaith dialogue and joint projects are important aspects of the work of this community, as are religious-based travel and citizen exchanges acknowledging the important role of non-state actors in diplomacy, as well as providing cultural and religious resources for diplomacy, peacemaking, and conflict resolution.

The Indonesian government involves all parties, including religious communities and religious leaders from Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Both the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs facilitate interfaith dialogue between these communities. This participation of religious communities within Indonesian public diplomacy is best demonstrated through these programs. Defined by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hassan Wirayuda as, “diplomacy that perceives every issue comprehensively, and involves all nation-state components,” this dialogue contributes greatly to the Indonesian government’s “Total Diplomacy” efforts.

Interfaith dialogue is conducted at both regional and international levels.

Indonesia’s interfaith dialogue programs engage international religious communities such as the Regional/International Interfaith Dialogue, bilateral interfaith dialogue, ASEM interfaith dialogue, interfaith youth camp, and others. At the regional level, the first regional interfaith dialogue was held on December 6-7, 2006 in Yogyakarta with the theme “Dialogue on Interfaith Cooperation: Community Building and Harmony.” This event was co-sponsored by the governments of Indonesia and Australia and was jointly organized with Muhammadiyah, one of the largest mass Muslim non-governmental organizations in Indonesia.

Bilaterally, in promoting interfaith dialogue, Indonesia also cooperates with Australia, the Vatican, the Netherlands, Canada, Lebanon, Rome, and the United Kingdom. Along with the United Kingdom, the Indonesian government launched the Indonesia-UK Islamic Advisory Group, which was established in London in January 2007. The

main objective of this group is to produce and deliver joint practical recommendations to the UK and Indonesia on how to confront religious extremism, promote Islam as a religion of *Rahmatan lil ‘Alamin*, or “blessing to the world,” and increase understanding between Islam and the West.

Under this forum, an interfaith exchange program was initiated in Jakarta in June 2007. The objective was to facilitate an exchange between interfaith figures from Indonesia and the UK. Another program conducted was the 2008 Imam Exchange, coordinated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Indonesia. Members of the Indonesia-UK Islamic Advisory Group released a set of preliminary recommendations to both governments in countering messages of extremism and promoting Islam as a religion of peace. Fourteen Muslim members of the imam mosques and religious scholars were personally selected by both governments to embark on the exchange program, to promote the professional development of imams and religious scholars; translate and distribute selected Indonesian literature in the UK to correct misunderstood terms such as jihad, democracy and modernity; and establish youth leadership exchange programs between UK and Indonesian organizations.

Faith-based non-governmental organizations are involved in promoting Indonesian faith diplomacy.

The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs works together with religious non-governmental organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. In their collaboration with NU, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established the International Conference on Islamic Scholars (ICIS) in February 2004. The World Peace Forum (WPF) was created in 2006 in cooperation with Muhammadiyah and the Multi Culture Society. The aim of WPF was to create a platform encouraging dialogue between different faiths. The first WPF brought together more than 100 political and religious leaders, businessmen, academics, civil society activists, and journalists from all over the world to share ideas, engage in dialogues, and build networks.

The religious communities and the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also initiated and created the Interfaith Youth Camp, which brings together youth from different religions, cultures and countries to live together in camps. The camp encourages youth to interact with one another, find a new perspective of “the other,” and to accept “the other.” The initiatives and participation of religious organizations to date support Indonesia’s ideals of accepting religious pluralism.



Recommendations

Strengthen engagement and increase programs at a grassroots level.

The incorporation of religious communities within its efforts and strategy is a clear strength of Indonesian public diplomacy. Since the tragedy of the September 11, 2001 attacks there has been increasing urgency in building better understanding between governments and religious communities. Some programs including regional interfaith dialogue and bilateral interfaith dialogue are perceived as merely conferences creating prescriptive actions.

There should be an increase in support for youth-engaging grassroots programs. This can be seen from the Interfaith Youth Camp dialogues, an initiative by the religious communities and the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Even though the Interfaith Youth Camp attempts to involve young people in interfaith dialogue and provide venues for youth to experience different faiths or religions, more should be done at a grassroots level. Participation in interfaith dialogue activities and programs engaging youth are important elements needing to be strengthened and put forth as part of interfaith dialogue engagement embedded within Indonesia's faith diplomacy efforts.

Empower and amplify the voices of moderate Islamic groups.

The strength of Indonesian faith diplomacy is its empowerment of moderates rather than radicals. Moderates are the majority and offer a harmonizing way of supporting interfaith dialogue policy in Indonesian public diplomacy. Creating and promoting moderate groups in Indonesia is increasingly important, especially with moderate Muslims, as it is a vital political asset, with the ability to change misperceptions or misunderstandings about other cultures, religions, and civilizations within the international sphere. This mode of dialogue can contribute greatly to the promotion of religious pluralism. The involvement of religious communities in interfaith dialogue programs would further strengthen the Indonesian government's foothold in faith diplomacy, serving as a framework for how other governments may include religious communities within their own strategies.

Increase collaboration and strengthen the role of faith-based NGOs.

The role of non-state actors, both religious and secular, should be increasingly utilized in Indonesia's faith diplomacy strategies. When Indonesia conducts public diplomacy programs embracing religious communities, it challenges the assertion that states are the most important political actors in both domestic and international contexts. Religious actors are able to facilitate communication between countries and diaspora communities, thus advancing dialogue and understanding.

Accordingly, religious communities implement various strategies in reaching their goals. Numerous religious actors attempt to engage in current political, economic, and social debates, in both domestic and international contexts. In Indonesia, the increasing concern for democracy and reformation enhances access and opportunities for religious actors to take roles in the process of both domestic and foreign policy making. The interfaith dialogue program in Indonesia emphasizes the important role of religious communities within the field of public diplomacy. Previously, the impacts of individual and non-governmental organizations in international affairs were not as

influential as the impacts of states, inter-governmental or multi-national corporations. Within the context of Indonesia, the involvement of Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Bishop Conference of Indonesia, and the Communion of Churches (in Indonesia) in interfaith dialogue activities has increased the involvement of faith-based NGOs and religious leaders from within the international sphere.

The role of these NGOs should be further highlighted as an integral part of Indonesian public diplomacy. Faith-based NGOs also have an advantage in strengthening Indonesian faith diplomacy as a model of collaborative efforts between different actors in public diplomacy.



Religious Tolerance and Faith Diplomacy

Key Findings

The Ministry of Religious Affairs Groups the Population into Two Categories

The Constitution of Indonesia explicitly promises freedom of religion, declaring the state is based “...on the belief in the One and Supreme God.” While it never explicitly mentioned the name of any established religion in the world (despite Islam being the most practiced religion by 87%), the first principle of the country’s national ideology, Pancasila, declares belief in one God. Government employees must swear allegiance to the nation and to the Pancasila ideology.

Article 28 of the Constitution guarantees the freedom of thought and conscience, as well as the freedom of religion; it states that all citizens are free to choose his/her religion and worship according to his/her faith.

Article 29 delineates the state is based on the belief in the God, and the state also guarantees all persons the freedom of worship in accordance with their religious creed; it states the right to freedom of religion cannot be limited under any circumstance.

While voting on the constitution in 1945, the Indonesian people rejected an amendment to make their country a Muslim nation—nor to be governed by any one religious doctrine – despite it being a Muslim majority nation.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs is responsible for enhancing religiosity, strengthening religious harmony, improving the quality of religious education, providing quality of Hajj (Islamic pilgrimage) services, and building good governance.

Official recognition and status is offered to six religious groups, including Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, all of which have been established as “Group One” by the Indonesian government. “Group Two” includes smaller, minority religions such as Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Bahai, Taoism, and all others. While the former group receives government assistance in human resources, holy books, and houses of worship, the latter is simply allowed to worship according to their respective religions. Those in Group One also have access to public religious education, in that any student has the right to religious lessons by a teacher of their religion. The city is responsible for hiring teachers for each religion represented in a school.

Unrecognized groups, in other words, religions that fall under Group Two, are allowed to register with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as social organizations. These religious groups have the right to obtain identity cards (which can now legally be left blank under the section of “religion”), establish houses of worship, and register births and marriages, but they can sometimes face challenges in the administrative process. There have also been several cases in which members of this Group have faced difficulties in finding a job or enrolling their children in school.

Religious minorities often experience discrimination.

Despite its constitutional freedom of religion, religious minorities regularly face harassment and distrust from the public as well as the government, and this especially pertains to Ahmadiyyahs and Christians. According to Human Rights Watch, some examples include:

- In December 2011, Shiite religious leader Tajul Muluk’s Islamic boarding school in Madura Island was burned down in an arson attack by 300 anti-Shiite protesters, causing the displacement of 500 Shiite residents. Only one person was charged and sentenced only three months in prison for the attacks. In July 2012, the Sampang District Court sentenced Tajal Muluk to two years of imprisonment for blasphemy.
- At a March 2011 convention, the Minister of Religion, Suryadharma Ali made discriminatory remarks about the Ahmadiyyah and Shiite community in a March 2011 speech at a political convention, stating, “We have to ban the Ahmadiyyah. It is obvious that Ahmadiyyah is against Islam.” In September of 2012, he suggested Shiite convert to Sunni Islam.
- Dewi Kanti, 36-year-old writer and batik-maker from western Java, describes the discrimination, which she says “is created by Indonesia’s policy of only recognizing six official religions, marginalizing hundreds of traditional belief systems including hers, as ‘mystical beliefs.’” She says, “My husband chose Catholic as his official religion. But he’s practicing his Kejawen faith [a native Javanese spiritual belief system]. If we insisted to marry with our own religions, we wouldn’t have birth certificates for our children, at least, without my husband’s name. The stripe in our ID cards creates another stigma in Indonesia.” (HRW)

KontraS (The Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence), states that the issue of the Ahmadiyyah religious protection is one of the top two most difficult issues with which the organization works, citing the group as facing opposition from both the government and the public.

Opportunities and Limitations of Religion for Public Diplomacy

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems to offer a mainly top-down approach, through its coordination, facilitation, and evaluation of programs and legislation. When asked how they deal with issues of discrimination, such as attacks on houses of worship, representatives of the Ministry of Religious Affairs replied such issues are to be handled by law enforcement. Their central mission is to promote interreligious harmony, suggesting current religious conflict may be of secondary concern.

At the same time, religious leaders are considered very influential and are utilized for many public diplomacy purposes. For example, the Institute for Peace and Democracy at Udayana University in Bali incorporates strong participation of these faith leaders from multiple religions and denominations in leadership programming. Additionally, the International Office of Migration in Jakarta facilitates outreach in religious communities by providing Imams and priests with anti-trafficking tools to share with their communities. Clearly, there are opportunities to engage with interfaith religious groups.



Recommendations

Better prioritize Group Two and acts of discrimination.

It is recommend the Ministry of Religious Affairs work to implement interfaith programs pertaining to Group Two religion followers, as they are typically excluded from the forefront of religious discussion. Since Group One seems to be provided with adequate support as well as attention by interfaith programs, an initiative solely focused on minority faiths could send a strong, positive message throughout the rest of the world. Currently, the major interfaith program the Indonesian government is involved with is an exchange program engaging 25 member countries, in which religious leaders in Indonesia travel to Germany to discuss interreligious harmony and how it is pursued by various nations. It would be beneficial for the Ministry of Religious Affairs to send religious leaders from Group Two faiths to participate and increase citizen involvement with in discussions.

The Ministry should acknowledge and address acts of discrimination as they occur. By increasing attention to these occurrences, both domestic and international publics will view Indonesia as a nation intolerant of hate. Hosting a press conference following an incident of discrimination, for instance, would demonstrate high engagement with the local Indonesian community. By openly acknowledging Indonesia is working on improving and enhancing its landscape of religious tolerance, the Ministry can offer a promise of an improved future to its people, regardless of their religious affiliation. This can in turn increase the reserve of soft power by sharing an image of a more tolerant government, one conscious of current events and consistently engaged with its public.

The government of Indonesia should also offer increased physical security to places of worship, including Shiite and Ahmadiyyah mosques, churches, cathedrals, temples, and community centers. These religious sites run the risk of attack, as recent incidents have shown. Heightened security can increase the safety of these locations, enabling citizens to feel safer at the hands of the government.

Conduct outreach based on principles of tolerance.

National outreach based on principles of religious freedom and tolerance should be implemented through media and education. This includes educational programs, as well as stronger policies and responses to incitement of violence against minorities. These programs should especially encompass better clarity for when freedom of expression crosses over into hate speech and incitement of violence.

The government of Indonesia should review the role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and ensure better representation of the multitude of religions and beliefs in the country, as well as the promotion of purposeful interfaith dialogue and interreligious education. The first step would be the open acknowledgment of divisive issues, and then working toward efficient resolutions.

It would also be beneficial for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Religious Affairs to work with NGOs who already have established partnerships with religious communities and have completed research on the landscape of religion, especially with regards to minorities. The Institute for Peace and Democracy, which facilitates programs with policymakers, NGO and civil service organization leaders, and academics, are a great example of the intersection of these realms. KontraS and similar organizations have plenty of research and data on Indonesia's religious landscape.

Increase Social Media use.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs would find more opportunity for growth and a wider reach by enhancing its use of social media. Currently, the Ministry of Religious Affairs primarily utilizes SMS text messages for communication—a great medium to reach their intended audience, which encompasses diverse age groups. However, other avenues are currently limited and can be expanded upon for effective use.

It would benefit the Ministry of Religious Affairs to become more active on media networks, primarily Twitter, in engaging with the public. Through social media, the Ministry can publicize its interfaith programs, and therefore build soft power as well as its national brand. Through social media platforms, the Ministry would be able to follow the activities of religious groups for the sake of their own research purposes, to better understand the religious landscape, as well as its evolution. This platform would provide the Ministry with an improved approach to listening, thus greatly improving Indonesian Faith Diplomacy. Other potential mediums include creatively and actively utilizing a Facebook page and Instagram account to promote events and programs supporting religious tolerance, gaining traction by means of hashtags and instruments of virality.



Non-State Actors and Human Rights

Key Findings

Indonesia is at comparatively high risk for human rights violations.

The human rights environment in Indonesia is complex. The overall situation has improved since the end of the Suharto regime, and the nation established a National Commission on Human Rights as early as 1993. However, international human rights groups and NGOs, including the most well-known global monitoring groups, consistently criticize Indonesia for risks of human rights violations, press censorship and impunity. Indonesia's recent execution of foreign prisoners by firing squad has generated international headlines, outrage and diplomatic actions. With today's technology, information about every nation's human rights record is readily available. Therefore, Indonesia's level of respect for human lives and dignity must be considered a contributing factor to its public diplomacy success or failure, as well as to its overall soft power. New president Joko Widodo ran on a platform representing hope for "new" or "clean" leadership in Indonesia. Whether or not he includes improving the human rights environment in this promise remains to be seen.

Verisk Maplecroft's 2014 Human Rights Risk Atlas, which "analyses the frequency, severity and complicity risk in 31 categories of human rights across 197 countries," places Indonesia in its highest-risk category of "Extreme Risk." Verisk Maplecroft ranked Indonesia 30th out of 197, in terms of highest risk of human rights violations, and also identifies Indonesia among the key emerging economies as having "experienced increased human rights risks since 2008," along with Nigeria (10/197), India (18/197) and the Philippines (27/197).

Some of the main human rights concerns within Indonesia include violence and discrimination against religious minorities; the death penalty; restricting the activities of human rights NGOs; and violations of the rights of women, migrants and refugees. Conditions on the island of Papua are of particular concern, especially for the indigenous people of the island. Papua is an island in Eastern Indonesia where a fight for sovereignty and an alleged genocide of indigenous people have raged for decades. The island is rich in natural resources, and land grabs are common. Foreign journalists are essentially banned, and security forces act with virtual impunity for abuses, including torture and lethal use of force against peaceful protesters and proponents of island sovereignty.

Leading international NGOs and human rights monitoring organizations also issue strong warnings about Indonesia's human rights record. Human Rights Watch's 2014 World Report states Indonesia's "human rights showed little improvement in 2013," and Amnesty International's 2014-15 report states, "security forces faced persistent allegations of human rights violations, including torture," "intimidation and attacks against religious minorities continued," and "there was a lack of progress in ensuring truth, justice and reparations for victims of past human rights violations."

Censorship of the press can create impunity for human rights violators.

The Indonesian government conveys messages of democracy and openness to its citizens and foreign publics. However, the nation fell six places in Reporters Without Borders' 2015 World Press Freedom Index; this is problematic in that press freedom is essential to democracy. The report places Indonesia below Afghanistan and Brunei, countries often associated with rampant human rights abuses.

In spite of this, with the aid of technology, news of alleged human rights abuses by the Indonesian government is still reaching the global public. Social media and SMS technology are connecting Indonesians with foreign publics and international NGOs. This is evidenced by international actions, surfacing on Facebook, Twitter and other digital platforms to support allegedly oppressed people in Indonesia. One example includes international support for Papua. In just April 2015 alone, actions to show solidarity with the indigenous people of Papua have taken place in the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom and South Africa. All were promoted through social media platforms.

KontraS engages international peer organizations with similar missions.

Both KontraS and Argentina's Madres de Plaza de Mayo work with families whose loved ones were "disappeared" during military dictatorships. Representatives from Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo have traveled to Indonesia to meet with KontraS to share best practices and strengthen the work of both organizations. Argentina awarded KontraS the International Human Rights Award in 2012. KontraS also works with international human rights groups addressing global human rights issues in nations such as North Korea, Syria, Palestinian Territories, Egypt and Nigeria. This type of international collaborative work is crucial for human rights groups – especially those working in nations with unsupportive, sometimes corrupt governing bodies.



Recommendations

Better utilize organizations like the International Organization for Migration Jakarta.

Although often mistaken for an NGO, IOM Indonesia is a leading international organization working closely with the Indonesian government since 1951. They have developed a wide-ranging set of programs and services addressing the urgent needs of victims of human trafficking, both within Indonesia and outside its borders. IOM provides victims with mental and physical health care, legal and immigration assistance, as well as job training and placement. Promoting the work of the Counter Trafficking and Labour Migration Unit (CT/LM Unit) of the International Organization for Migration Jakarta office, in particular, could be a boon to Indonesia's soft power. However, it will only be successful if the nation focuses more strongly on fighting other types of human rights violations, as well. Otherwise, promotional efforts are likely to be perceived by the international community as opportunistic and hypocritical.

Make education a top priority.

Underlying elements contributing to the risk of human rights abuses must be addressed within Indonesia, and education is among the most important. It is time for the nation to invest significant financial and human resources to create and improve learning opportunities throughout all regions of the nation, especially in poor, rural and outlying areas. A February 2013 Al Jazeera report states, "Indonesia recently ranked last in a landmark education report that measured key benchmarks in 50 nations. Only a third of Indonesian students complete basic schooling, and the education system is plagued by poor teaching and corruption." Several of the ministries that the USC MPD Indonesia Research Group visited also mentioned that many Indonesians remain uneducated.

Action on education in Indonesia is crucial because education is a powerful tool to fight the risk of human rights abuses. Those with little or no education are more vulnerable to human rights violations than educated individuals because the latter are better equipped to understand and fight for their rights. In addition, educated people tend to have more powerful social networks and better understanding and access to legal assistance. Indonesia's poor standard of education is also not sustainable for a rising power. In addition to protecting its people from risk of human rights abuses, improving education makes it more likely that Indonesia will be able to continue to compete with other rising powers that are making education of their people a priority so that they can be successful in a global economy.

Eliminate media censorship.

The Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology states they have a committee working to block (or black list) content they determine to be pornographic (nudity), as well as messages they conclude to be of "hate" or likely to incite "unrest." This type of control of information is counter to the principles of free press and access to information that many nations value. Censorship of this kind is particularly dangerous in terms of human rights. It creates fertile ground for government actors to conceal the state's human rights violations against its people and to act with impunity. The Indonesian government also systematically bans international press from entering some areas where human rights violations are allegedly occurring. In 2014, two French journalists were arrested and jailed in Papua when they were caught working on a documentary investigating atrocities the Indonesian military reportedly commits against the indigenous people living on the island.

This type of censorship has existed for generations in Indonesia, and change is likely to take time. An early step might be creating and communicating more specific guidelines on what the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology is permitted to block, instead of leaving much of it up to the discretion of a committee. It is also important for the Indonesian government to understand time is not on their side. As technology improves, including SMS, blocking content will become more and more difficult for governments. The rise of technology will also allow for more citizen journalists to expose violations and speak out against the government.

Work more closely with national and international human rights groups.

Indonesia is an emerging power in a trade-centered global economy. In large part, the nation's growth is due to its supply of inexpensive labor and large variety of natural resources, which are attractive to powerful, trade-oriented nations and multinational corporations. Keeping labor costs low and making natural resources available to trade partners is key to success for emerging nations' in the 21st century. Unfortunately, a trade and profit-oriented society is at risk of putting earnings before ethics. Therefore, nations like Indonesia, compelled to keep costs low to woo powerful trade partners, are most at risk for overlooking human rights issues in favor of devising methods to increase capital.

It is suggested the Indonesian government look to national and international NGOs such as KontraS, Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty International, as advisors, and include the input of organizations when creating national development strategies. These organizations can provide Indonesia with expert information on methods to improve and protect human rights violations as the nation progresses in the global market. Indonesia's public diplomacy efforts could also be enhanced if the nation embarked on a plan to transform into a human rights role model while, at the same time, enhancing economic growth and increasing their power on the world stage. This is not a simple task, but starting with small steps toward this goal would begin to reverse Indonesia's poor record on human rights among international monitoring organizations and the global community.

Increase exchanges with international organizations throughout the world.

It also appears KontraS has room to enhance its use of social media as an outreach tool to its many audiences, including entities it determines are perpetrating human rights abuses, potential supporters and donors, and victims who utilize their services. KontraS is clearly an expert human rights organization, but they do appear cautious in their communications and social media engagement. Based upon the organization's history, this seems prudent. The cause of the 2004 death of KontraS founder, Munir Said Thalib, is widely suspected to be assassination by arsenic poisoning. Thalib was a dedicated defender of human rights who challenged powerful Indonesian institutions, including the military, government bureaus and large corporations that were suspected of corruption.

Representatives at KontraS stated they must maintain a delicate balance between monitoring the Indonesian government and serving as its trusted advisor on human rights issues. This is a challenge shared by human rights organizations throughout the world. It is suggested Indonesia's NGOs maintain and enhance opportunities for exchanges with other NGOs and international organizations sharing similar missions. By sharing information, solutions and best practices, human rights organizations within Indonesia and worldwide can strengthen their network, maximize effectiveness, better influence policy, and protect human rights globally.



Partners in Public Diplomacy

Key Findings

@America is the U.S. Embassy’s portal to partnerships within Indonesia.

As the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta is focused on the development and maintenance of a number of corporate partnerships in fulfilling its trade and investment objectives within Indonesia, @America is at work forming 42+ partnerships with local organizations, as well as with U.S. organizations, in its cultural diplomacy efforts. With the promotion of studying in the United States, educational exchange is one of @America’s top priorities. In their work to achieve this, @America has partnered with a number of universities in the U.S. to provide information on education opportunities for Indonesian youth preparing for college.

In terms of outreach @America has produced 2,600 events in just four years of operation, citing a number of contributing partners who collaborate in programming or offer in-kind support. Many visitors to @America have been attracted through partnerships formed with local schools, arranging field trips to partake in events held at the center. @America is arguably the U.S. Government’s most innovative and amped-up way of interacting with the Indonesian public, and they are consistently working to utilize these partnerships in reaching their objectives and strengthening cultural ties.

The Indonesian government works from the bottom up through “Track Three” Diplomacy.

On a national level, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is partnering with corporations, focusing on tourism to promote Indonesia’s image. Directorate General Esti Andayani illustrates the concept of “Bottom-up Diplomacy,” in that public diplomacy efforts are implemented by reaching the public from the ground-up, working to accomplish its objectives on a grassroots level. The Ministry is working regionally to promote Indonesia as a “lighthouse of the third world against tyranny and in defending democracy.” People-to-people exchange was described as the most effective and most often-used type of public diplomacy, using President Widodo as an example of being a humble, relatable person to reach the public and help promote Indonesia’s image abroad.

That being said, with the recent Bali Nine executions, the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, Australia states, “5. As we rebuild this important bilateral relation, we need the continued support of the media for coverage and reporting that are proportional and objective. We value the significant role of the media in helping to narrow the gap in misunderstanding between the two peoples and to pursue the common interests of Australia and Indonesia.” Ultimately, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is greatly concerned with the role of media in shaping the narrative around the issue. Despite the Indonesian government’s sovereign domain in reinforcing its supremacy of law, the narrative shaped by the media has most recently left the public divided.

Meanwhile, seventy percent of the Ministry’s public diplomacy efforts and programs are implemented by utilizing non-state actors, non-governmental leaders, religious leaders, and multinational corporations as partners. Their most relevant non-governmental partnerships are found within their track three diplomacy efforts, in which collaboration occurs through student exchanges and cultural programs. In terms of partnerships with grassroots NGOs or nonprofits in the

areas of democracy and human rights, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is highly selective and strategic, in that the government still wishes to have some form of control, steering clear from organizations that may hurt its image, particularly avoiding “controversial or sensational areas of cooperation.”

IOM Jakarta is an ideal model for listening, strategy, and evaluation.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) Jakarta is an Intergovernmental Organization funded by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and an excellent example of engagement and listening. IOM is multifaceted with 157 member states, 10 observer states, and 450 field locations worldwide. The Trafficking and Labor Migration department is still engaged and listening on a grassroots level, as well as to local NGOs with expertise in each area with which IOM is concerned.

The development, maintenance and sustainability of partnerships are a top priority of the IOM Jakarta’s Trafficking and Labour Migration department. Partnership for them includes a multi-faceted approach on multiple levels, through interagency involvement, other international organizations, civil society organizations, faith leaders, partnerships formed through the corporate sector, and of course through engagement with survivors of trafficking. Keeping sensitivity in mind, it is common for IOM to include survivors in some of their programs and initiatives.

In terms of non-governmental organizations alone, the Trafficking and Labour Migration department currently claims 88 ongoing partnerships, and state they form new partnerships almost every day. They also attempt to consistently engage with existing or newly-formed government programs, in hopes efforts may then be more sustainable, as well as turn some of their existing programs into government programs.

IDP cites relationship building as the foundation of forming and maintaining partnerships.

The Institute for Peace and Democracy (IDP) at Udayana University in Bali., tasked by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2008, started from scratch in recruiting staff and funding. By 2010, they began formulating and building the program of democracy education and promotion. One of the most striking findings in this meeting was discovering, not only how personable the owners of the Institute are, but also their approach toward forming partnerships through relationship building. They attributed much of their success thus far to networking from the ground-up, and strengthening partnerships by way of mutual, shared interests.

The majority of their existing partnerships have been formed and maintained through personal relationships. Their approach appears to be an effective one, as they currently boast countless partnerships with both local and international non-governmental organizations. They stated they “like to think of the Institute as a Center for intellectual advancement, a place for practitioners to gather” in their combined interest of democracy education. They aim to develop into a think tank in support of the democratic process, ultimately serving as a “backbone” of a super system.



Recommendations

Utilize @America to further diversify the U.S. government’s partnership portfolio.

While @America has been lauded as breaking ground in the digital age of public diplomacy, there is more to this model than technology. In addition to its existing partnerships, additional partnerships are made regularly through new events held at the center. What seems perhaps undervalued is the fact that @America is a breeding ground for partnerships, especially with the potential of smart partnerships, in which one-time event support could evolve into a longer term relationship. These partnerships should be valued and strengthened not only for the sake of having support, but because it affords the U.S. government opportunities to work with grassroots organizations providing on-the-ground expertise in any given area. These organizations are the perfect opportunity for listening with an ear to the ground, beyond the voices of existing corporate partners or government organizations.

On the ground, as opposed to much of the rest of the world, locals in Indonesia seem to understand the concept of public diplomacy. The opportunities are endless in taking advantage of how much public diplomacy is valued and understood. This is an opportunity for the U.S. Government, particularly @America, to practice cultural diplomacy within multiple settings beyond the center and work to spread the prevalence of the center through partnerships with an increased number of local schools, philanthropic NGOs, and similar organizations. In reaching beyond powerhouse partnerships like Google, Microsoft, and Starbucks to grassroots organizations within Indonesia, public diplomacy truly can operate bottom-up.

Be less totalitarian in forming partnerships, follow the IDP model.

The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be just as concerned with issues as it is with its image. While it sounds appealing to describe a type of diplomacy, in this case “Track Three Diplomacy” as one working from the ground-up, in choosing not to work with local NGOs or nonprofit organizations for political reasons and offering limited to no grassroots partnerships, the Indonesian Ministries are thus contradicting its own strategy.

As IDP is a government-funded initiative, in order for Indonesia -a nation perpetually concerned with how its domestic audience views its public diplomacy efforts- to promote its concept of “Bottom Up Diplomacy” it must break free from the need to control its partner organizations through funding or any other method of influence. Develop and maintain partnerships with grassroots NGOs, whether human rights nonprofit organizations or similar, who can provide the Indonesian government with their expertise, with the freedom to operate as it normally would in any partnership. Through programming and advocacy based on shared objectives in relation to issues, this less than totalitarian approach toward “Bottom Up Diplomacy” can only help improve Indonesia’s image with both its domestic and international audiences.

Prioritize and better implement evaluation methods.

Across the board evaluation of existing partnerships should be more of a priority. Proper assessment would not only strengthen and help to evolve existing relationships, but also provide guidance in eliminating unsuccessful partnerships and provide indicators for forming new partnerships. Long-term partners in particular lend themselves to evaluation through surveys, and measurement of outputs and outcomes. IOM Jakarta’s Trafficking and Labour Migration department pays consistent attention to measurement, in order to determine the quality of its programs. Partnerships need to be consistently evaluated as do all public diplomacy programs, exchanges, and initiatives. Making sure proper metrics are in place are of vital importance in measuring success, maintaining quality, and ensuring future progress.

Above all, bear in mind quantitative evaluation of partnerships do not always prove fruitful. In fact, especially with regard to public diplomacy, qualitative analysis is more often than not what is truly needed. Moreover, the challenge and yet necessity in qualitative analysis is the need for time and patience. Partnerships resulting in cultural programs, ongoing events, exchange programs at times will not display results for years. This means the need for consistency and longevity in both funding and measurement is vital in proving the success of partnerships and public diplomacy efforts in the long run.

Take relationships global.

IDP is currently hard at work on their new program “Making Presidential Democracy Works,” involving a meeting in September when they will welcome presidential experts from the U.S., Latin America, and Europe. The Institute is partnering with the Indonesian Press Council, to form a joint program focused on journalist training on democracy with 23 Indonesian journalist participants. They regularly welcome international partners and experts to join its group of Indonesian experts. Continue to involve experts from other nations within discussions concerning the current landscape of Indonesian public diplomacy. Take these discussions as opportunities, not only for input and perspective in how to move forward in such an evolving administration, but also as opportunities to strengthen existing relationships and partnerships through continued collaboration, in turn improving Indonesian relations with its international partners throughout the world.



Schedule of Meetings

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 2015

United States Embassy Jakarta
@America Cultural Center
KontraS

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2015

Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 2015

International Organization for Migration Jakarta
Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 2015

Institute for Peace and Democracy at Udayana University

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