# **UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

# THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INFORMATION RESOURCE CENTER (IRC) AS THE UNITED STATES CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS INDONESIA



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INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

# FACULTY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA

2016

# THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INFORMATION RESOURCE CENTER (IRC) AS THE UNITED STATES CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS INDONESIA

Presented to fulfill the requirements for achieving the bachelor degree of International Program for International Relations (IPIREL) Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

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# INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

# FACULTY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

# UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA

2016

i

### **ENDORSEMENT PAGE**

This Undergraduate Thesis Entitled:

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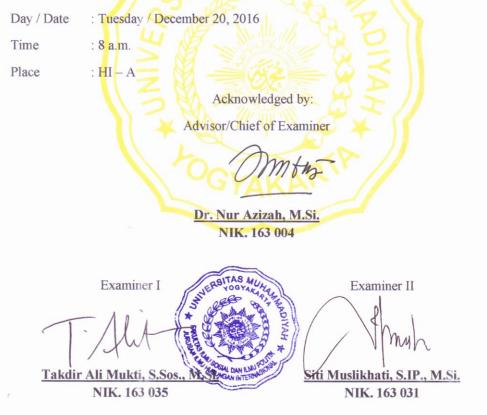


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This undergraduate thesis has been examined and endorsed by the board of examiners from the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.



# STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

I hereby certify that my undergraduate thesis is original and has not been asked to get a bachelor degree at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta or in other colleges.

In this undergraduate thesis, there is no work or opinions that have been written or published by others except in writing clearly listed as a reference in the script with the name mentioned and listed in the references.

I made this statement in real and if in future there is a mistake in this statement, then I am willing to accept academic sanction in accordance with the applicable rules at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta, December 2016

Writer

MH. Ainun Maidi

# QUOTES

- Being honest and work hard Mom (Before I leave home)
- That there is not for man except that (good) for which he strives, and that his effort is going to be seen An Najm 39-40
- Feeling is believeing Wonderful Indonesia
- Somehow, we keep each other same Ainun
- Rajin Pangkal Pandai
- Hemat Pangkal Kaya
- Baik Pangkal Bahagia

# 負けたら終わりじゃなくて やめたら終わりなんだよね

希望

## TRIBUTE PAGE

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Allah taught human what they did not know (Surah Al-'Alaq 1-5)

Which of the favors of your Allah do you deny? (Surah Ar-Rahman 13)

Read in the Name of Allah, who has created human from a clot and read, and Allah is most precious. The elapsed time I lead with the way of life that has become my fate, sad, happy, and meet the people who gave me a million experience for me, which has given a colorful life. I bow down of Allah, who have given me a chance to get to the end of the beginning of my struggle. Praise for Allah. I give thanks unto Allah, the highest, the most just and merciful, on fate had you make me the man who is always thinking, knowledge, faith and patience in living this life. Hopefully, this success being the first step for me to reach my big dreams.

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- All awardee of Beyond ACCESS.
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- State Alumni from all over the world.

Thank you for everyone, may Allah bless you. I hope this undergraduate thesis will be useful for all readers. Amin.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Yogyakarta, December 2016

MH. Ainun Maidi

### PREFACE

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Praise Allah SWT, for abundance of its grace and the gift. In the completion of undergraduate thesis with the title: **The Establishment Of Information Resource Center (IRC) as The United States Cultural Diplomacy Towards Indonesia**. This is to comply with one of completing the study and in order to obtain a Bachelor's degree in International Program for International Relation, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Appreciation and thanks are sincere to his beloved father and mother who have devoted all my love and affection and attention morally and materially. May Allah SWT always bestow Grace, Health, gift and blessing in the world and in the hereafter on the favor which had been given to the writer.

Appreciation and thanks the writer given to **Dr. Nur Azizah, M.Si**. as Supervisor during the writing of this undergraduate thesis. The author also realized that without the help of various parties, writing this undergraduate thesis may not run smoothly. Therefore the authors are grateful for the amount to:

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- 2. Dr. Ali Muhammad as Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences.
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- 8. Catur Wahyudi as RELO Assistant, Public Affair, The United States Embassy
- 9. Oktiviane A. Sinaga as IRC Director, Public affair, The United States Embassy
- 10. Christian C. Simanullang as IRC Director, The United States Consulate General
- 11. Brenda G. Susanto as Cultural Affair Assistant, The United States Embassy
- 12. All lecturers in International Relations Department.
- 13. All staffs in International Relations Department.
- 14. All lecturers in Faculty of Economic and Faculty of Law.
- 15. Everyone conduct during the writing of this undergraduate thesis

At the end, the writer realizes that in writing this undergraduate thesis is still

far from perfection. Therefore, the authors invoke suggestions and constructive

criticism for the sake of perfection and may be useful for all of us. Amin.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Yogyakarta, December 2016

MH. Ainun Maidi

## ABSTRACT

The United States and Indonesia bilateral relation has been established in two years after Indonesian independence in 1945. The United States consider that Indonesia as an important country to be engaged, since it is the world's third biggest democracy based system, has the biggest muslim population, the tenth-biggest economy on the planet by obtaining power, and has the world's most prominent marine biodiversity and its second most prominent earthbound biodiversity and others important aspect from Indonesia. The cooperation between both countries improving year by year, and it makes The United States renowned and familiar among Indonesian citizen. By entering Barrack Obama administration, The United States expand its relationship with Indonesia, it was called Comprehensive partnership. The cooperation conducts lots aspects including fostered consistent high-level engagement on democracy and civil society, instruction, security, atmosphere, oceanic, vitality, and exchange issues. However, The United States image in Indonesia not that good due to several actions that The United States has been done inside or outside of Indonesia. It escalates Indonesian citizen to have negative perceptions toward The United States, especially for those who have contradictory thought with The United States such as Islamic movements or organizations. The United States respond it by established the Information Resource Center in Indonesia as a term of cultural diplomacy. This undergraduate thesis will analyze why The United States established Information Resource Center in Indonesia. In order to describe reason beyond it, this undergraduate thesis using theory perception and concept of soft power.

# Keywords:

The United States, Indonesia, Perceptions, Information Resource Center

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# **CHAPTER I**

# **INTRODUCTION**

#### A. Background

The United States is a liberal vote based system with a government political structure involving 50 states and the District of Columbia. The central government is described by a division of forces between the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. Led by the President, who is chosen at regular intervals through a national challenge. Albeit more than 100 million Americans have voted in each of the last five presidential races, the President is not specifically chosen by the general population. Under the Electoral College framework, every state is represented to by "Voters" whose number is equivalent to that state's congressional assignment. In country election, a candidate that gets a greater part of at least 270 Electoral College votes out of the aggregate 538 is chosen as the president. (Trade, 2016). The United States has two broad party coalitions. There are Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

The United States - Indonesian cooperation has a long history, going back to the mid-nineteenth century when adequate quantities of United States merchants and others halted in the then-Dutch province to warrant the foundation of a consular post. In any case, relations stayed on a casual level after Indonesian freedom in post World War II. Both bilateral relations continued by the recognition from The United States toward Indonesia on December 28, 1949, when The United States ambassador H. Merle Cochran presented his credentials and delivered a message of congratulations on Indonesian independence from President Harry S. Truman that given to current president of Indonesia at that time, Sukarno. The cooperation turned out to be closer by the establishment of consular. The United States built up its first consular post in Indonesia in the city of Jakarta when it delegated Thomas Hewes on November 24, 1801. At the time, the domain was a Dutch province and the city was known as Batavia. The relationship between The United States and Indonesia was strengthened into more comprehensive, it comes by the establishment of Diplomatic Relations. It was established on December 28, 1949. When The United States Minister H. Merle Cochran displayed his qualifications to President Sukarno (Indonesia, 2016).

The United States - Indonesia relations escalate again into more advance and significance. Indonesia is "the world's third biggest democracy based system", has the biggest Muslim population, the tenth-biggest economy on the planet by obtaining power, and has the world's most prominent marine biodiversity and its second most prominent earthbound biodiversity (States, 2016). Indonesia additionally fringes the South China Sea, which has the world's busiest ocean paths. Indonesia's democratization and change handle since 1998 have expanded its diction and security in order to guarantee the safety of The United States - Indonesia relations. The United States - Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership, introduced in 2010 when President Barrack Obama set out to Indonesia, fostered consistent high-level engagement on democracy and civil society, instruction, security, atmosphere, oceanic, vitality, and

exchange issues, among others. In view of its prosperity, in 2015 the two nations updated the relationship to The United States - Indonesia Strategic Partnership, stretching out participation to issues of territorial and worldwide noteworthiness (States, 2016).

"Indonesia, the biggest economy in Southeast Asia, has appreciated consistent monetary development over the previous decade, with direct swelling, rising remote direct venture, and generally low loan costs. Indonesia's developing a working class, solid residential request, the extensive and young populace, and the requirement for new foundation makes it a critical potential market for The United States items and venture. The main of The United States fares to Indonesia incorporate transportation gear, including airship, nourishment and rural items, apparatus and hardware, and chemicals" (States, 2016).

However, there are critical difficulties to our respective financial relationship: the usage of protectionist laws, restricted framework, and an unevenly connected lawful structure.

The United States development assistance is delivered through The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Millennium Challenge Corporation and Peace Corps. USAID has been in Indonesia for over 60 years, enabling Indonesian citizens to realize their full potential by partnering with The United States to become self-reliant, advanced, well governed, and prosperous. The innovative programming covers health, environment, education, and governance sectors. In 2013, Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact entered into force with investments in renewable energy, maternal and child health, and Indonesia's efforts to modernize its public procurement system (States, 2016). The Peace Corps works in underserved and rural schools and communities to help Indonesia reach its education development goals through grassroots people-to-people contact, cultural exchange, and technical skills transfer.

The United States – Indonesia relationship becomes more complex in several aspects and it has been giving a lot benefit for each, for the government, people, and nation. However, the cooperation not running that easy, especially for the people perception, in Indonesia, several cases comes up regarding both The United States and Indonesia bilateral relationship, such as the protest toward The United States Embassy and Consulate General when some issues coming up, especially when it is coming from left sided community, in which what we called Moslem movement, the rejection toward The United States president visitation and others.

Under Barrack Obama administration, The United States through Bureau of Information and Publication established what they called as American Spaces in which consist of 800 platforms all over the world, and in Indonesia, it called Information Resource Center (IRC), in which it is one of The United States Embassy's most effective tools for communicating The United States policy and introducing citizens of Indonesia to American history, government, society, and values. Information Resource Center exemplifies The United States commitment to free access to information. It has computers with the Internet and educational software, an excellent set of reference books, audio/video materials, and other great resources. It also has a lending library of popular American fiction and a friendly staff to serve everyone who is interested in the United States. Information Resource Center is the primary source of informed commentary on the origin, growth and development of The United States society, politics, economics and culture and a major tool supporting The United States cultural diplomacy objectives. (Sinaga, 2016).

This undergraduate thesis is composed to explain more detail in advance about Information Resource Center (IRC) programs in Indonesia and analyze the reason beyond its establishment in Indonesia and its relation with people perception in Indonesia. In which the IRC itself works under The United States Embassy, Jakarta and The United States Consulate General, Surabaya. Information Resource Center (IRC) serves as a tool of The United States cultural diplomacy in Indonesia throughout various program.

# **B.** Research Question

According to background explanation, in order to have more understanding in advance about the reason beyond the establishment of Information Resource Center (IRC), the writer put the research question as:

Why did The United States Department of State establish Information Resource Center (IRC) in Indonesia?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

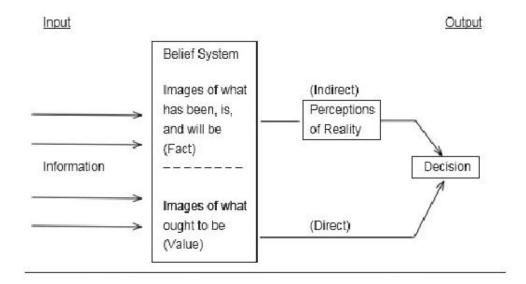
In order to justify the analysis of this undergraduate thesis, the writer provide theoretical based or foundation in the analysis. The writer need theory to support the research, here the writer choose two supplementary, which are Theory of Perception by **Ole R. Holsti** and Concept of Soft Power by **Joseph Nye.** 

# 1. Theory of Perception

Perception can be characterized as individuals or people acknowledgment and understanding of tangible data. Recognition likewise incorporates how individuals or people react to the data. Subject can consider observation a procedure where individuals or people take in tactile data from our surroundings and utilize that data keeping in mind the end goal to associate with our surroundings. Discernment permits subject to take the tactile data in and make it into something important.

# Table 1.1

#### Theory of Perception (Holsti O. R., 2006)



"The relationship between belief system, perceptions, and decision-making is a vital one. A decision-maker acts upon his image of the situation rather than upon objective reality, and it has been demonstrated that the belief system its structure as well as its content—plays an integral role in the cognitive process. Within the broader scope of the belief system, perception, decision making relationship there has been a heightened concern for the problem of stereotyped national images as a significant factor in the dynamics of the international system" (Holsti O. R., 2006).

The relationship of national images to worldwide clash is clear that actors follow up on their meaning of the circumstance and their images of states and others. These images are thusly reliant upon the decision maker conviction framework, and these might possibly be exact representations of reality. Accordingly it has been recommended that worldwide clash now and again it is not between states, but instead between misshaped images of states. The conviction framework, made out of various images of the past, present, and future. It might be considered as the arrangement of focal points through which data concerning the physical and social environment. It arranges the person to their environment, characterizing it for them and distinguishing for them striking attributes. National images might be indicated as subparts of the conviction framework. Like the conviction framework itself, these are models which arrange for the onlooker what will generally be an unmanageable measure of data.

In organizing perceptions into a meaningful guide for behavior, the belief system has the function of the establishment of goals and the ordering of preferences. Thus it actually has a dual connection with decision-making. The direct relationship is found in that aspect of the belief system which tells us what ought to be, acting as a direct guide in the establishment of goals. The indirect link the role that the belief system plays in the process of scanning, selecting, filtering, linking, reordering, organizing, and reporting rises from the tendency of the individual to assimilate new perceptions to familiar ones, and to distort what is seen in such a way as to minimize the clash with previous expectations. Like the blind men, each describing the elephant on the basis of the part he touches, different individuals may describe the same object or situation in terms of what they have been conditioned to see. This may be particularly true in a crisis situation that controversial issues tend to be polarized not only because commitments have been made but also because certain perceptions are actively excluded from consciousness if they do not fit the chosen world image.

International relations expert who has done perceptual theorist is Walter S. Jones. He explained analytically in shaping perceptions and perceptions of the contents of the major countries in world politics, such as the Russia, The United States, China and the third world countries clashing, causing political turmoil (Jones, 1992).

Perceptions are categorized by three components, namely the values, beliefs, and knowledge (Holsti, 1983). The three component are what will shape the perception of a person or group. According to Walter S. Jones (1992), the value is given preference to a statement of reality more than reality. One example of a healthy value is better than sickness or giving is better than receiving. Value does not refer to what is there, but what was supposed to be there. Values provide prices relative to the objects and conditions. Confidence is the attitude that the description of reality is correct, proved to be, or has been known. According to Walter S. Jones (1992), confidence is not the same as grades. Someone may believe that communism would spur economic growth and that capitalism will be better promises protection of individual liberty. A person's beliefs are formed from the value that determines which one is better between communism or capitalism. Walter S. Jones knowledge derived from data or information received from the environment. Knowledge is a key element in the formation and change of the perceptual system (S.Jones, 1992). The concept of change in a person's perception or national perception refers to the new knowledge remodel beliefs and values. Based on the theory that has been advanced by Walter S.

Jones above revealed that a perception requires three main components values, beliefs and knowledge that are interrelated to one another so as to create an analysis method on an object that has the quality of scientific and accountable.

Based on the description above, the writer uses the theory of perception as a tool used to analyze how perceptions of the Indonesian people against the United States related to Indonesia's cooperation with the United States that has lasted a long time, especially in the era of Barack Obama.

# 2. Soft Power Concept

The writer also using one of power concept which defined by Joseph S. Nye (2008). He proposed this three-headed conception of power, an unfortunate rule of thumb has developed linking each version of power to a specific power resource.

# Table 1.2

Type of Power	Mechanism	Illustration
Hard Power	Coercion	Country B does what Country A wants because Country A would harm B if it does not comply
Economic Power	Incentive	Country B does what Country A wants because Country A will reward Country B for complying
Soft Power	Co-Option	Country B does what Country A wants because B is convinced that what A wants is best.

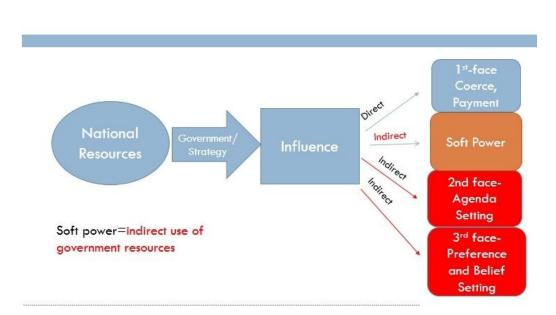
#### Conception of Power (Winger, 2014)

However, due to Information Resource Center is only conduct to culture and values, the writer only use concept of soft power in this research. Soft power definition according to Nye is the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes. Includes intangible factors such as institutions, ideas, values, culture and perceived legitimacy of policies which conduct in soft power appliance.

Soft power is a concept promoted by Nye besides smart power. Soft power is a term widely used to interpret or explain a process of relations and the realization of power (Nye, 1990). The meaning of soft power itself can be seen from the term of soft which means smooth and power, which is an ability to perform diplomacy and control the other party, without performing hard penetration. According to Nye, soft power contain of three sources which are culture, values and foreign policy. A state may obtain the desired results in world politics because other countries admire its values, emulate the example, aspires to increase the prosperity and openness of the state. In this sense it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not just to force them to change with the threat of military force or economic sanctions but also with soft power. Some form of soft power, among others, is ideology, technology, education, and culture.

Thus, in the pursuit of national interests of the state can never act alone. It requires other actors such as private agencies, religious and educational institutions, and transnational corporations engaged in the business of trading, communication and information, art, and culture.





Soft Power Concept (Nye, Soft Power and Higher Education, 2008)

There are two tools of soft power which are public and cultural diplomacy, due to all aspect of the topic in which Information Resource Center contain all cultural stuff, the writer using cultural diplomacy tool, by Joseph Nye. He also cite that "*Soft power* is *the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion or payments*" (Nye, Soft Power and Higher Education, 2008). According to Nye, Cultural diplomacy consist of six characteristic, which are:

- a) Cultural diplomacy establishes a two-way communication with other countries.
- b) Primary focus is not merely political but also cultural (athletic, education, art)

- c) The actor can take on his/her own agenda independently of the government.
- d) More high culture and education focused (less popular culture, publications, radio or TV)
- e) Can be sponsored by the government but also by private institutions or NGO.
- f) Embassies play a major role but not the only role

The concept of Soft Power used by the writer in order to define The United States implement its diplomacy toward Indonesia, in specific area with certain purpose.

# **D. Hypothesis**

The existence of The United States in Indonesia represented by its Embassy and Consulate General plus the escalation of comprehensive partnership with Indonesia makes the image of The United States well known in Indonesia. However, those diplomatic mission conduct one side benefit only such as monopoly of natural resources in Papua and other area. Both countries difference thought, in which The United States having liberal identity provides freedom and Indonesian citizens which mostly are moslem and still applies Islamic values. It becomes trigger for Indonesian citizens to have negative perceptions toward The United States. While that things happen, on the other side The United States boosting its soft approach through the implementation of Information Resource Center.

Therefore, the writer composed hypothesis of this research that The United States established Information Resource Center (IRC) in Indonesia in order to build positive perceptions and good image among people in Indonesia, with further purposes in engaging bilateral relationship through mutual understanding with Indonesia.

# E. Research Methodology

This undergraduate thesis applies qualitative analysis throughout an in-depth interview with the head of IRC - The United States Embassy Jakarta, Okti Sinaga. and also discussion with some experts who have outstanding understanding related with the research. And also library research throughout data collecting from various resources form, books, journal, encyclopedia, and the internet.

# 1. Type of Research

The research is a qualitative research with phenomenological models. Qualitative research is research that produces descriptive data in the form of words written or spoken of people and behaviors that can be observed holistically on the background and the individual. Qualitative research is a certain tradition in social science that is fundamentally dependent on observations in humans in its own region and in touch with these people in their language and in their terminologies, this also means a process of scientific research is intended to understand human problems in a social context by creating a comprehensive and complex picture presented, reported a detailed view of the speakers, as well as carried out in a natural setting without any intervention from the researchers. According to Banister, qualitative research is a method to capture and provide an overview of the phenomenon, expressing the phenomenon and explain the phenomenon. The qualitative research aimed to gain a fundamental understanding, through experience first-hand from researchers who direct the process, and merge into one integral part with the subject and the background to be studied in the form of a report that is true, it is, and the notes field that the actual and to understand how the subject of research extract meaning from the surrounding environment and how these meanings influence the behavior of the subject itself.

Qualitative research has several elements, namely the research data come from a variety of sources such as interviews and observations, consists of various analysis and interpretation procedures used to arrive at findings or theories and written and oral reports are to be developed by the researchers. Qualitative research also has the characteristics, namely: 1) A natural structure is conducting research on natural background or in the context of an entity.

2) The Human Instrument (instrument), is the researchers themselves or with the help of others is the main data collection tool.

3) Using Qualitative Methods.

4) Using Data Analysis In Inductive.

5) Theory of Basic is preferred to the preparation of guidance towards substantive theory derived from the data.

6) Descriptive is to collect data in the form of words, pictures and not the numbers.

7) More Concerned process rather than results.

- 8) There is a limit determined by the focus
- 9) The Special Criteria for the validity of the data.
- 10) Design Characteristically meantime.
- 11) Research Joint negotiated and agreed.

# 2. Type of Data

By definition, objectives, elements and characteristics of qualitative research with the model phenomenology according to experts who have been the author mentioned earlier, it was concluded that the primary data source in qualitative research with the model phenomenology is words and actions, the rest is additional data such as documents and other, From the way it was collected, an outline of the research data can be divided into two (2) types, as follows:

#### a. Primary Data

Primary data in this study is all the information about the Information Resource Center (IRC), the researchers obtained directly from Oktiviane A Sinaga as head of IRC iru own. Then made an object of study, as well as the relevant parties, are considered to be important and the information can be extracted as the main data in this study.

# b. Secondary Data

Secondary data in this research this is all the information about the bilateral relations between the United States and Indonesia as well as the Information Resource Center (IRC) obtained by researchers indirectly, through documents that record the state of research concepts (or associated with) in the units of analysis be the object of research.

# **3. Data Collecting Method**

According to Koentjaraningrat, data collection method are classified into nine namely observation, participant-observer methods, independent interviews, guided interviews, questionnaire, text recording, life history approach, test-psychological tests, and statistical methods. Interview (interview), observations (observation) and the documentation is data collection techniques in qualitative approach and is an integral technique for obtaining the data and or a deep understanding of Resource Information Center (IRC) in Indonesia. Of some data collection techniques described above, researchers chose two technical deemed appropriate by the study, namely:

# a. In-depth Interviews

The research data come from a variety of sources such as interviews and observations, then the interview is instrumental in collecting data. The interview is a data collection method is done by asking questions about the concept study of the human individual which becomes the unit of analysis research. The interview is a conversation between two people, one of which aims to explore and obtain information for a particular purpose. In the interview, there are three methods of interviews, namely structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. This study uses structured interviews to obtain data directly to the object of research related Information Resource Center (IRC).

# b. Documentation

Moleong proposes two forms of documents that can be used as ingredients in the study documentation, among others which are personal documents such as notes or essay someone in writing about the action, experience, and confidence. There are three commonly used personal documents qualitative researchers for analysis, namely diaries (diary), personal letters and autobiography. And also official documents, including internal documents (memos, announcements, instructions, rules of an institution, the system put in place, the results of the meeting noctule Sia leadership decisions, etc.) and external documents (magazines, newspapers, newsletters, waiver, etc.).

# F. Research Scope

The discussion in this undergraduate thesis is limited during establishment of Information Resource Center (IRC) or during Barrack Obama administration.

#### **G. Research Composition**

# **Chapter I**

This chapter is an introduction which conduct the reason beyond the title choosen by the writer, background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, data collecting method or methodology, time scale and also research composition.

## **Chapter II**

This chapter describe about The United States and Indonesia bilateral relation and also Indonesian citizens perception toward The United States itself.

# **Chapter III**

This chapter describe about the establishment of Information Resource Center (IRC) and its function in Indonesia

### **Chapter IV**

This chapter explain why Information Resource Center (IRC) used as The United States cultural diplomacy

# **Chapter V**

This chapter conduct of summary and conclusion of the research, also the last chapter in this research.

#### **CHAPTER II**

# THE UNITED STATES AND INDONESIA BILATERAL RELATION AND INDONESIAN CITIZENS PERCEPTION TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

International Relations is basically a sign of the association between performing actors, including everything correlated with the communication in a worldwide framework. Communication will show up if there is a relationship between the two countries having similar purposes. Likewise, with each nation on the planet, the communication happens between one nation to another and in order to accomplish the purposes and targets, every nation keeps depending each other to reach the goal to keep up the viability of the nation (Kusumohamidjojo, 1987).

Each country needs each other to be able to meet the needs and goals of the country, especially in the modern era and in the world which is increasingly complex. Due to the increasing complexity of international relations, every country can not be free to be mutual dependence with other countries. In this case, the state has role to maintain the engagement, then the international relations that took place can be seen from the number of his country, starting from the level of relationship that simplest of all bilateral relations concerning the two countries and the level of multilateral relations related to more than two countries. International relation is also known by the term global relations. In the sense that the political aspects and facets of the process of global relations. Political aspects could be interpreted as an aspect of the material and therefore can be realized in the form of military interest, economy,

culture and so on. In foreign policy decision making process, legal aspects into formal aspect which is a form of procedural completion of the various interests that ultimately can and should be concluded in political interests.

International relations is often interpreted as a global relationship which includes all the relationships that happen by going beyond national borders. Bilateral relations can occur due to such geographical location, resources, natural resources, population and labor, political, economic, military and security. Based on the interpretation of Didi Krisna, bilateral relationship is states that describe a relationship of mutual influence or a mutual relationship between the two parties or two countries (Krisna, 1993).

The United States politics in international relations is well known by the public. The United States has a well-established economy and advanced technology and requires a good start in implementing the inter-state relations. The end of the Cold War was won by the United States, making The United States increasingly spread its wings in the international arena. The United States is an independent country and a country that can attract other countries to create cooperation relations, especially for developing countries that have not enough capability or capacity to have an influence in international relations (Wirajuda, 2004). One of the countries chosen by The United States is Indonesia, as it considers Indonesia as an important country that might be able to corporate together to fulfill its national needs.

#### A. The United States and Indonesia bilateral relations

The relationship between Indonesia and The United States had started before the Proclamation of Independence of Indonesia in 1945. Then, on December 28, 1949, The United States opened The United States Embassy in Jakarta and appointed first The United States ambassador to Indonesia, Horace Merle Cochran. On February 20, 1950, the Indonesian government appointed Dr. Sastroamidjojo as the first Indonesian Ambassador to the United States. Both countries have a strong foundation in cooperation for the benefit of both parties, which is based on democratic values respected joint or shared values, namely democracy, good governance, respect for human rights and a pluralistic and tolerant society. Based on these premises, Indonesia expects to achieve a broader relationship with The United States government in various fields in accordance to the needs and development of both parties.

Indonesia and the United States held various forms of cooperation, which cooperation was initiated through the cooperation in the security field by holding a joint regular dialogue on 19 September 2001 by President George W. Bush and President Megawati Soekarnoputri in Washington DC. Dialog security provides a place for government officials from the departments of each country with regard to security issues and defense regularly and exchanged views on the issue of regional security situation, national security policy, piracy, military reform, the policy areas of counter-terrorism, and the budget process. As a result, both countries can improve their mutual understanding, perceptions, and policies on strategic issues and security.

The next dialogue was held on April 25, 2002, in Jakarta which was agreed between Indonesia and The United States. Each representative or delegations of the two countries agreed that this dialogue is the key to building trust to strengthen regional peace and stability. Each country showed their representation, besides Indonesia and the United States, shared the view that there was still a long regional conflict that needed to be managed and resolved peacefully. At the end of the dialogue, the two delegations stated that the Dialogue was an important pillar in the relationship between Indonesia and the United States and appreciate the spirit of open and constructive shown by all participants in the dialogue. Both countries then agreed to continue at the beginning 2003 (Institute, 2011). The next Dialogue was held on April 23 in Washington DC, continued from the first meeting, at the Dialogue discussed or reviewing the international security situation and the Asia-Pacific region at that time. Moreover, this dialogue also discussed their respective efforts to eliminate terrorism and agreed on the need to promote and protect human rights. The US government appreciated the efforts of the Indonesian government to reform the Indonesian National Army or TNI and its statement that would maintain the professionalism and commitment to remain neutral in elections taking place at the time. The United States delegation also gave exposure to some strategic aspects of their national security as well as changes in the form of The United States global

defense, while Indonesia explained the national security and regional counterterrorism issues. The agreement also stated that Indonesian delegation requested clarification of The United States policy toward the sea line, and The United States delegation would also provide a guarantee to respect Indonesia's sovereignty over its territory and clarified the concept of Regional Maritime Security Initiative or MRSI. More, it also agreed to continue to consult with Indonesia.

The cooperation between The United States and Indonesia became more advance during Barrack Obama administration. The United States and Indonesia relations have gone up against expanding significance. Indonesia is the world's third largest democracy, has the biggest Muslim-larger part populace, is the tenth biggest economy in the world by acquiring power, and has the world's most noteworthy marine biodiversity and its second most noteworthy physical biodiversity. Those characteristics triggering The United States to have certain interest towards Indonesia until both bilateral relationships produce Comprehensive Partnership, introduced in 2010 when President Obama set out to Indonesia, cultivated predictable abnormal state engagement on vote based system and common society, training, security, atmosphere, sea, vitality, and exchange issues, among others. In view of its prosperity, in 2015 the two nations overhauled the relationship to the United States and Indonesia Strategic Partnership, stretching out participation to issues of local and worldwide (AFFAIRS, 2016).

#### B. The United States problem in maintaining bilateral relations with Indonesia

In international relations, state as political actor creates cooperation with a lot challenges. It always runs dynamically. There is a moment when cooperation between states gets stronger or the opposite when states are unable to deal with certain cases and it turn into a conflict. It is also happening with The United States and Indonesia bilateral relations, Indonesia which known as divers nation having bunch type of society. The differences conduct in several aspects, such as race, religion and others. As moslem majority state, which also applies democratic system, it is a big challenge to maintain the country. It is also triggers the people to speak up throughout community group, social movement, political party and others.

Those community groups which shaped in several forms, such as movement and others playing role as supporting partner for state cooperation. But also, in the other way, it could be a challenge or problem when they are not be able to deal with certain policy and cases. The United States faces problems in maintaining its relationship with Indonesia when it concerns on public or social view, since there are a lot of people having negative perception toward The United State itself. In fact, those people who oppose The United States become stronger caused they are united in a movement, especially those which could be categorized as a left wing named PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* - Prosperous Justice Party), HTI (*Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* – Indonesian *Hizb Ut Tahrir*), and FPI (*Front Pembela Islam* – The Islamic Defenders Front) and also right wing which conduct communist movements. Those community groups having negative perception toward The United States articulate their opposition through several term such as publishing soft protest through online and offline media, held public protest to the Embassy and Consulate General or even forcing Indonesian government to avoid certain cooperation with The United States.

The writer classifies how perceived negative perception of Indonesian society is given to the United States through several two ways: direct and indirect. Direct approach, which means action of these perceptions voiced in tangible form. Usually this is done at the Embassy or Consulate General by instrument is a mass with considerable amount, and done because of the insistence of certain insistence. The second is indirect means to use various tools such as media, both online and offline to publish negative thought provoking them against the United States with the hope for change with the things they have done and done individually or in groups via a press release or official website.

#### **1. Direct Approach**

There are several cases happen regarding negative perception of Indonesian people toward The United States comes up through direct protest, such as protest doing by around 200 people which mostly coming from HTI right in front of The United States Embassy, Jakarta in December 30, 2008. They are protesting The United States regarding behavior in facing Islamic attack in Middle East, people assume that The United States which known as the country which having big influence just act like nothing happen and doing nothing regarding the attack (Widjaya & Astuti, 2008).

The other case is what HTI member did in The United States Consulate General, Surabaya in August 10, 2008. HTI activist shout out in front of Consulate General protesting The United States to not doing any kind of intervention toward Indonesia domestic problem, the website of HTI cite that:

"The activists of HTI started rallies Around 09.00 am. By carrying posters and banners condemning the United States Government to interfere regarding the liberation without requirement of separatist movement separatist leaders named OPM (*Organisasi Papua Medeka* - Free Papua Organization) Filep Karma and Yusak Pakage. Mass coordinator, Fikri A Zudian, stated that the United States intervention was indicated when 40 members of The United States Congress recently lifted a letter addressed to the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and ask for a liberation of OPM leaders without requirement." (Hidayat, 2008).

It is also happened in April 2012 when Indonesian people protesting in The United States Consulate General, Surabaya insist The United States to stop its attack toward Afghanistan regarding 9/11 tragedy. "This action escalate an anti-United States mindset among people in Indonesia" Cited from ABC (Radio, 2012).

### 2. Indirect Approach

There are also several people show up indirectly and commonly they are using media, whether online or offline. There are several website post a writing regarding an anti-United States movement such as in HTI official website which described in a writing titled "The United States: Lies, Colonialization in the name of peace" (Syarifudin, 2014), the writing mentioning that "The essential battle is against capitalism civilization which led by The United States". Others form of indirect perception toward The United States are personal writing which posted in public area such as website, flyer and poster. It all purposed in order to influence people to have same perception to against The United States.

#### C. The Appearance of Anti-Americanicism in Indonesia

Those negative perceptions escalate and increase rapidly after The United States respond toward terrorist issues and it was resulting attack toward Islamic countries like Iraq. In few months after the issues, it was triggering Anti-Americanicism in Indonesia to appear. Radical Islamic forces in Indonesia have become strong enough to withstand the loss of official tolerance and periodic patronage. Other hard-line Muslim groups include *Hizbut al-Tahrir*, *Laskar Jihad* and the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), and they are becoming more visible, assertive, and vocal in voicing their displeasure against the The United States.

There is also another critics that claim that The United States efforts were motivated by a desire to win Muslim friends and influence people. It is also stated by Habib Rizieq Shihab as the head of FPI (hardline Islamist group - *Front Pembela Islam*) that foreign troops corrupt strict Islamic culture.

#### **CHAPTER III**

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INFORMATION RESOURCE CENTER

Information Resource Center or IRC was established by United States Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs, following the United States and Indonesia comprehensive cooperation. IRC works in Indonesia under The United States Embassy, Jakarta and The United States Consulate General, Surabaya serving as the official representative of The United States in Indonesia (Sinaga, 2016). The structure started by ambassador as head of the Embassy, continued by implementing affair which is Public Affair Section, continued by Cultural Affair Section and IRC works under control of Cultural Affair Section itself. IRC also having another name which is American Spaces (Sinaga,2016).

#### **A. About Information Resource Center**

IRC in general functiona to keep mutual understanding of bilateral relationship between The United States and Indonesia through soft approach. It provides programs which are composed by Department of State for Indonesian citizens with a window into American culture and values (Sinaga, 2016). There are various type of programs provided, from small libraries to high-tech cultural centers.

Their presence should represent "an enduring symbol of The United States commitment to a long-term relationship with Indonesia", and to the American's ideal of freedom of information.

Information Resource Center or IRC tends to engage with Indonesian citizens through providing them insight into living in The United States, policies and culture through a variety of media. In IRC, Indonesian citizens are provided the opportunities to learn English with native, meet and interact with American experts and speakers, experiences American exhibitions and multimedia installations and stay informed through media resources.

#### **B.** Information Resource Center Function and Working area

In Indonesia, IRC is responsible to maintain five main tasks. Again, it aims to keep mutual understanding between The United States and Indonesia, especially the citizens of Indonesia. First, spreading and promoting information about The United States. Second, introducing The United States culture, for example movies, art and others. Third, alumni engagement, exchange program and professional. Fourth, "Study in The United States" which is a program purposed to attract people to study in The United States and also to provide Indonesian students to have an access for educational consultation. Fifth, English teaching and learning (Sinaga, 2016).

#### **1. Information dissamination about The United States**

Reaching public attention to create cooperation seems to be really difficult without knowing each other. The United States therefore, intensively approaches Indonesian citizens through IRC by direct method in which The Embassy or Consulate General representatives come to the people, perform an exhibition and held an introduction about The United States, and also through indirect method by providing library, including with various books related with anything about The United States, and also computer access toward resources, also regarding The United States.

### 2. Introducing The United States culture

As one of most important and effective components in approaching people, culture is also used by The United States in IRC.

"The United States soft power conduct its identity, and its spread out to all over the world. The United States is generally referred to far and wide as a pioneer in broad media production, including TV and motion pictures. The television broadcasting industry took hold in the United States in the early 1950s, and American television programs are now shown around the world. The United States also has a vibrant movie industry, centered in Hollywood, California, and American movies are popular worldwide. American folk art is an artistic style and is identified with quilts and other hand-crafted items. American music is very diverse with many, many styles, including rhythm and blues, jazz, gospel, country and western, bluegrass, rock 'n' roll and hip hop" (Zimmermann, 2015).

#### 3. Alumni engagement, exchange program and professional

The United States and Indonesia has been working on two way cooperation in escalating human resource quality through educational exchanges. It is categorized in two, exchanges programs for degree and nondegree education and also professional exchange. The United States giving provides opportunities for Indonesian citizens to study abroad for free in The United States and the vice versa. Exchanges programs are provided for common people who would like to take a short term program in order to experience living in The United States or long term program by pursuing degree in The United States. Professional program is provided for governmental individual who wants to have certain specific training in order to improve skills. The output, or citizens who has finished the program are called alumni or commonly called State Alumni. IRC having responsibility of them, such as providing funds in they wants to create a social projects, maintaining networking among alumni and also held gathering agenda in certain time (Sinaga, 2016).

#### **4. Educational consultation**

The IRC provides consultation for Indonesian citizens who want to study in The United States. It cooperates with implementing partner such as The American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF), Bina Antar Budaya and others. AMINEF is a bi-national non-profit foundation which administers the Fulbright and other related scholarship programs in Indonesia. The primary focus of the Fulbright Program in Indonesia is to promote mutual understanding between the Republic of Indonesia and the United States of America through educational exchange and academic scholarship (AMINEF 2015).



Table 3.1 Scholarship Placing Lists for Indonesian Citizens (AMINEF, 2015)

The other implementing partner is *Bina Antarbudaya*. As an educational based organization, it is always developing the world understanding or global understanding (Antarbudaya, 2014). It is committed to building a better world through the exchange program which is based on cross-cultural understanding. The purpose of the establishment of AFS Intercultural Programs is to prepare future leaders who have a sensitivity, intercultural understanding and attention to the environment.

Through interaction with people from different countries, exchange program participants learn to share, communicate and respect between one another, and respect for diversity. In purposed, in the future there will be emerge of leaders who appreciate the differences, the high sensitivity of the values of peace and friendship, and build positive relationships and understanding each other, both the groups and people from other countries.

It is also no religious background, race, ethnicity, socio-economic groups and political parties and is committed to becoming a non-profit organization, which always worked for the good of mankind. With more than 50 years of experience in cross-cultural understanding, AFS Intercultural Programs has already sent 3,000 students to different countries and has received more than 1,500 foreign students to stay and study in Indonesia (Antarbudaya, 2014).

There are several programs serves by The United States for Indonesian citizens to have chance for study in The United States, or even the opposite way, for United States citizens toward Indonesia, cause basically the Information Resource Center purposed to increase mutual understanding between The United States and Indonesia.

### a. Fulbright Program

The Fulbright Program is the most prestigious educational exchange program funded by the United States government. The program was established in 1946 in the United States aims to improve understanding and communication between the United States and Indonesia through various student exchange programs funded. The Fulbright Program since 1952 already provides scholarships to students and researchers from Indonesia and America. Since that year, this program has provided funding for more than 2,400 students and researchers Indonesia to teach or study in the United States. In addition, this program has also funded more than 850 American citizens to teach or conduct research in Indonesia. As the development of the Fulbright program in Indonesia, the government of the United States and Indonesia have agreed to establish the American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF) in 1992. The Foundation bi-state non-profit established to regulate the core programs Fulbright and other scholarship programs funded by the government United States of America.

By 2014, AMINEF through the Fulbright Student program has funded 102 Indonesian students who take master and doctoral degree in the United States. AMINEF also funded nine senior researchers to conduct research or teach at various universities in the United States. AMINEF also provides scholarships for 10 Indonesian citizens to assist the teaching of Indonesian at top universities in the United States through the Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA). In addition, AMINEF also provides scholarships to two Indonesian teachers to teach in two institutions in the United States through the Fulbright Scholar-In-Residence (SIR). In the same year, AMINEF through the Fulbright Student program provides 13 scholarships for students from the United States who conduct research in Indonesia.

In addition to core programs Fulbright above, AMINEF also manages various other scholarship programs, for example-DIKTI Fulbright program funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture. This program provides scholarships are only for lecturers. AMINEF also administers the Fulbright program-Indonesia Research in Science and Technology (FIRST), which offers scholarships for researchers and teachers from Indonesia and the United States who want to discuss the problems in the field of natural sciences, technology, engineering and mathematics.

FIRST program itself is the implementation of the cooperation program for Higher Education (Higher Education Partnership / HEP) launched by President Barrack Obama and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2010 that aims to build closer bilateral relations between Indonesia and the United States through an exchange program. However, FIRST program only a program will run until the end of 2015. HEP program contributes significantly to increasing the number of Fulbright scholarships granted to Indonesian citizens and Americans who want to learn, teach, or pass up research in these two countries.

#### b. Youth Program

Youth Exchange and Study (YES) Program was established in October 2002 to provide scholarships for Indonesian citizen especially for those high school students from countries with significant Muslim populations, including Indonesia, to spend up to one year academic education in the United States, YES students live with a host family, following high school, engage in activities while learning about America, acquire leadership skills, and help educate Americans about their country and culture. In 2007, YES Abroad was established to provide a similar experience for The United States students to Indonesia. AFS Intercultural Programs Foundation along with the United States Embassy in Jakarta manages YES program in Indonesia. Indonesia has than 500 people who have participated in this program.

#### c. YSEALI Program

YSEALI program launched in 2013, the Young Southeast Asian Leaders Initiative (YSEALI) which purposed for the citizen in Southeast Asia including Indonesia. It is The United States government's signature program to strengthen partnerships with emerging leaders in Southeast Asia which aimed to expand their skills as effective civic, economic and nongovernmental leaders in the region and to encourage Indonesian citizens to work together across borders to solve regional challenges. YSEALI programs divided into four themes which are economic development and entrepreneurship, environmental protection, education and also civic engagement.

YSEALI program also provides opportunities for Indonesian citizens to have professional and academic exchanges to the United States, regional workshops for networking and skills development, social media engagement, and a grant competition to support emerging leaders' efforts to address regional issues. Nowadays, YSEALI conduct around 98,000 members from all over Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia connected each other. Since 2014, 891 young leaders have participated in educational and professional exchanges in the United States. More than 1,550 youth have attended 16 skills-building regional exchange workshops in Asia. YSEALI has granted more than \$465,000 in seed funding to 36 multi-national teams for YSEALI-themed projects.

### **5.** English teaching and learning

Language is one of state identities and it also applies to The United States as well. The United States provides an advance English learning in form of program. The program called "ACCESS Program". It is a micro scholarship given by The United States to Indonesian youths in several areas in Indonesia consisting of Aceh, Palembang, Jakarta, Bandung, Surakarta, Madura, Pontianak and Ambon. Those young people are provided two years learning English for free. They also thought by professional teachers and updated resources like books, dictionaries, magazines and others. The programs are held by The United States's implementing partner that is Center for Civic Education-Indonesia (CCEI).

These are programs provided by The United States for Indonesian citizens in field of English language teaching and learning:

a. English Language Fellowship Program

Through The English Language Fellow Program (EL Fellow), highly qualified US educators in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) participated in a fellowship for 10 months at academic institutions around the world.

b. Program Specialist English

Program Specialist English recruit professionals and academics the US in the field of Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) to conduct programs abroad ranging from two weeks to four months.

#### c. Microscholarship Access Program English Language

English Microscholarship Access Program (Access) provides basic English language skills to non-elite, 14 -18 years old students through afterschool classes and intensive learning activities in the summer.

#### d. E-Teacher Scholarship Program

E-Teacher Scholarship Program offers professional English teachers who live outside the United States the opportunity to take seven innovative, online, graduate-level classes through the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, and the University of Oregon. The course will explore the main areas of academic specialization Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL).

Those programs also supported by high quality resources which taken from certain resources, such as, Majalah Forum Pengajaran Bahasa Inggris, Kantor Program Bahasa Inggris, Proyek Pusat Bahasa Inggris Online, American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF), The Indonesian International Education Foundation, VOA Inggris Spesial, Resources for Educational Excellence, ERIC – Education Resources Information Center, The Partnership for 21st Century Skills, TESOL – Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Educational Testing Service and ASCD – Educational Leadership. Those Information Resource Center (IRC) programs are constructed in line with The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' (ECA). ECA itself having main mission which is to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries including Indonesia by means of educational and cultural exchange that assist in the development of peaceful relations (Affairs, 2016).

Based on the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, the United States Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) works to build friendly, peaceful relations between the people of the United States and the people of other countries through academic, cultural, sports, and professional exchanges, as well as public -private partnerships. From artists, educators, and athletes to students and the youth in the United States and from almost every other country and territory including Indonesia that engaged rising leaders through academic, cultural, sports, and professional exchanges (Affairs, 2016). Striving to reflect the diversity of the United States and global society, ECA programs, funding, and other activities encourage the involvement of American and international participants from traditionally underrepresented groups, including women, racial and ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities.

#### **CHAPTER IV**

# BEYOND THE ESTBALISHMENT OF INFORMATION RESOURCE CENTER (IRC) IN INDONESIA

In this chapter the writer will describe about the flow of negative perceptions coming from Indonesian citizens toward The United States. The United States existence in Indonesia become famous after it started its comprehensive partnership with Indonesia. Indonesian citizens, known as moslem majority country, have contradictive thought with Western thought, especially The United States. That triggers Indonesian citizens to have negative perception toward The United States, and further, it will affect another United States mission toward Indonesia. This chapter will also describe how The United States respond toward negative perceptions coming from Indonesian citizens by the establishment of Information Resource Center or IRC, which serves as The United States cultural diplomacy to shape or build positive perceptions among Indonesian citizens toward The United States.

## A. The Belief system in Indonesia

Indonesia is a democratic country which ideology is based on *Pancasila* and the tagline *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which means Unity in Diversity. Since, Indonesia is moslem majority country, the thought of Islam stongly influential in Indonesia. And become foundation of life. It guides the citizens to socialize each other.

In their dialy life, their action are mostly realted to the values of islam in which the principle of respect is important in building the relationsship among humans, regardless their identity. Universalism is more appropriate in shaping and building prosperity in a nation rather than unilateralism. First, in reaching the purpose, cooperation is needed in order to give benefits to one and other, the most effective way in having, but then cooperation as inclusive though could not be done in all term, cooperation must designed in form of good thing, not in a bad thing. Second, peaceful also could be reached by respecting other privacy, without attempting to intervene others. It means that people have to keep any relationship which having good purposes and as the opposite, to stop any relationship having conduct bad purposes. Third, stand for independence, means in having relationship, the actor have to stand through its independence dignity without taking or even rub others independence. There is also a social term which commonly known that is, it is better to give rather than getting something, reflecting that in having relationship, people have to understand that giving is a good thing, especially giving beyond nothing, cause if people give something in order to get something, it is just alibi that consider to contradicted with values conduct in Indonesian citizens belief. Fourth, stand for justice while interact with others, it is not only in term of quantitative dimension, but also in qualitative dimension, cause justice not only depend on political power or law mechanism but also, justice determined by the true universalism tradition. Fifth, equality among people, without any classes or

discrimination, when every single person have the same right (Surwandono & Ahmadi, 2011). Sixth, being responsible for every single thing that people did and also participating in reaching worldwide peaceful, cause if the relationship started by respecting others dignity and prestige of human, at the end it will decreasing the trigger of conflict.

Therefore those Indonesian idealism is contradicts with American thought especially the ideas of liberalism and also realism which are identical with The United States's identity. Liberalism is stubborn and does not learn from the mistakes of the past or history. Despite its relativism, it is very aggressive and an anti for tolerance or can be called as extremely intolerant, alternating savage attacks with silent contempt (Kuehnelt-Leddihn, 1997). The other thoughts are the use of power in order to reach certain purposes, cooperation is used in order to completing the mission no matter whether it is good or bad. Self freedom without certain limitation which means that everyone can do anything as well as it is not violating the others. Moreover, in realism, it shapes social gap or level, in which people are separated based on living level. It absolutely exploits one each other.

Those contradictive thought between Indonesian citizens and the existence of The United States in Indonesia trigger them to speak up by having negative perceptions. (Regarding to Holsti,1983) the theory of perception by Ole R. Holsti, this is how information comes up, which is continued by the appearance of perceptions that emerged based on the belief system.

#### **B.** Indonesian citizens negative perceptions toward The United States

Represented by The United States embassy and consulate general, The United States accentuates its existence in Indonesia. Its bilateral relationship with Indonesia is improving year by year convering various aspects, such as civil society, instruction, security, atmosphere, oceanic, vitality, and exchange issues, among others. It made The United States frequently heard by Indonesian citizens, time by time they also heard what The United States did outside and inside Indonesia. Such as war against Islamic countries, monopoly on Indonesian natural resources in Papua and others area. Those cases trigger Indonesian citizens to have negative perceptions toward The United States.

Those negative perceptions escalate into actions when The United States keeps working on it. Public protests directly in front of Embassy and Consulate General, refusing of The United States presidential visit to Indonesia. The protest also spread thorugh online of offline media which shows public disagreement with The United States. This is what the theory explain based on aforementioned discussion it is seen how the information changed into perceptions in term of an action.

These are several statements mentioned by Indonesian citizens toward The United States. Azyumardi Azra as rector of a university in Indonesia stated that "The United States government always lectures people in developing countries like Indonesia to be democratic, to uphold democratic ideals, to uphold human rights and tolerance. But at the same time they do different things which are contradictory to democracy. In terms of image and in terms of perception among the Indonesian people, the American government has lost its credibility to talk about democracy." Richard Lugar as The Senate Foreign Relations Committee stated that by virtue of its size and location, a stable, united, and prosperous Indonesia is critical to Asia and the world. An unstable Indonesia would adversely affect U.S. security, strategic, regional, and economic interests and objectives in Southeast Asia. However, since Sept. 11, 2001, The United States efforts to fight the war on terror have led to an increase in anti-Americanism among Muslims. As a result, there is an unfavorable public perception of the United States in Indonesia, and these negative perceptions can cause serious problems. Anti-American sentiment has allowed Islamic extremists and their supporters to justify terrorist actions. Even though President Bush has repeatedly assured the Muslim world that the war on terror is not a war on Islam, Indonesian Muslims still feel threatened. These negative perceptions have created tensions within The United States and Indonesia relations (Kay, 2005).

# C. Information Resource Center process in build positive perception among Indonesian citizens

The United States under Barrack Obama administration was tend to use soft power rather than hard power or military use in performing its diplomacy. Regarding the negative perceptions about The United States shout out by Indonesian citizens, there are several response from The United States to react over it. By establishing Information Resource Center or IRC in Indonesia, located in two areas, Jakarta and Surabaya with the main target that is influencing Indonesian citizens thought to have positive perceptions about The United States.

The United States has achieved several accomplishment in persuading Indonesian citizens to have positive perceptions toward The United States itself, even it is not on all Indonesian citizens thought. Taking for example, as one of Information Resource Center working area which is providing information about The United States by giving a real living experience in The United States, this is what comes up from East Java Vice Governor, Syaifullah Yusuf who commonly called as Gus Ipul, he stated that "The democratic process in The United States can be inspiring other countries".

"This model of democracy in the land of Uncle Sam could be a model and inspiration for many countries. Indonesia and the United States alike believe democracy is the best path for the welfare of the people. Democracy is the way to solve the problem and differences. To that end, the election process is underway in the US this time, a part of the democratic process for the people and should be respected. Democracy in the United States as a model and inspiration for many countries. Which no matter how hard the competition, the final outcome will be determined in the ballot or voting. I strongly welcome the democratic process. This system was set up two years ago to ensure that each state has a voice in the election. The system also provides an opportunity for small states to have a voice or power".

The writer also provides the data that reflects how Indonesian citizens perceive The United States. The data describe favorable and unfavorable percentage of countries toward The United States, and Indonesia is one of them.

# Table 4.1

# The United States Favorability (Wike, Stokes, & Poushter, 2015)

# U.S. Favorability

	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Canada	-	72	63	-	59	-	55	-	68	π.	-	-	64	-	68
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39	42	75	73	75	69	64	75	73
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30	31	64	63	62	52	53	51	50
Italy	76	70	60	-	-	-	53	-	-	-	-	74	76	78	83
Poland	86	79	-	-	62	-	61	68	67	74	70	69	67	73	74
Spain	50	-	38	-	41	23	34	33	58	61	64	58	62	60	65
UK	83	75	70	58	55	56	51	53	69	65	61	60	58	66	65
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41	46	44	57	56	52	51	23	15
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	68	69
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12	14	17	10	15	21	19	29
Jordan	-	25	1	5	21	15	20	19	25	21	13	12	14	12	14
Lebanon	**	36	27	-	42	-	47	51	55	52	49	48	47	41	39
Palest.ter.	-	-	0	-	-	-	13	-	15	-	18	-	16	30	26
Israel	-	_	78	-	2	_	78	_	71	2	72		83	84	81
Australia		-	59	-	-	-	-	46		-	-	-	66	2	63
China	-	-	-	-	42	47	34	41	47	58	44	43	40	50	44
India	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	55	70
Indonesia			-	-	38	30	29	37	63	59	54	-	61	59	62
Japan	11	72	-	-		63	61	50	59	66	65	72	69	66	66
Malaysia	-	+	-	-	-	-	27	-	-	æ	-	4	55	51	54
Pakistan	23	10	-	21	23	27	15	19	16	17	12	12	11	14	22
Philippines	-	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	92	92
South Korea	58	52	46	-	2	-	58	70	78	79	-	2	78	82	84
Vietnam	-	-	-		2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	76	78

Table 4.2

Worlds Favorability Statistic Towards The United States (Center, 2013)

# U.S. Gets Largely Favorable Reviews

North America	Unfavorable	Favorable
Canada	30	64
Europe		
Italy	16	76
Poland	24	67
France	36	64
Spain	29	62
Britain	30	58
Zech Rep.	33	58
Germany	40	53
Russia	40	51
Greece	57	39
Middle East		
Israel	16	83
Lebanon	53	47
Tunisia	41	42
Turkey	70	21
Palest. ter. 📒	79	16
Egypt 📒	81	16
Jordan 📒	85	14
Asia/Pacific		
Philippines	13	85
S. Korea	20	78
Japan	29	69
Australia	30	66
Indonesia	31	61
Malaysia	33	55
China	53	40
Pakistan	72	111

The United States overall image around the world contain negative perceptions, largely positive by 2015. Across the nations surveyed (excluding the U.S.), a median of 69% hold a favorable opinion of the U.S., while just 24% expresses an unfavorable view. However, there is significant variation among regions and countries. While in Indonesia, counted based on Barrack Obama administration, the starting point was jumping significantly from 37 percent to 63 (Wike, Stokes, & Poushter, 2015). That is also reflecting the changing of The United States foreign policy into using soft power. Moreover, during Barrack Obama administration, it dynamically changes but with close number, and overall it can be considered higher than the previous administration. This fact shows that Information Resource Center establishment in Indonesia is effective to build positive perception among Indonesian citizens.

It is proved by certain points that made a country becoming acceptable to the citizens in another country such as being known well. The United States showed through its efforts by providing an access for Indonesian citizens to know more about The United States. It is run through programs such as information access, cultural exhibition, English teaching, civic engagement and also living experience in The United States and also those all programs conduct in a form of cultural diplomacy which called as Information Resource Center.

Beside of that, the Indonesian citizen positive perceptions in form of favorability towards The United States also supported and triggered by current The United States President at that time, Barrack Obama. He is known as the only one president who spent his childhood living time in Indonesia. "I first came to this country when my mother married an Indonesian named Lolo Soetoro. And as a young boy I was -- as a young boy I was coming to a different world. But the people of Indonesia quickly made me feel at home." (Lee, 2010)

It is also triggering the improvement of Indonesian citizen positive perception because some of the citizens already know who he is. Moreover, he is also known as The president who tend to use soft approach in reaching the purposes rather than hard power like military pressure. Barrack Obama chosen as The United States president in 2008 and Indonesian citizen swept away in euphoria as it is. Positive perceptions improved and he is also accept a Nobel Peace prize in 2009, a group of locals commissioned a statue of the child Obama, and erected it in a Jakarta park (Nelson, 2010).

The United States president's next visit in November 2011 was not as well received. But even as the afterglow of Obama's election began to fade, he remained quite popular in Indonesia and in the Southeast Asia as a whole. Some Indonesians were disillusioned with Obama's policies in the Middle East, and this was reflected in slight decrease in his popularity. But it rebounded after his reelection, as memories of the Arab Spring faded and the conflict in Syria had dragged on. Even also when Indonesian parliamentary election held in 2014, there are several candidates clearly believed that they would attract voter attention by putting images or photos with Obama in their campaign posters. Such as what Damin Sada (candidate of election) from West Java post (Nelson, 2010).



Barrack Obama on Campaign in Indonesian election (Nelson, 2010)



#### **CHAPTER V**

## CONCLUSION

In The United States of America's point of view, Indonesia is a country with strategic area and potentials that can be explored and it becomes the key for Indonesia to attract other country to create a relation with Indonesia at many aspects including security, politics, socio-cultural, or even economy aspect. Indonesia is comprised of more than 17,000 islands and it makes Indonesia as the biggest archipelago country on earth. It also includes resources which nowadays becoming international needs, by other countries. Moreover, Indonesia also known as the most populous country in the regional of Southeast Asia is populated by more than 254 million people representing its distinct cultures. It makes Indonesia becomes one of the most diverse country on the world.

Information Resource Center is part of The United States Embassy in Indonesia. It functioned in order to spread out The United States information and cultures. Information Resource Center is considered as the most effective tools for communicating The United States policy and introducing citizens of Indonesia to American history, government, society, and values, according the primary data that the writer retrieve from interviewee which is the head of Information Resource Center in The United States Embassy, Indonesia. Information Resource Center exemplifies The United States commitment to free access to information. In its office, it has computers with the Internet and educational software, an excellent set of reference books, audio/video materials, and other great resources. It also has a lending library of popular American fiction and a friendly staff to serve everyone who is interested in the United States. Information Resource Center is the primary source of informed commentary on the origin, growth and development of The United States society, politics, economics and culture and a major tool supporting The United States cultural diplomacy objectives.

The United States existence in Indonesia represented by The United Embassy and Consulate General become famous after it started its comprehensive partnership with Indonesia. Indonesian citizens which are known as moslem majority country causes contradictive thought with western thought, especially The United States. That triggers Indonesian citizens to have negative perception toward The United States, and further it will affect another United States mission toward Indonesia.

There are several perceptions turn into actions, such as protest directly to The United States Embassy and Consulate General by Indonesian citizens. It happened not only once, but repeated with certain issues such as, the protest toward The United States attack to Islamic countries like Palestine and the protest toward monopoly of Indonesian natural resources and others. The other form of those negative perceptions also reflected in both online or offline. The information include words which persuade people to have similar voice to any United States missions toward Indonesia. The president Barrack Obama known as the leader which tend to use soft power rather than hard power or military use. Then, Information Resource Center (IRC) is established and it works under The United State Embassy and Consulate General in Indonesia. It is an active resource center which purpose is to shape and build positive perception among Indonesian citizens toward The United States. Information Resource Center responsibilities area are spreading information about The United States, introducing The United States cultures and values, providing The United States living for Indonesian citizens including professional such as governmental staffs and others important actor of Indonesian government, serving Indonesian citizens with English teaching and learning and also maintaining those people which included in The United States programs especially for those Indonesian citizens to also supports Information Resource Center (IRC) missions in Indonesia.

As it progressing, Information Resource Center brings several changes on Indonesian citizens even it is not that significance. There are several citizens started to have similar voice and positive perception toward The United States, including political actor, for example Syaifullah Yusuf (East Java Vice Governor) who speaks upon media to encourage people that The United States can be a good example for social living and also its democracy. He is also one of Indonesian citizens who was given the opportunity by Information Resource Center to living experience in The United States. The writer assumes that Information Resource Center (IRC) is effective as The United States Cultural Diplomacy toward Indonesia. It proved the effective way in shape or build positive perception among Indonesian citizens through its programs which conduct The United States cultures and values.

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