



**PARADIPLOMACY OF KUNINGAN REGENCY GOVERNMENT TOWARDS
GLOBAL PUBLIC IN THE TOUR DE LINGGARJATI (2017-2019)**

Oleh

Henike Primawanti¹⁾, Iin Endah Setyawati²⁾

^{1,2}Department of Internasional Relations, University of Al-Ghifari, Bandung; St. Cisaranten Kulon No.140, Cisaranten Kulon, Kec. Arcamanik, Bandung City, West Java 40293

³Department of Public Administration, University of Al-Ghifari, Bandung

E-mail: ¹henikeprimawanti22@gmail.com, ²iin.endah19@gmail.com

Abstract

The opportunities of globalization and the massive development of the information and communication technology sector, the limitations of the state in providing optimal welfare, and the desire of sub-state actors to optimize their resources have become the impetus for sub-state actors to carry out foreign relations as an effort to fulfill sub-national interests. One of the sub-state actors in Indonesia is Kuningan Regency. To obtain foreign sources and attract global attention, Kuningan Regency carried out its regional foreign policy by organizing the Tour de Linggarjati. This study aims to determine the application of the Kuningan Regency Government in using Tour de Linggarjati activities as an instrument for diplomacy to the global public. This study used the qualitative method, the data collected through interviews with several relevant sources and documentation studies. This study found that the Kuningan Regency Government made the Tour de Linggarjati activity to introduce its region to the global public. This activity has also benefited the community in Kuningan Regency. Therefore, explore the tourism industry in Kuningan Regency can be done in a series of Tour de Linggarjati activities.

Keywords: *Paradiplomacy, Sub-State, Kuningan Regency, Tour De Linggarjati, subnational interests*

PENDAHULUAN

Subnational actors are regional expressions within the framework of global diplomacy. Subnational entities such as City or District Governments have the opportunity to take part in conducting public diplomacy [1]. Kuningan Regency is an area within the province of West Java. The landscape of Kuningan Regency is mostly hills and mountains, the highest peak of Mount Ciremai ($\pm 3,078$ meters), while a small part of the area is the mainland. It makes Kuningan Regency has valuable natural tourism potential to be developed. The beauty, natural conditions, and cool air support the potential development in the Kuningan Regency Government as a special attraction. The local government takes advantage of this potential to make Kuningan a tourism destination that can be recognized by

local dan international tourists so that Kuningan Regency's regional income will increase.

The Kuningan Regency Government's efforts to promote its area to the global public are carried out by organizing the Tour De Linggarjati activity. The organization of this sporting activity plays a role in promoting as well as bringing in foreign tourists and direct income [2]. The Tour De Linggarjati activity is an international-scale sports tourism program that has been running for 5 years (2015-2019) that has the potential to raise the tourism industry of Kuningan and West Java Regencies in the international.

This sports tourism activity is an international bicycle racing activity with participants from Australia, England, Laos, Brunei, the Philippines, Malaysia, Spain, and



the Netherlands. In the 2019 event, the Tour de Linggarjati became an event of 6000 fun bike participants from Java and 530 bicycle racers from Southeast Asia [3]. Indonesia as the host country is participated in this activity by presenting its national bicycle team. The Tour de Linggarjati's participants did bicycle racing to several tourist destination routes in Kuningan Regency.

This activity is not only introducing Kuningan Regency's natural tourism to other countries, but also showing the other aspects. In the series of activities, food trucks (culinary tours), local craft exhibitions, and displays of the diversity of Kuningan cultural arts were held by involving all elements of the Kuningan Regency community [1]. The series of activities in the Tour de Linggarjati is intended to introduce the uniqueness of Kuningan Regency so that it can become an attraction for the global public.

There are several studies that the researcher obtained to show the position of this research in the context of previous studies, including from [4] shows that sports tourism brings international audiences to tourism and development in West Sumatra. [5] found that the Athens Olympics contributed to the increased promotion of Greek tourism and infrastructure development. Next, [6] shows that holding the Beijing Olympics has a positive impact on development in China. Studies from [7], [8], and [9] show that sport is used as an instrument for state diplomacy. In other studies, [10], [11], and [12] show that sport is an instrument of public diplomacy. Studies [13] and [14] show that sport can be an instrument for state diplomacy in conflict resolution. [15] shows that sports associations can also be an instrument for sub-state actors to introduce their identity. Based on the previous studies above, there are still limited studies on Tour de Linggarjati from the perspective of the Paradiplomacy of the Kuningan Regency Government.

This study aims to determine the efforts made by the Kuningan Regency Government as

a sub-state actor in utilizing foreign sources for regional development through the Tour de Linggarjati activity. The urgency of this research is the novelty of the paradiplomacy perspective in recognizing the role of sub-state actors in Indonesia in fulfilling national and sub-national interests. Based on the explanation above, researchers are interested in exploring deeper into the practice of the Kuningan Regency Government's paradiplomacy towards the global public with the Tour de Linggarjati (2017-2019).

THEORETHICAL FRAMWORK

Concepts that are relevant to this research include Transgovernmental Relations and Paradiplomacy. In general, the majority of governments during the last century have been involved to regulate the lives of their people both from an economic and social perspective. It makes internal and external changes have received more attention from the government because they have an impact on the development of their society. This special attention from the government can lead to transgovernmental relations [16]. Intergovernmental relations can be interpreted as "Sets of direct interactions among sub-units of different governments that are not controlled or closely guided by the policies of the cabinets or chief executive of those governments" [17].

The next relevant concept, namely paradiplomacy. The emergence of new actors in international relations caused by urgency and globalization has resulted in non-state actors participating in international relations activities. At the same time, there has been a shift in the traditional concept of sovereignty. This is because of the transformation in international relations and one of the forms of this transformation is the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. Paradiplomacy allows for a relationship between sub-state entities and other sub-state entities. One manifestation of the existence of paradiplomacy is a promotion in the economic field, participation in international activities, and cooperation in



various aspects [18], [19]. Paradiplomacy refers to the behavior and capacity in conducting foreign relations carried out by sub-state entities in the context of their interests [20].

International Relations scholars have begun to pay attention to the complexities that exist in world politics. Global affairs are not only observed as a state-centric system, but as a sphere in which transnational relations play a significant role, namely contacts, coalitions, and cross-border interactions that are not controlled by the foreign policy organs of the central government" [21].

The term paradiplomacy is understood as direct international activity by subnational actors that supports, complements, improves, duplicates, or challenges the diplomacy of states [22] that are combined into paradiplomacy. According to Aldecoa, Keating and Boyer refer to the foreign policy of non-central governments. [23] have coined another term for this concept of paradiplomacy, namely microdiplomacy [24]. The existence of globalization has made the diplomacy format to a high level turning into the foreign policy and non-central government that refers to diplomacy that does not rely on microdiplomacy. In other words, actors who play a role and are in the state subsystem, namely local governments [25]. Paradiplomacy raises non-traditional actors, such as individuals, groups, organizations, and sub-states to achieve the goals of each actor.

[23] distinguishes the activities of international non-central governments or subnational actors in four forms: (1) transborder regional microdiplomacy, (2) transregional microdiplomacy, (3) global paradiplomacy, and (4) protodiplomacy [23]. In addition, different terms attempt to label regional involvement in the international arena. These terms include constituent diplomacy, regional diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy, microdiplomacy, multilayered diplomacy, catalytic diplomacy, protodiplomacy, post-diplomacy, and other

terms [21]. In this practice of paradiplomacy, sub-state actors have an important role in carrying out foreign relations while still referring to their behavior and capacity in the context of their specific interests [20]. In the context of this research, the activity of the Kuningan Regency Government in establishing foreign relations through the Tour de Linggarjati is called paradiplomacy.

The involvement of a region in the international arena is driven by several motivations, such as economic, cultural, and political motivations. Economically, every region looks for investment, markets for their products, and technology for modernization processes. Regions with their languages and cultures often seek resources and support in the international. When their own country is less supportive, or their language and culture originate in another state. Regions have various political reasons for entering the international arena. Those with nationalist aspirations seek recognition and legitimacy as something more than mere regions [26].

In addition, the strategies carried out by the government in regions in conducting relations and interactions in the international arena are shaped by the motivation and structure of the opportunities they have. Paradiplomacy is not the same as conventional state diplomacy, which is about pursuing the determined interests of the state in the international arena. This phenomenon is specifically more functional and targeted, often opportunistic and experimental [26]. Thus, in this paper, paradiplomacy is defined as the involvement of sub-state governments in foreign relations through international-scale activities to promote social, economic, and cultural aspects.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research aims to find a new understanding of the phenomenon under study, namely the foreign activities of the Kuningan Regency Government through the Tour de



Linggarjati in 2017-2019. The research method used is qualitative based on the researcher's desire to explore a problem regarding the practice of paradiplomacy by the Kuningan Regency Government to the global public through the Tour de Linggarjati in 2017-2019. The data in this study was obtained from interviews and documentation studies. Researchers used primary data sources, based on interviews with the Kuningan Regency Government, the Kuningan Regency Tourism and Culture Office, the organizers of the Tour de Linggarjati activity, and academics of Paradiplomatic Studies. Researchers also use secondary data to support the completeness of research data. Secondary data were obtained from related institutions, namely the Kuningan Regency Youth, Sports and Tourism Office, and the secretariat for Tour de Linggarjati activities in 2017-2019.

In addition, researchers used documents related to the research, both in the form of books, journals, articles, newspapers, and other forms such as videos, photos, press conferences, and news broadcasts. Other secondary data is the official website of related institutions and in particular the official website of the Tour de Linggarjati activity and the official social media of the Tour de Linggarjati activity. By using data triangulation, researchers did not only fixate on one data source. Researchers were required to look for the validity of data from various sources. The researchers did it to strengthen the argument that the researchers chose. Researchers are more focused to consistently understand the phenomenon to be studied because of the diversity of data sources.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Tour de Linggarjati as Support for Indonesian Diplomacy

Tour de Linggarjati received support from the Government of Indonesia. It is because activities on the Tour de Linggarjati have the same program as the tourism industry that is being promoted by Several Indonesia

slogans as a form of developing the Indonesian tourism industry. In 1991, Visit Indonesia raised the theme *Sapta Pesona* (security, order, cleanliness, comfort, beauty, friendliness, and memories). In 1992, Visit Indonesia had the theme *Let's go Archipelago*. In 2008, the theme is *National Awakening, Unity in Diversity* [27].

Until 2011, the slogan was changed to Wonderful Indonesia. The change from Visit Indonesia to Wonderful Indonesia had specific reasons. In the Visit Indonesia, foreign tourists are invited to visit Indonesia. On the other sides, Wonderful Indonesia is not only invited international tourists to visit Indonesia but also presented Indonesia's amazing tourism potential [28]. The use of country branding (tourism slogan) in Kuningan Regency is one of the supporting media in the success of paradiplomacy in the tourism industry. It can go hand in hand with Indonesian government policies. With optimal utilization, the campaign can represent the nation's identity to an international audience.

Tour de Linggarjati was initiated by the Kuningan Regency Government as a medium for fulfilling subnational interests. In addition, it is also in line (parallel) with the diplomatic objectives of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in the tourism sector. The tourism industry has the potential to drive the socio-economic sector, which is no less important than other sectors in the world. The tourism industry is a driving force for a country's economy that has implications for improving the welfare of its people [29]. Thus, countries in the world should pay attention and have awareness and interest in developing the tourism industry in their country's development agenda. Moreover, in 2015, the tourism industry has been embodied in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda that has been agreed by 193 countries.

Indonesia has made tourism as an instrument for its development. The tourism sector is one of the strategies in promoting economic growth that creates decent and



inclusive employment opportunities [30]. These efforts are considered to have contributed to the performance of tourism development in Indonesia, by contributing to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP), job creation, as well as national foreign exchange earnings. For 2015-2019, the Strategic Plan made by the Tourism Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia is the Indonesian tourism sector has a huge dimension that is not only related to its contribution to the economic sector but also strategic contributions to socio-political, cultural, regional, and environmental aspects.

Kuningan Regency is located in West Java. It is one of the historical places that is closely related to the struggle for independence of the Indonesian Nation. The Linggarjati Negotiation Manuscript Building is a historical place where negotiations between the Government of Indonesia and the Netherlands were held in 1946. As a form of appreciation for the historical consistency of the Linggarjati Negotiation events. In 2015 the Kuningan Regency Government held an international activity under the name Tour de Linggarjati along with a series of commemorations of the national holidays, namely the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and the 517th Anniversary of Kuningan, and the culmination of the 69th anniversary of the Linggarjati Negotiations.

Tour de Linggarjati is an official international bicycle racing activity that has been held since 2015. At first, the purpose of organizing Tour de Linggarjati activities is to introduce the tourism potential of Kuningan Regency to other countries, spurring regional infrastructure development and opening up regional access to markets and investment. Those are expected to have a positive economic impact on creative entrepreneurs around the areas that the competition route passes such as the growth of hospitality, transportation, culinary, handicrafts, and

tourist destinations. This activity has succeeded in making the name of Kuningan Regency proud. The inclusion of Tour de Linggarjati in the calendar international tourism activities by the Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia has become an instrument for the Indonesian Government to achieve its national development.

Tour de Linggarjati as an Instrument of Paradiplomacy in the Cultural Sector

In the Tour de Linggarjati activity, the Kuningan Regency Government held a performance of traditional West Java arts and especially traditional arts from Kuningan Regency. There are booths to introduce the culture in each region, both handicrafts, and special foods. The Fun Bike and Leisure Walk activities are not only for health but also to strengthen the togetherness of the Kuningan Regency community. The element of hospitality will be seen from the appreciation of the Kuningan community during the competition. The Kuningan community lined up every road the participants took to provide support to the contestants. The Kuningan community strives to be friendly hosts to their guests so that the next time participants can visit for vacation with a comfortable feeling. In this aspect, social elements from Kuningan Regency participate as cultural ambassadors who show the unique culture of Kuningan Regency. In this event, the participants were also entertained by traditional arts from Kuningan Regency. Angklung Kuningan that has been recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is shown for foreign people.

Tour de Linggarjati as a Paradiplomacy Instrument in the Tourism Industry

The implementation of the Tour de Linggarjati activity has a specific purpose. The purpose is the promotion and development of the tourism industry in Kuningan Regency. Organizing sports tourism is the main attraction



to increase foreign visits to Indonesia. Tour de Linggarjati has brought a breath of fresh air to the Kuningan Regency tourism industry. In the competition activity, participants were invited to know some of Kuningan Regency's tourist objects.

Some of the tourist attractions that promoted to the Tour de Linggarjati participants included the Linggarjati Negotiation Building which witnessed the struggle of the Indonesian people to expel the Dutch. With its historical background, the Linggarjati building has become a national museum and historical tourist attraction, which is an attraction for local and foreign visitors. Other tourist attractions are Darma Reservoir and Cibulan tourist attractions. Those tourist attractions above were introduced by the Kuningan Regency Government to the Tour de Linggarjati's participants. In addition, the Kuningan Regency Government has also launched the development of village tourism. The atmosphere of rural communities that are friendly and open to visitors and supported by the natural conditions of the village are able to attract more tourists.

In this tourism industry, the Kuningan Regency Government provides support for SMEs to be able to develop their business and give a vehicle to promote their products so that they can promote to international tourists. This utilization is not only through bazaar stands but also promotions on the Tour de Linggarjati activity site. It can be accessed by the global public, not only by foreign participants who take part in these activities. The existence of collaboration among domestic mass media to participate and promote SME products in Kuningan Regency provides opportunities for SMEs to develop.

The Tour de Linggarjati activity is supported by one of them, namely the opening of regional accessibility through the construction of the Cipali toll road access, the Cisumdawu toll access plan, and the West Java International Airport. It is a separate opportunity for Kuningan Regency, which is in

the West Java region, taking advantage of this momentum as an area that can be open to challenges and opportunities in the future. This infrastructure supports the development of the Kuningan Regency Government's paradiplomacy to pave the way for the pace of movement of goods and services.

In this activity, a video screening of the Kuningan tourism profile was carried out at the grand launching event and press conference. The video briefly shows every tourist attraction in Kuningan Regency and some social life with its natural atmosphere. The video brought Kuningan tourism to be known, with the publication of the video on related websites and news releases by the press. After a leisurely bicycle ride around the Kuningan area, the participants were invited to know Kuningan by attending the UKM Expo which was held at Pandapa Paramartha. UKM Expo is one of pre-activities series such as cycling all the exhibitions of Kuningan culinary products, Kuningan handicrafts, and there is also a stand that presents information about tourist attractions in Kuningan. The participants were not only able to visit the booths that had been prepared, but the participants were also shown by traditional arts from Kuningan Regency.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Conclusions

Based on this research, the researchers found that the Kuningan Regency has a great potential to develop its resources through Tour de Linggarjati activities. It opens an opportunity for the Kuningan Regency Government to make the Tour de Linggarjati activity an effective instrument for efforts to introduce the potential of the Kuningan Regency. It also found that the paradiplomacy carried out by the Kuningan Regency Government is go hand in hand with the diplomacy of the Government of Indonesia. It is because Indonesia has an interest in the development of tourism potential in the country. The Kuningan Regency Government



responded to this concern by holding a Tour de Linggarjati activity.

This research still has its limitations, especially the disclaimer of the Kuningan Regency Government's para-diplomacy which did not discuss the aspect of institutional relations between the Central and Regional Governments in the implementation of this activity. Besides that, it is also necessary to evaluate the practices of the Kuningan Regency Government so that this activity can run optimally with support from the Central Government through its networks or relationships. Thus, Tour de Linggarjati activities can involve the wider community.

Suggestions

For further researchers, the paradiplomacy of the Kuningan Regency Government can be studied in depth which is also associated with the existence of institutions in charge of international affairs in the local government structure in Kuningan Regency. For the Government of Indonesia, support for sub-state actors for activities abroad is needed because it can be a way for developing regional potential in utilizing international resources. Institutional support also needs to be carried out so that the Kuningan Regency Government can more freely carry out its paradiplomacy without being faced with bureaucratic procedures that can hinder Kuningan Regency activities abroad.

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