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The Role of Indonesian Students in Enhancing
Indonesia-Taiwan Relations

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印尼留台學生在促進印台關係中的角色
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Abstract

The main objective of this study is to examine the role Indonesian students in Indonesian student organizations in Taiwan have played in enhancing the relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan. This thesis explores and details some of the activities of Indonesian students as they study in Taiwan, and examines how these activities have contributed to bridging and increasing the volume of people-to-people relations between the two countries, as well as how the associations and their activities have indirectly enhanced mutual understanding between Taiwanese and Indonesians. This thesis adopts the new public diplomacy and relational public diplomacy framework. Some data were collected during the researcher's participation in Indonesian student associations and activities. Other data were gathered via discussion with several prominent Indonesian student association leaders. For the document analysis, this research uses Indonesian student organization document reports, Indonesia and Taiwan government reports, statistical data, newspapers, and websites. This thesis suggests that there are three roles Indonesian students play in bridging the relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan: (1) strengthening people-to-people relations (2) bridging mutual understanding (3) increase visibility and positive image. In addition, this thesis shows that there are three factors leading Indonesian students to establish their associations and conduct their activities: (1) their tradition of communal work (*gotong-royong*) as social capital (2) the demands of Indonesian migrant workers and students (3) support from various institutions, such as the Indonesian government especially IETO, universities, and the Taiwan government. The three factors are important and they are related to each other. Because of the three factors, Indonesian students can carry out their activities.

Keywords: Indonesia-Taiwan relations, people-to-people relations, public diplomacy, Indonesian student activism, Asian international higher education

摘要

本研究的主要目的是考察印尼學生在他們的學生組織中如何扮演促進印尼與台灣之間關係的角色。本論文用公共外交的概念與分析框架，以作者在台就學之便親身參與各項印尼學生組織活動的經驗觀察所得，結合相關的文獻分析，最後發現，印尼學生在促進印台關係中扮演三種角色：1. 強化兩國人民的關係；2. 增進彼此的瞭解；3. 提升了兩國彼此在對方民眾與社會中的能見度與形象。而印尼學生之所以可以在台灣非穆斯林社會達到這樣的成果，主要歸功於：1. 印尼社群的互助傳統（*gotong-royong*）變成他們在台灣推動組織工作的社會資本；2. 在台灣的印尼移工與學生社群對這些服務的需求；3. 駐台北印尼經濟貿易辦公室、台灣政府以及各個大學學務單位的多方的支持與協助。

關鍵詞：印尼與台灣的關係，民間關係，公共外交，印尼學生運動，亞洲國際高等教育



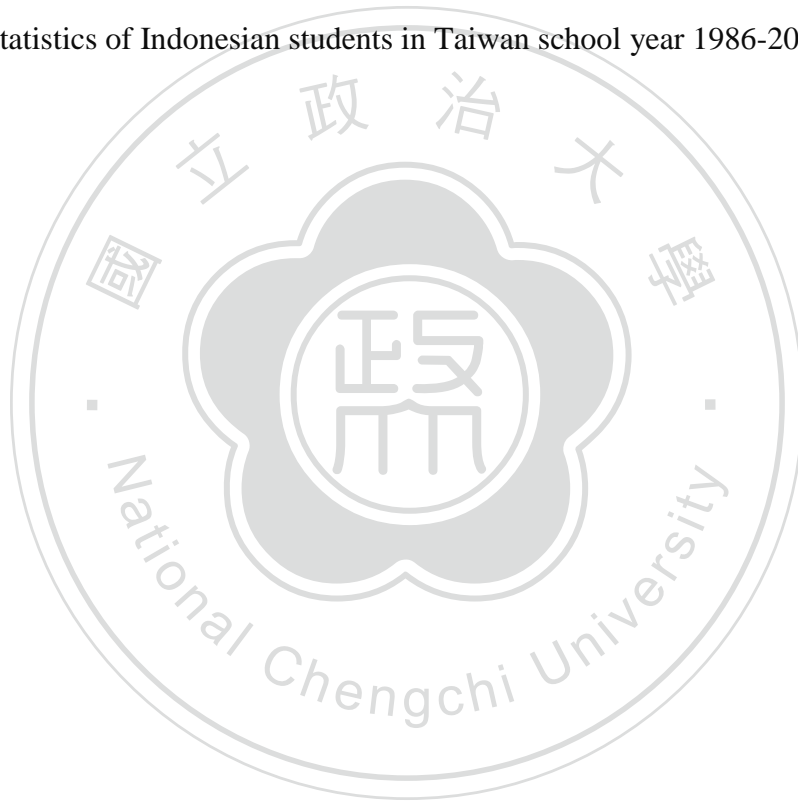
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Abbreviation List

AD/ART	: Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga
AISC	: Annual Indonesian Scholar Conference
APEC	: Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asia Nation
BPI	: Beasiswa Pendidikan Indonesia
CCC	: Chinese Chamber of Commerce
DIKTI	: Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Tinggi
DPP	: Democratic Progressive Party
ESIT	: Elite Study in Taiwan
FORMMIT	: Forum Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan
GPA	: Grade Point Average
GWO	: Global Worker Organization
HIMASUTT	: Himpunan Mahasiswa Universitas Terbuka Taiwan
ICATI	: Ikatan Citra Alumni Taiwan seIndonesia
ICC	: Indonesia Chamber of Commerce
ICD	: Indonesian Cultural Day
ICDF	: International Cooperation Development Fund
ICE	: Indonesian Cultural Exhibition
IETO	: Indonesia Economic and Trade Office
IMSA	: International Muslim Student Association
ISA	: International Student Association/Indonesian Student Association
KMIT	: Keluarga Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan
KMT	: Kuomintang
LPDP	: Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan
MOE	: Ministry of Education
MOFA	: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MTYT	: Majelis Taklim Yasin Taipei
NCCU	: National Chengchi University
NCKU	: National Cheng Kung University
NCTU	: National Chiao Tung University

NCU	: National Central University
NSP	: New Southbound Policy
NTOU	: National Taiwan Ocean University
NTUST	: National Taiwan University of Science and Technology
NU	: Nahdlatul Ulama
OECD	: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OISAA	: Overseas Indonesian Student Association Alliance
PERPITA	: Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Taiwan
PKBM	: Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat
PPI	: Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia
PPSU	: Persatuan Pelajar Sumatra Utara
PRC	: People's Republic of China
ROC	: Republic of China
TEC	: Taiwan Education Center
TETO	: Taipei Economic and Trade Office
UNESCO	: United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UTT	: Universitas Terbuka Taiwan



Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study is to examine the role that Indonesian students in Indonesian student organizations in Taiwan play in enhancing the relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan. What makes this case unique is the absence of traditional diplomatic relations between the two countries. The absence of formal diplomatic relations is addressed by Taiwan and Indonesia through other means, one being through people-to-people relations including the role of students as agents of mutual understanding. The importance of this study has only grown given Taiwan's recently unveiled New Southbound Policy (NSP), which emphasizes people-to-people relations with those in South and Southeast Asian countries.

The subject of people-to-people relations itself has already been discussed by scholars, and the study of the importance of the people-to-people relations between Taiwanese and Indonesians has also been addressed before (Kabinawa, 2013; Elias, 2013; Paramithaningrum, 2013). However, few studies have specifically and comprehensively discussed the role and activities of Indonesian students in Taiwan from the perspective of new public diplomacy. This thesis, therefore, is intended to fill this gap by looking at some of the activities and actions related to the activities that may contribute to the enhancement of relations between Indonesia and Taiwan. The study will help to contribute a better understanding of the role of Indonesian students in complementing the people-to-people relations between Taiwan and Indonesia that has appeared in the literature.

This thesis explores in detail some of the activities of Indonesian students as they

study in Taiwan and examines how the activities have contributed to bridging and increasing the volume of people-to-people relations between the two countries, as well as how the associations and their activities have indirectly enhanced the mutual understanding between Taiwanese and Indonesians.

1.2 Historical Background

This section will review the status of relations between Indonesia and Taiwan after Indonesian independence especially after 1971. In addition, this section also discusses the background of Indonesia's education and the opportunities to develop educational cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan.

1.2.1 Relations between Indonesia and Taiwan

Despite the absence of Indonesia's political recognition of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Indonesia and Taiwan relations have strengthened (Ku, 2002; Kabinawa, 2013; Elias, 2013; Paramitaningrum, 2013, 2016). On May 1, 1971, Indonesia allowed Taiwan to establish its Chinese Chamber of Commerce (CCC) in Jakarta and in return Indonesia established the Indonesia Chamber of Commerce (ICC) in Taipei on June 1, 1971. At that time, the Chamber of Commerce was a private international firm which was allowed to conduct business activities and provide some diplomatic functions such as issuing visas. On October 10, 1989, the Indonesian government allowed the CCC to be renamed the Taipei Economic and Trade Office (TETO). In exchange, on January 1, 1995, ICC was renamed the Indonesia Economic and Trade Office (IETO) in Taipei. Because of the change of name, TETO and IETO were treated as international governmental organizations allowed to conduct more bilateral affairs between the two countries. The close relationship was deepened at the end of 2015 when Taiwan opened a representative office, the Taipei Economic and Trade Office (TETO), in Surabaya.

In terms of policy, there have been fluctuating relations between Taipei and Jakarta. After some periods of distant relations, Taiwan initiated the Southward Policy to promote trade and investment relations with six designated countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, in early 1994. This policy facilitated the close relationship between Taiwan and Indonesia. In February 1994, former president of Taiwan Lee Teng-hui paid a historic visit to Indonesia. Later in the 1990s several ministerial-level officials from Taiwan, including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Transportation, Economic Affairs and Education, all visited Indonesia. In exchange, many top Indonesian officials also paid a visit to Taiwan during the 1990s. Unfortunately, after the 2000s while Indonesia improved its relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC), Indonesia-Taiwan relations became stagnant, especially after Taiwan endured several domestic disputes between the two main political parties (the Chinese Nationalist Party, KMT, and the Democratic Progressive Party, DPP) and as Chen Sui-bian of the DPP was elected president of Taiwan in the year 2000 (Ku, 2002). Under the 2008-2016 presidency of Ma Ying-jeou of the KMT, Indonesia-Taiwan relations improved as several government agreements – especially regarding economy, education, and migrant worker issues – were signed by the two countries (Kabinawa, 2013).

1.2.2 A New Educational Exchange between Indonesia and Taiwan

Indonesia and Taiwan relations showed further improvement after President Tsai Ing-wen, elected in 2016, announced her *New Southbound Policy* (NSP) and promoted cooperation with designated countries including Indonesia. One of the main tasks of this policy has been to conduct talent exchanges with a focus on people, as well as to deepen bilateral exchanges and the cultivation of young scholars, students, and industry professionals. This policy has encouraged cooperation in the education sector between Taiwan and the designated countries. With the goal of increasing the numbers of

students from ASEAN countries and South Asia by 20 percent each year, the Taiwan government aims to attract around 58,000 students by 2019 from 29,000 in the 2015 academic year. One of the main targets has been Indonesia which has developed its capacity in the education sector.

The Country Background Report (2015) suggested that “Indonesia was beginning to enjoy a demographic dividend” as the proportion of the population of productive working age is expected to peak in the 2020s. Indonesia is suggested “to rely on more than a demographic bonus and has to deepen the skill base of the workforce to deal with the future rather than current labor market requirement. The significant demographic change should free up financial resources which can be used to make the investments necessary to improve educational quality and increase access to education. At the same time, significant economic growth should help to ensure more funding for the education sector” (OECD, 2015).

Realizing the importance of education, the Indonesian government has allocated 20 percent of its expenditure for education. Indonesia has set the education sector as one of the key sectors for reform during the implementation of a national long-term development plan which aims to help Indonesia become self-reliant, advanced and prosperous through the acceleration of development on the basis of solid economic structures, supported by high-quality and competitive human resources in 2025 (OECD, 2015).

The Indonesian government stimulates the capital of the education sector in Indonesia through several policy packages. For Indonesian tertiary education institutions, the government encourages internationalization through international benchmarking, international accreditation, internationalization of the curriculum, joint programs and degrees, twinning arrangements and double degrees, a scholarship

program and the recruitment of foreign staff (OECD, 2015). The government also encourages Indonesians to study abroad through several scholarships provided by the Indonesian government or foreign governments. There are also several education exhibitions held annually by the governmental and non-governmental bodies. At the same time, Indonesian students who study abroad or have finished their study abroad also promote the idea of the importance of studying abroad for Indonesian citizens. It increases the interest of Indonesian youngsters to study abroad.

Besides Europe and the United States, some countries in Asia have also become the destination of Indonesian students, such as Singapore, the PRC, Japan, Malaysia, Taiwan, and South Korea. The consequence of the phenomena is that Taiwan has become one of the study destinations for Indonesian students. The quantity of Indonesian students who study in Taiwan has increased gradually every year. This growth is driven by the government policy on both sides, encouraging Indonesian students to study in Taiwan. Currently, Taiwan has several top universities which attract Indonesian students, and at the same time, Mandarin has become one of the important languages attracting people, including Indonesians, to study. In addition, as a democratic country that advances infrastructure and technology, Taiwan has become one of the top destinations for study. Moreover, there are also several scholarships offered by both governments that significantly help Indonesian students to get their degree. At the same time, there are job opportunities for students to help them finance their life and study in Taiwan. Furthermore, there are also ample opportunities for further study or seeking a job after graduation.

The significant growth of Indonesian students in Taiwan makes a positive contribution to Indonesia-Taiwan relations. Indonesian students who study in Taiwan have established several organizations which aim to accommodate their interests but at

the same time indirectly advance relations between Indonesia and Taiwan by holding cultural events, as well as educational and religious activities. They promote Taiwan in Indonesia through their social media and mass media (television, radio, and online news portals). They also hold sharing session activities when they return. Moreover, they also encourage education cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan through some partnerships initiated by Indonesians who have studied or graduated in Taiwan. In addition, they help the Indonesia and Taiwan governments to resolve several issues mainly regarding economic cooperation and migrant worker policy through their involvement in research or becoming employees of Indonesian or Taiwanese companies.

1.3 Literature Review

This section will review research on the concept of new public diplomacy, Indonesian student activities, and the relations between Indonesia and Taiwan.

1.3.1 New Public Diplomacy

Traditional international relations scholars define diplomacy as “the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist” (Nicolson, 1963, p. 4-5; Pigman, 2010, p. 4-5). Diplomacy emphasizes the importance of soft power in international relations. In addition, the State is seen as the only actor to carry out the duty of diplomacy under their diplomatic corps (Berridge, 1994, 2010; Feilleux, 2009; Jonsson, 2005; Kurbalija, 1999; Watson, 1982; Pigman, 2010; Sharp, 2009; Melissen, 2005, 2011, 2015; Gilboa, 2008; Snow, 2009; Gollan, 2013; Merickova, 2014).

However, non-state actor and media involvement during the Cold War attracted scholar and practitioner attention to the term public diplomacy. Public diplomacy

during the Cold War merely focused on government activities to build direct communication with foreign people, which aimed to affect their thinking and to influence their governments. However, because of the revolution in mass communication, politics and international relations, especially after the 9/11 accident, experts introduced the term new public diplomacy to discuss state and non-state activities to build direct communication with foreign publics (Gilboa, 2000, 2001, 2008; Melissen, 2005, 2011, 2015; Snow, 2009; Gollan, 2013, Merickova, 2014; Lee, 2017).

Previous research in public diplomacy had several major drawbacks. Even though public diplomacy emerged long before the Cold War, most of the studies only discussed US experience. In addition, researchers merely focused on state actor activities while barely discussing non-state actor activities in public diplomacy. Moreover, there was a limited contribution to theory and methodology development because most of the studies were historical. However, current research tries to resolve these issues while some other researchers have tried to further develop the concept of actors to include such entities as NGOs, companies, students, diaspora, and other non-state actors in their research (Melissen, 2005, 2011, 2015; Gilboa 2008; Snow 2009).

Several areas of study in the social sciences influence public diplomacy. The main majors that influence this concept are international relations, communication studies, and public relations. Public diplomacy itself has been developed from the soft power concept in the international relations approach. However, some experts suggest that researchers must use the smart power concept to understand the practice of public diplomacy. Furthermore, in communication studies, experts apply media and public opinion concepts to evaluate public diplomacy outcomes. In addition, to analyze public diplomacy goals, experts employ the concept of promoting an image and reputation from public relations study.

Jan Melissen (2005, 2011, 2015) argues that gradually governments have included public diplomacy as part of their diplomatic practice which carries out the core state interests and foreign policy strategy. In addition, there has been a gradual shift from one-way to two-way communication for public diplomacy to increase mutual understanding and interaction. Furthermore, Melissen also described the rise of the non-state actor in public diplomacy.

Meanwhile, Eytan Gilboa (2005, 2008) offers an expanded list of public diplomacy characteristics including “the interactivity between state and non-state actors, utilization of soft power, two-way communication, strategic public diplomacy, media framing, information management, PR, nation branding, self-presentation, e-image, domestication of foreign policy and addressing both short and long-term issues” (Gilboa, 2008, p.58).

To understand the practice of public diplomacy, Gilboa (2000, 2001) introduces three models of public diplomacy: the Basic Cold War Model, the Non-State Transnational Model, and the Domestic PR Model. He used five variables to distinguish among the models: “major actors, initiators, goals, types of media, and means and techniques” (Gilboa 2008, p. 59). The Basic Cold War Model analyzes state activities that influence and persuade the foreign public to support its goals. The Non-State Transnational model investigates groups, NGOs, and individual activities using public diplomacy across national boundaries. Meanwhile, the Domestic PR model studies domestic PR or lobbyist activities in the targeted country in order to achieve public diplomacy goals.

R.S Zaharna (2009) proposed two perspectives of communication in understanding public diplomacy. First, the information framework, which conceptualizes communication as “a linear process of transferring information often

with the goal of persuasion or control”. Second, the relational framework, which conceptualizes communication as “a social process of building relationships and fostering harmony” (Zaharna in Snow, 2009, p. 86). In terms of public diplomacy, the information framework views public diplomacy as “primarily a linear process of transferring information, often with the goal of persuasion or control” (Zaharna in Snow 2009, p. 88). The relational framework, on another hand, sees public diplomacy as initiatives focused on identifying and building relationships, often with the goal of coordination rather than control (Zaharna in Snow, 2009, p. 91). Zaharna encourages the cultivation of the relational framework in public diplomacy.

Furthermore, Gilles Scott-Smith (in Snow 2009, p. 50) argues that public diplomacy consists of different activities. Among these activities, exchange programs are an interesting case because exchange programs include the human factor while most forms of public diplomacy work concern image and information presentation. Exchanges engage participants’ personality and psychology. Even though debates have arisen related to the effectiveness of exchanges and their role in international relations, the informal networks established from these relations have major political importance.

In an educational exchange program, student role is important. The student is seen as a culture carrier who is bridging the gap between home and host countries. “The student functions as a culture carrier in two ways when they visit a foreign country: first, because they carry with them their home culture, which is acquired and internalized in the home country and passes it to the host country during the exchange period; secondly, the student also experiences and learns about the host country's culture, which will be passed on in the home country” (Eide, 1970, 170; Delima, 2007, p. 240).

In addition, a student who participated in an educational exchange program is

considered a citizen diplomat. Citizen diplomats have been defined as being “unofficial ambassadors who participate in exchange programs overseas or host and interact with international exchange program participants” (Mueller in Snow 2009, p. 102). The participant in an exchange program aims to build mutual understanding and support long-lasting relationships with the participant and advance the state relation.

For analyzing relations between Taiwan and Indonesia, the public diplomacy approach can be used to understand and improve the relations between Taiwan and Indonesia as participants look for influence foreign government behavior in an indirect way, exerting influence on citizens’ attitudes. Due to prohibitions against individuals engaging in formal diplomatic relations, countries can adopt informal networks as public diplomacy bases. Public diplomacy guarantees continuous communication among countries even when formal diplomatic relations are prohibited (Lizama, 2011; Noya, 2007).

For the case of Taiwan and Indonesia, educational exchange programs can bridge the relation between the two countries. On the Taiwan side, educational exchanges “will increase Taiwan’s existence, and persuade audiences around the world to pay more attention to Taiwan, sympathize with their predicament, and support their political agenda” (Rawnsley, 2014, p. 162). Meanwhile for Indonesia, which adheres to the one-China policy, maintaining a durable and sustainable relationship with Taiwan through social and cultural sectors is the best option because it will advance Indonesia and Taiwan relations but at the same time will not disturb Indonesia and PRC relations. In addition, educational exchanges contribute to improving the Indonesian education sector especially in terms of human resource development and institutional capacity building. This means educational exchanges will give mutual benefits for both countries.

According to Nancy Snow (2009), scholars, especially in the field of public

diplomacy, need to develop research using the new diplomacy perspective and focus not only on US public diplomacy activities but also those of other countries that use a public diplomacy approach to reach the international public. Therefore, this research will contribute to new public diplomacy research by elaborating Taiwan's public diplomacy activities despite the lack of formal diplomatic recognition. In addition, this thesis will describe the Indonesian approach to maximize public diplomacy advantages which produces mutual benefit for all of the parties involved.

In addition, Melissen (2005, 2011, 2015) calls on scholars to study non-state actor activities in public diplomacy. Scholars may explain the varieties of public diplomacy and discuss the collaboration between state and non-state actors to enforce successful public diplomacy. Therefore, this research will enrich the discussion about the non-state actor role in public diplomacy, especially the role of international students in enhancing the relations between host and home countries.

Furthermore, the role of international education exchanges in public diplomacy discussed by Antonio F de Lima (2007) concluded that exchanges can eliminate stereotypes and misconceptions between nations due to the students' role as culture carrier. However, Lima notes that his analysis needs elaboration to see the practice of public diplomacy for developing countries. "Developing country may also benefit from public diplomacy in order to demystify certain image that is attributed to them through public diplomacy" (Delima, 2007, p. 449). Therefore, this research will fill this gap and address the issue about the benefit of public diplomacy for developing countries and the way to maximize it, in this case based on Indonesian student activities to contribute for Indonesia public diplomacy.

1.3.2 Indonesian Student Activities Abroad

Indonesian students who study abroad have shown their role and its importance

ever since the period when Indonesia struggled for independence. They established several student organizations to accommodate their interests, discussed the related issues in Indonesia, and conducted several activities that contributed to Indonesia's development. The oldest Indonesian student association is the Indonesian Student Association in the Netherlands (*Indische Vereeniging* later changed to *Indonesische Vereeniging*), established in 1908 to fight for Indonesia's independence.

Indonesische Vereeniging raised the issue of Indonesia's struggle for independence in the Netherlands and other countries. In addition, organization members also attended international meetings on anti-imperialism. During the international meetings, students met other international students who later became prominent leaders in their own countries and supported Indonesia's struggle for independence (such as Jawahar Nehru from India). After Indonesian independence, many of this organization's leaders became prominent political leaders in Indonesia such as Muhammad Hatta (who later became vice president), Sutan Sjahrir (who later became prime minister), and Ahmad Soebardjo (who later became foreign minister). The journey of these leaders and their dedication to Indonesia have inspired the young Indonesian generation – particularly those who study abroad – since independence (Weiss & Aspinal, 2012; Ginandjar, 2016).

Another organization is *Jam'iyyah Khairiyah Li Al-Thalabah Al-Azhariyah Al-Jawiyyah* established in Egypt in 1927. Later, due to member diversity, it changed its name to *Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia-Malaya* in 1935 and the name has changed several times after that. There is limited research discussing this organization compared to their counterpart in the Netherlands. However, the students who studied in the Middle East, especially in Egypt and Mecca, contributed to Indonesia's struggle for independence, especially by establishing education institutions for Indonesians who

could not access formal colonial education. In addition, these students were more populist than the students who graduated from the Netherlands or other colonial education systems. They also established several organizations with Islam as the main platform (Alles, 2015).

Due to the domestic political conditions in Indonesia after independence and under the Suharto authoritative regime, the activity of Indonesian student associations in foreign countries became stagnant and did not have much development. However, during that time Indonesian students established several organizations, such as in Japan in 1953, in Germany in 1956, in the United States of America in 1961 and in Australia in 1981 (Hasjim, 2014; Ginandjar, 2016).

When the *Orde Baru*/New Order Regime under Suharto started its administration in the 1960s, they invited Indonesian graduate students from the University of California - Berkeley to join the government. This group of students studied in the United States under support from the Ford Foundation during the 1950s. They are known as the “Berkeley Mafia” and consist of several prominent figures such as Widjojo Nitisastro, Mohammad Sadli, Emil Salim, Subroto, and Ali Wardhana. Members of the Berkeley Mafia were economists, and government expected them to improve Indonesia’s economic development after the impoverishment of the Soekarno era. Despite controversies, this group successfully improved the Indonesian economy at that time. However, Indonesians consider this group to be “Suharto cronies” who contributed to the damage that the Asian Financial crisis inflicted on Indonesia in 1997 (Ginandjar, 2016).

During the Indonesian reformation era (especially in 1998-2000), the Indonesian students who studied abroad contributed to the reform. Several prominent reformation leaders returned to Indonesia and organized the reformation movement. In

addition, students continued to look for international support to take down Suharto and promote democratization. However, after the democratization era (especially after 2004), the role of Indonesian students who studied abroad changed. Indonesian students tried to stay away from politics and focus more on social activities, especially introducing Indonesia to the international public, encouraging Indonesian youngsters to study abroad and supporting several social and humanitarian activities in Indonesia (Hasjim, 2013; Ginandjar, 2016).

Indonesian students made a great contribution to nation and state building. However, previous research about Indonesian student activism focused more on the role of Indonesian students who studied in Indonesia in taking down the regime in the colonial era, the Soekarno era, Suharto era and the era of Indonesian democratization (Douglas, 1970; Fischer, 1971; Cheong, 1974; Aspinal, 2012). Consequently, there is a gap between the research that investigates the role of Indonesian students in Indonesia with the role of their counterparts studying abroad.

There are two previous studies discussing the role of Indonesian students who study abroad in Indonesia's nation and state building. They discuss Indonesian students in Germany (Hasjim, 2014) and the Netherlands (Ginandjar, 2016). Hasjim explained the trajectory of activism of Indonesian students in the capital of Germany since the 1960s and described the evolution of specific student organizations, the issues and topics they tackled, and also their media and networking strategies. Ginandjar, on another hand, explained how *PPI Belanda* (Netherlands) developed during the different regimes in Indonesia from *Orde Lama* to *Post-reformasi* and how *PPI Belanda* reacted to each regime. In addition, he described how the previous and current PPI organized itself in terms of constitution, purpose, membership policy, and medium of information, activities, and source of funding. However, Indonesia student organizations in both

countries have contributed to bilateral relations and nation building for more than 50 years. In addition, both of the countries have a long diplomatic history with Indonesia, and Indonesia has granted formal diplomatic recognition to both countries for more than 50 years. Even though previous research has indicated the important role of Indonesia students, but it is not clear whether these studies and their conclusions apply in the condition where Indonesian students study in a country that does not have formal diplomatic recognition from Indonesia, such as in Taiwan.

1.3.4 Research Related to Indonesia-Taiwan Relations

In recent years, relations between Indonesia and Taiwan have improved despite the lack of formal diplomatic recognition and Indonesia's adherence to the one-China principle. Previous research has widely investigated people-to-people relations between Indonesians and Taiwanese and their contributions to enhancing Indonesia-Taiwan relations. However, the results are incomplete and consequently, many researchers (Ku, 2002; Kabinawa, 2013; Paramitha, 2013, 2015; Elias, 2013) have concluded that more research is needed in this area.

Samuel C. Y Ku (2002) discusses Indonesia's relations with Taiwan and China. Ku argued that Indonesia's early relations with Taiwan and China were determined by politics. However, because of recent changes, this has shifted from politics to economics. Ku believes that the economic factor will continue to determine Indonesia's relations with Taiwan and China in the near future. Ku's paper is preliminary research in English that discusses Indonesia and Taiwan relations. However, this research is dated and new research is needed due to significant changes in the relationship between the three parties over the last 15 years.

Luh Nyoman R.W Kabinawa (2013) continued Ku's research on Indonesia-Taiwan relations in her master's thesis. As Ku mentioned in his conclusion, future

research needs to discuss the economic relations between Indonesia and Taiwan, Kabinawa develops the study to examine the reasons behind how Indonesia maintained its economic and socio-cultural ties with Taiwan even without political diplomatic recognition. According to Kabinawa, Indonesia is able to maintain its sustainable economic and socio-cultural relations with Taiwan because the Indonesian people serve as idea promoters to lead interactions with Taiwan. This master's thesis provides substantial information about Taiwan and Indonesia relations, and its analysis makes a significant contribution to Indonesia-Taiwan relations research. While Kabinawa's research elaborates the activities of Indonesians, including students, toward enhancing Indonesia-Taiwan relations; however Kabinawa did not emphasize student activities nor their contribution toward enhancing the relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan.

In "Enhancing People to People Cooperation between ASEAN and East Asia Countries through Counterparts: The case of Indonesian Students in Taiwan", Paramita (2013) discussed the possibility for Indonesian students to build mutual interaction between Indonesia and Taiwan, and to eliminate the negative perception that Taiwanese hold about Indonesia. In her second paper, "Economic Diplomacy, Soft Power, and Taiwan's Relations with Indonesia", Paramitaningrum (2016) discussed recent developments in Taiwan-Indonesia relations. She identifies the diverse effort that Taiwan has made to secure and improve its relationship with Indonesia, amid increasingly cordial relation between Indonesia and China. Among its efforts, Taiwan has used the attractiveness of economic resources to achieve better recognition from Indonesia. The Taiwan government combines "economic diplomacy" practice with soft power, for example in its cooperation in the education sector and via educational exchange programs. Both of these pieces of research show the importance of people-to-people relations in shaping Indonesia-Taiwan relations. However, both of the papers

discuss the general conditions of Indonesia-Taiwan relation and lack detailed elaboration about the activities conducted by each party.

In other research, Rangga Aditya Elias (2013) examines the potential factors influencing Indonesian students who study in Taiwan to support Taiwan interests for bilateral cooperation with Indonesia in his paper entitled “Invisible Agent in Indonesia-Taiwan Cooperation”. His paper explained Indonesian student categories in Taiwan, their organization, and their community patterns. Elias divides Indonesian students into three categories: overseas Chinese, government officers and scholars. In addition, Elias briefly describes three Indonesian student associations in Taiwan, the reason for the establishment and their activity. Elias’ research merely focuses on the student organization patterns of Indonesian students in Taiwan. Elias noted that his research needs more elaboration to broaden the information and analysis to explain Indonesian student activities and their contribution to Indonesia-Taiwan relations.

To summarize, Kabinawa (2013) argues that despite the lack of formal diplomatic recognition from Indonesia to Taiwan, Indonesia can maintain its durable economic and social relationships with Taiwan because of the existence of people and non-state institutions that strengthen the ties between Indonesia and Taiwan. This argument is supported by Paramitha (2013, 2016) who affirms that people-to-people relations enhance the relations between Indonesia and Taiwan, and both countries must support and improve them to build mutual relations between the two countries. In addition, Elias (2013) concludes that Indonesian students are one of the potential agents to enhance Indonesia-Taiwan cooperation through people-to-people relations. This shows that all of the researchers recognize the importance of the role Indonesian students play in enhancing relations between Indonesia and Taiwan. However, none of the researchers deeply elaborated on Indonesian student activities in Taiwan from a

public diplomacy perspective. Therefore, this research will fill this gap and enhance the research related to this topic.

1.4 Analytical Framework and Research Questions

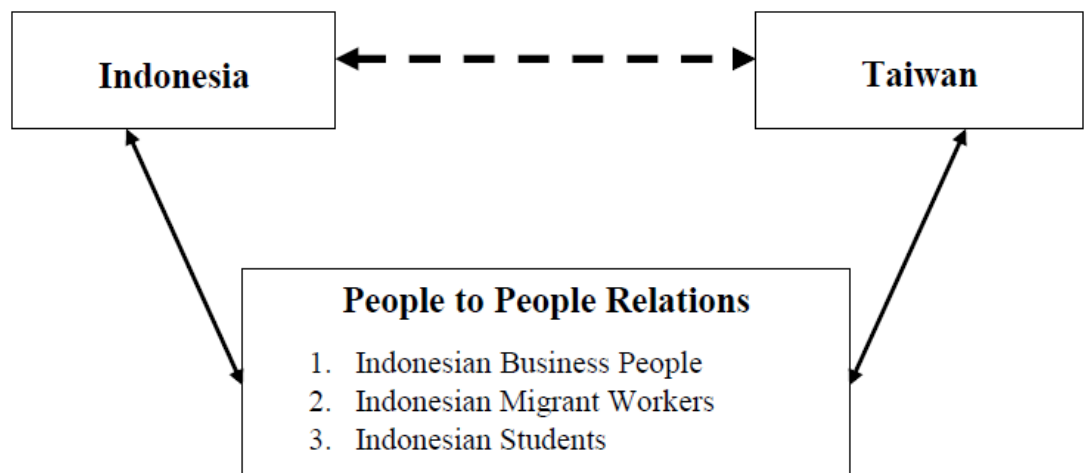
As mentioned in the previous part, this thesis applies the concept of new public diplomacy, employing the relational framework perspective of public diplomacy. According to this framework, public diplomacy initiatives focus on identifying and building relationships. In this respect, building relationships is not a means for enhancing individual national images or policies, but an end in itself that contributes to a better international environment” (Zaharna in Snow 2009, p. 91). In this regard, public diplomacy is seen as a process, not merely a product. The public is seen as active participants, stakeholders, and constituencies of public diplomacy. The concept focuses on the questions of what relationships are important and how those relationships can be established or strengthened (Zaharna in Snow, 2009). Furthermore, this framework features coordinators rather than control. There are efforts to establish a strong relationship based on mutuality, reciprocity, and trust. It focuses on establishing interactive communication channels, then enhancing or expanding those channels.

Zaharna categorized relational initiatives into three tiers based on the relationship building strategy. First tier relationship-building initiatives are the most elementary level, focusing on the individual level within a limited time frame, such as cultural and educational exchange programs and leadership visits. Second tier relationship-building initiatives expand participation in social groupings such as institutions, communities, or societies. Public diplomacy can be used to establish interpersonal communication channels, coordinating direct, sustained, and positive contact with counterparts and between the participants, as well as developing and expanding the relationship. This second tier includes cultural and language institutes,

development aid projects, “twinning” arrangements, relationship-building campaigns, and non-political networking schemes. The third tier of relationship-building in public diplomacy involves policy networking strategies that incorporate coalition building with other countries and non-state actors to achieve policy objectives.

In terms of Indonesia and Taiwan relations, due to the absence of formal diplomatic recognition, both countries rely on people-to-people relations. From the Indonesia side, there are several agents of people-to-people relations such as Indonesian businesspeople, Indonesian migrant workers, and Indonesian students.

Figure 1.1 Agents of people-to-people relations between Taiwan and Indonesia.

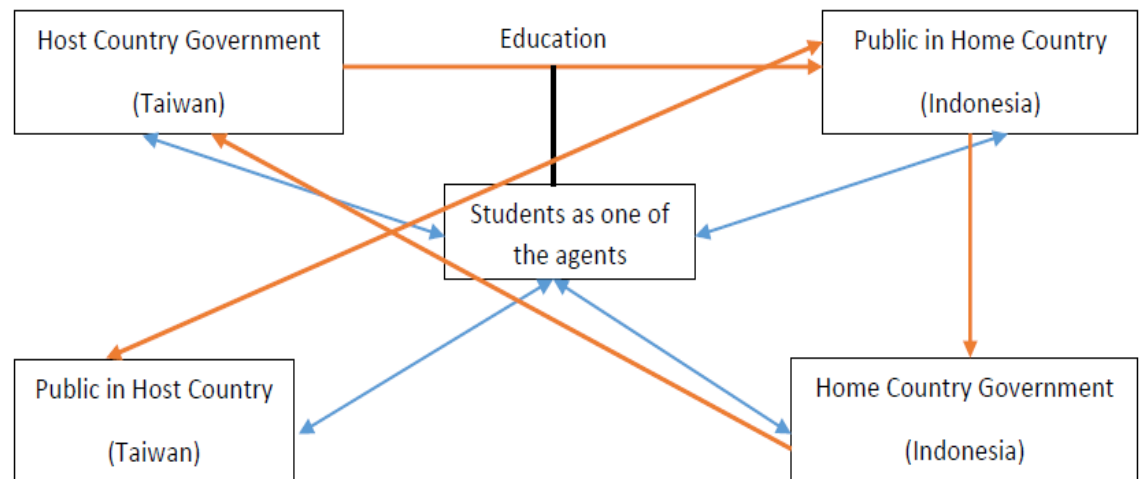


Source: Adapted from *Economic and Socio-Culture Relations between Indonesia and Taiwan: An Indonesian Perspective 1990-2012* (p.27) by Kabinawa, Luh N. R. W, 2013, Master’s Thesis National Sun Yat-sen University

The absence of formal diplomatic relations is addressed by Taiwan and Indonesia through other means, one of them being people-to-people relations including the role of students as agents of mutual understanding. As Taiwan includes the internationalization of education as one of its public diplomacy tools, educational exchange is expected to bridge the mutual relationship between Taiwan and Indonesia. In this regard, students as a part of the Indonesian public are also agents of public diplomacy due to their involvement in educational exchange programs. Students

maintain relationships with the Indonesian public, Taiwanese public, Indonesian government and Taiwanese government.

Figure 1.2 Students as one of the agents of public diplomacy



This thesis supports that the public are active participants, stakeholders, and constituencies of public diplomacy. In this thesis, the public being discussed is Indonesian students. This thesis examines to what extent Indonesian students have participated in public diplomacy, how their participation has contributed to public diplomacy, and how they establish interactive communication channels and then enhance or expand those channels. This thesis will also show the transformation of Taiwan's public diplomacy from the first tier of public diplomacy into the second tier of public diplomacy through the active involvement of Indonesian students in public diplomacy. Therefore, the research questions to be answered in this thesis are:

1. How do Indonesian students establish their organizations and organize their events, contributing to the Indonesian community in Taiwan and bridging Indonesian-Taiwan relations as well?
2. Why are Indonesian students able to be successful in conducting their services and being supported by various institutions and communities?
3. How is it possible to extend public diplomacy between Indonesia and Taiwan

through educational exchange and cooperation?

1.5 Research Method

This thesis is based on a qualitative method using participant observation. The researcher has joined, been involved with, and participated in several organizations and Indonesian student activities from 2015-2018. In addition, the researcher's position as the secretary of the Indonesia Student Association in Taiwan (PPI Taiwan) from 2016 to 2017 and as the head of the committee of the Regional Symposium of PPI Asia-Oceania and International Symposium of PPI Taiwan in March 2017 provide valuable primary data for this research. For the document analysis, this research will use Indonesian student organization document reports, Indonesia and Taiwan government reports, statistical data, newspapers, and websites.

1.6 Structure of Thesis

Chapter I Introduction

This part is the introduction chapter to introduce the research objective, historical background of the topic, literature review, analytic framework and research question, as well as the methodology of the research.

Chapter II Overview of Indonesian Students, Indonesia-Taiwan Cooperation and Education Policy

This part will introduce examples of the social capital garnered by Indonesian students, for example in the form of their transnational student organization (OISAA), which has chapters all around the world. The second part of this chapter will describe the education cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan and provide a brief overview of government efforts to increase Indonesian student numbers in Taiwan. In the last part of this chapter, I will discuss Indonesian student conditions in Taiwan, as well as the efforts and policy packages of the Taiwan government to attract Indonesian students

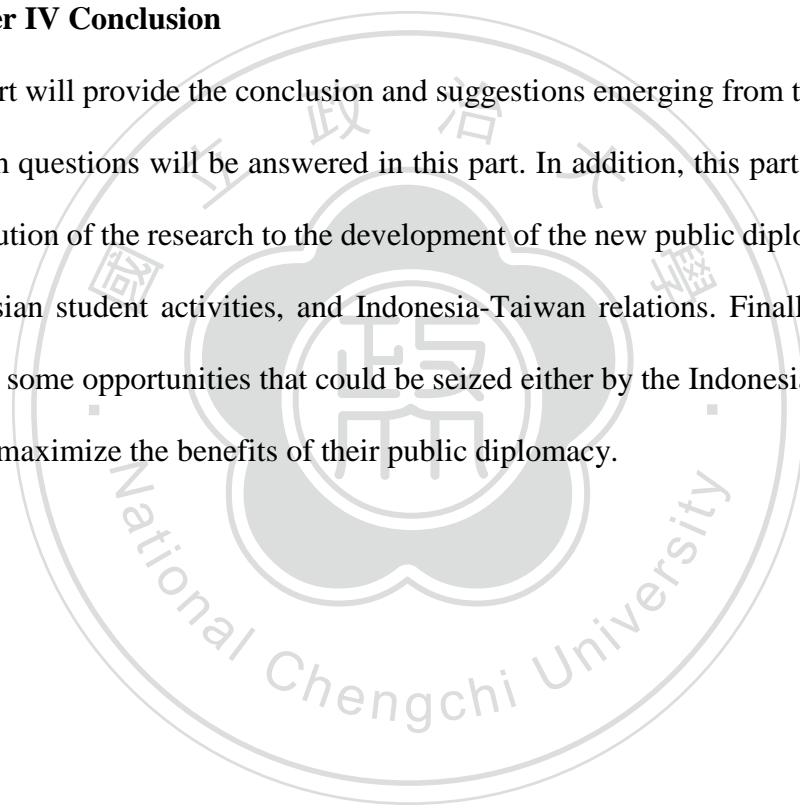
and how these have increased Indonesian student numbers in Taiwan.

Chapter III Indonesian Student Associations and Their Activities

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part explains the four types of Indonesian student associations in Taiwan. The second part highlights their activities in Taiwan that are related to the so-called new public diplomacy. The third part discusses the factors influencing Indonesian students to establish these associations and conduct their activities.

Chapter IV Conclusion

This part will provide the conclusion and suggestions emerging from the research. The research questions will be answered in this part. In addition, this part will explain the contribution of the research to the development of the new public diplomacy approach, Indonesian student activities, and Indonesia-Taiwan relations. Finally, this part will suggest some opportunities that could be seized either by the Indonesia side or Taiwan side to maximize the benefits of their public diplomacy.



Chapter II

Overview of Indonesian Students, Indonesia-Taiwan

Cooperation and Education Policy

This chapter will give a brief introduction to the state of Indonesian international study and demonstrate that it is still in a developing phase. The Indonesian government and citizens are working to improve this condition and one area of focus for the efforts is to improve the quality of education in Indonesia. This has led to an increase in the number of Indonesian students that study abroad. This part will introduce examples of the social capital garnered by Indonesian students, for example in the form of their transnational student organization (OISAA), which has chapters all around the world. A brief review of OISAA will provide a portrait of the nature of Indonesian students abroad and set the stage for further discussion in Chapter 3 on Indonesian student activity in Taiwan.

Based on an analytical framework developed from Chapter 1, this thesis emphasizes that the internationalization of higher education in Taiwan is a component of public diplomacy initiatives envisaged by the Taiwan government (Ma, 2013). At the same time, the Indonesian government and public welcome the initiatives of the Taiwan government. As a result of these conditions, there are several cooperation initiatives between Taiwan and Indonesia, not only cultivating educational exchanges between the two countries but also increasing the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan. Therefore, the second part of this chapter will describe the education cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan and provide a brief overview of government efforts to increase Indonesian student numbers in Taiwan.

In the last part of this chapter, I will discuss Indonesian student conditions in

Taiwan, as well as the efforts and policy packages of the Taiwan government to attract Indonesian students and how these have increased Indonesian student numbers in Taiwan. As a result of these initiatives, Indonesian students have become one of the main sources of international students in Taiwan. The last part of this chapter will also include a statistical comparison of Indonesian student numbers in Taiwan compared to students from other countries. We will also review the distinct conditions between Indonesia and Malaysia in order to explain why the number of Indonesian students still lags the number of Malaysian students. I will also compare the social capital of the two countries. This distinction can be a reference to find the reason why Indonesian student numbers is still far behind Malaysian students.

2.1 Indonesian Students and Groups in Taiwan and Beyond

According to UNESCO, the top five destinations for Indonesian students studying abroad are Australia, the United States, Malaysia, Japan and Egypt. However, the total number of Indonesian students studying abroad is unclear as neither the Indonesian government nor intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO have complete statistics. Based on OECD reports, the number of Indonesian students studying abroad lags far behind China and India, as well as counterparts in southeast Asia such as Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. Reasons for this include lack of information, language barriers and an administrative system which does not encourage Indonesians to study abroad (OECD, 2015).

According to the Ministry of Research and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia, the number of Indonesians studying abroad saw a marked increase after 2012 when the Indonesian government established the *Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan* (LPDP, Education Fund Management Institution) under the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia. This institution manages scholarship funds such as *Beasiswa Pendidikan Indonesia* (Indonesia Education Scholarship), *Beasiswa Presiden*

Indonesia (Indonesia Presidential Scholarship), and *Beasiswa Afirmasi* (Affirmation Scholarship for special regions) for Indonesians to pursue master's and doctoral degrees in universities either in Indonesia or abroad. In addition, this institution also provides scholarships for theses, dissertations, research and publications. The scholarship has increased the number of Indonesians studying abroad while advancing Indonesian student activities and organizations abroad. However, there are only five Taiwan universities included among the LPDP destination universities because these universities are chosen based on the 250 Best Universities which publish by LPDP every year. Moreover, Taiwan is not a top destination for these scholarship recipients. Most of the recipients choose the United States, the United Kingdom or Australia as their study destination.

The Indonesian government under the Directorate General on Higher Education (DIKTI/*Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi*) provides scholarships for Indonesian lecturers to advance their education in degree or non-degree programs, some of which may be used for study abroad. Furthermore, DIKTI has also developed cooperative initiatives with several countries, including Taiwan, to train Indonesian lecturers. This effort has increased the number of Indonesians who study abroad.

Indonesian students studying abroad have established student organizations. The oldest Indonesian student association is Indonesian Student Association in the Netherlands (*Indische Vereeniging* later changed to *Indonesische Vereeniging*), established in 1908. One of the aims of this organization was to fight for Indonesian independence. Another association, Jam'iyyah Khairiyah Li al-Thalabah al-Azhariyah al-Jawiyyah, was established in Egypt in 1927 as a platform for Javanese students studying in Egypt. As the diversity of members grew, it changed its name to Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia-Malaya in 1935 and has yet again changed its name several times

since then. However, due to domestic political conditions in Indonesia after independence and under the totalitarian regime of Suharto, Indonesian student associations became stagnant and development slowed. However, during the Suharto era, several Indonesian student organizations were established, including in Japan in 1953, Germany (1956), the United States (1961) and Australia (1981).

Following the democratization of Indonesia in 1998, Indonesian students embraced the freedom to establish associations and express their ideas in public and established Indonesian student associations in the countries in which they studied. However, these organizations were quite isolated and did not connect with each other. Realizing the importance of connection to make a bigger impact, Indonesian students established the Overseas Indonesian Student Association Alliance (OISAA) on September 9, 2007, in Sydney, Australia. The establishment of OISAA encouraged Indonesian students in several countries to establish local chapters, including in Taiwan.

OISAA has become the main student platform for Indonesian students around the world. The alliance consists of 52 members worldwide, with each country represented by one organization. The organizations founded after the establishment of OISAA are referred to as PPI (*Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia*/Indonesian Student Association), while organizations established before the founding of OISAA use another name that is usually translated as Indonesian Student Association in English.

According to its AD/ART (*Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga*, Statutes), OISAA is an independent body that is not affiliated with any political party and does not operate under any government body. However, OISAA members often become partners of the Indonesian representative office in each country. The structure of the OISAA consists of Presiding Board and Autonomous Bodies that is elected during an international symposium.

OISAA holds an international symposium at least once every two years, and as of 2017 it had already been held nine times. The international symposium is the highest deliberation channel of OISAA. The symposium consists of several events such as public lectures, panel discussions and commission meetings. Based on the OISAA constitution, the aim of the international symposium is to discuss the report of the presiding board, to elect and appoint the presidium board and to arrange and plan programs and activities for OISAA over the next year. This symposium is also a place to raise issues related to Indonesian student problems abroad. One of the success stories of the symposium is that OISAA successfully urged the Indonesian government to make a regulation related to converting Grade Point Averages (GPA) for Indonesians who studied abroad, such that when they return home they are able to have their diplomas adjusted to the Indonesian standard.

Besides the international symposium, there are also other symposiums held in each region. The regional symposiums aim to discuss issues that will come to the fore in the international symposiums such as presidium elections, the venue for the next symposium and issues related to the interests of the member of each region. One of the issues that is frequently raised by PPI Taiwan during the international symposium is the need for an Indonesian education representative for Taiwan. There is also a session on sharing practices by each association representative. In this session, the association representative presents the current activities of each association and other members can raise questions. This discussion sometimes triggers other associations to adopt similar programs and to cooperate with each other to develop their programs. Regional symposiums have been newly adopted and the first Asia-Oceania regional symposium was conducted by PPI Tiongkok in 2016 in Hong Kong. Taiwan hosted the second Asia-Oceania symposium in March 2017.

In addition, there are international meetings (mostly online) that are conducted at least three times a year and attended by the presidium board and the president of OISAA. The international meeting aims to discuss, supervise and evaluate the implementation of symposium results, to report OISAA activities and plans, and to decide the next OISAA agenda. The international meeting is also the place to discuss new member applications, to accept or reject new members, and to dismiss members.

OISAA has two kinds of members, both of which are appointed in the international symposium. Firstly, regular members of worldwide Indonesian student associations, and secondly, outstanding members of the Indonesian student association in Indonesia. The OISAA presidium board is the highest structure of OISAA. Presidium board members consist of the representatives of Indonesian Student Association from each region (North America & Europe, Middle East & Africa, and Asia & Oceania). They are also appointed in the international symposium. Their main duty is to coordinate OISAA members in each region. The presidium board is led by the coordinator of the presidium board and serves for one year. She/he represents the country PPI and participates not as an individual but as a representative. The coordinator is in charge of all OISAA activities, both internal activities involving OISAA members and its autonomous bodies (described below), and external activities. The PPI Taiwan representative has served on the OISAA presidium board several times.

OISAA has two autonomous bodies which are *Radio PPI Dunia* and *Lembaga Sosial PPI Dunia*. *Radio PPI Dunia* is the media arm broadcasting OISAA news and its member activities, while *Lembaga Sosial PPI Dunia* is a social body to accommodate the social activities of OISAA especially humanitarian activities. PPI Taiwan has been actively involved in both of these autonomous bodies. In addition, there are also two research teams; the West Papua research team and the Nuclear

Research team. Furthermore, OISAA holds a Study Abroad Festival (*Festival Luar Negri*) at several universities and schools in Indonesia where OISAA members (including PPI Taiwan) participated to promote their country of study. OISAA also has partnerships with several national media outlets such as newspapers, television stations, or radio stations.

OISAA is a unique organization, able to serve as a platform for Indonesian students around the world. The activities of the Indonesian student association in each country is dependent on the number of students and alumni support, support from the local Indonesian diplomatic office, and support from the local government of the host country. However, there are still issues in the organization that need to be addressed such as the lack of coordination among members, the organization of membership and time, the lack of strong leadership, as well as the limited power and influence inherent to every student. Despite these weaknesses, this transnational student organization is a form of social capital that opens opportunities for cooperation and partnership.

2.2 Indonesia-Taiwan Cooperation on Education

Indonesian students' presence in Taiwan is inseparable from government policy on both the Taiwanese side and Indonesian side. However, the pull factor from the Taiwan government has been instrumental in the increase of Indonesian student numbers in Taiwan, with the Taiwan government policy related to international students a key contributor. International students in Taiwan consist of foreign students and overseas Chinese students with these two groups distinguished by the procedure by which they were recruited and their background. The "overseas Chinese student" designation refers to those of Chinese ancestry who was born and raised overseas until the time of school application, or Taiwanese citizens residing overseas for at least six consecutive years and who acquired visas to study abroad. The regulations also limit the definition of "overseas" to countries or regions other than Mainland China, Hong

Kong, and Macau. Meanwhile, the “foreign student” designation refers to those who are students of foreign nationality who have never held Taiwanese nationality and do not possess overseas Chinese student status at the time of application (Ma, 2013).

According to Ma (2013), there were three phases of Taiwan government policy toward the internationalization of education. The first phase was between 1950 and 1986 when the Taiwan government only recruited overseas Chinese students who mostly come from Southeast Asia. At that time, the Taiwan government under the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) attracted overseas Chinese to support their nationalist point of view and their attempt to prevent the infiltration of Chinese communism. The second phase was between 1987 and 1999 when Taiwan was in the midst of reform process. This reform also affected the education sector and saw Taiwanese demand that the government improve education quality. In addition, the recruitment policy for overseas Chinese was modified such that the qualification threshold was raised and the benefits granted to overseas Chinese students was reduced. This caused a decrease in overseas Chinese student enrollment in Taiwan educational institutions. The third phase was from 2000 until 2011 when the Taiwan government and institutions aimed to recruit foreign students to study in Taiwan because they believed that growth in the number of foreign students was vital to future education development. This third phase as it pertains to the condition of Indonesian students in Taiwan will be further elaborated in the next part of this chapter (section 2.3).

Efforts to develop the cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan on education through government channels started in 2011 and focused on increasing the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan. On April 2011 Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) invited the representative from the Indonesian Ministry of Education to come to Taiwan and discuss several issues such as a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between

Indonesia and Taiwan on Higher Education Cooperation, also Research Cooperation and Teaching Staff training activities with scholarships offered by the Indonesian Ministry of National Education to pursue Masters or PhD degrees in Taiwan. One month after the meeting, on May 21, 2011, the Indonesian and Taiwan governments held the “Indonesia-Taiwan Higher Education Summit” in Bali. At the summit, TETO and IETO signed the MOU on “Cooperation in the Field of Higher Education”. In addition, Indonesia and Taiwan agreed they would:

1. Facilitate exchange programs between related higher education institutions
2. Support and facilitate cooperation between registered higher education institutions, inter alia the possibilities of credit transfer and the exchange of academic staff and experts
3. Facilitate the exchange of students for the purpose of study and research with terms and condition to be jointly decided by the relevant institutions
4. Encourage joint research and international publications
5. Enable mutual recognition of degrees and professional qualifications awarded by the competent authorities according to the relevant regulations of related institutions
6. Provide scholarships to students of related universities, depending on the availability of financial means.

In addition, the summit discussed the “Indonesian Professional Training Project between Ministry of National Education of Republic Indonesia and Ministry of Education of Taiwan”. This program aimed to send one thousand university instructors as scholarship student to pursue doctoral degrees at selected universities in Taiwan from 2011 to 2016, with the scholarships coming from the Indonesia and Taiwan governments. The summit also agreed to hold the first Indonesia-Taiwan Higher

Education Forum (TIHES-1) in 2012 in Taipei at National Taiwan University of Science and Technology Taiwan (NTUST) (ESIT, 2012; TEC, 2012; Elias, 2013; Kabinawa, 2013).

TIHES-1 was held from April 16–18, 2012. In the discussion and conclusion sessions, both countries agreed to cooperate on the following points:

1. To provide scholarships for Indonesian University members to do doctoral programs in Taiwan universities through a 3+1 scheme: a 3-year scholarship from the Directorate General of Higher Education, Indonesia; and a 1-year scholarship from the Taiwan government.
2. To facilitate the exchange of staff, exchange students and to promote an exchange culture, as well as joint research, joint publication, and joint degrees.
3. To hold the next summit in this series, TIHES-2, from May 16-17, 2013, in Bali, Indonesia.

TIHES-2 was held at the Institute of Indonesian Arts (ISI) Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, from September 25-27, 2013. This activity delayed 3 months from previous plan. Joining the meeting were 25 Taiwan universities and 29 Indonesian universities. The summit discussed visa issues for students who would come to Taiwan. In the month before the summit, ESIT (Elite Study in Taiwan) and the Center for Industry of Republic of Indonesia signed an agreement on a Ministry of Industry 1+1 double degree program under which students would study one year in Indonesia and one year in Taiwan (ESIT, 2016).

The third Taiwan-Indonesia Higher Education Summit was held at the NTUST from October 28-30, 2014. The summit discussed education policy, current education conditions, industry-academic collaboration, and the opportunities to conduct collaborative research and events. This summit also elaborated more on visa issues that

were discussed in the previous summit. The fourth Taiwan Taiwan-Indonesia Higher Education Summit was held from October 19-21, 2016. Topics of the forum included centers of excellence in higher education, industry and university linkages, and vocational higher education.

In 2011, NTUST established a Taiwan education center in Surabaya, Indonesia, under the support of the Taiwan MOE. The purposes of the center are:

1. To promote Taiwan higher education
2. To provide guidance to Indonesian students who study in Taiwan
3. To participate in overseas education exhibitions in Indonesia
4. To promote and commence Chinese language exhibitions in Indonesia
5. To hold the annual Taiwan Higher Education Exhibition in Indonesia
6. To enhance bilateral academic cooperation between Taiwan and Indonesia

To promote Taiwan education, the Taiwan MOE and Elite Study in Taiwan, in cooperation with ICATI (*Ikatan Citra Alumni Taiwan Indonesia*/Indonesian Federation of Taiwan Alumni Association) and TEC (Taiwan Education Cooperation) held Taiwan Education Fairs in several cities in Indonesia, focusing mainly on Jakarta, Surabaya and Medan since 2010. Moreover, Taiwan education seminars were conducted nine times from 2011-2016 in Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Jakarta. As of 2016, Taiwan had established eight language centers in five cities of Indonesia: one in Jakarta, two in Yogyakarta, two in Malang, two in Bandung, and one in Makasar. In addition, TETO also opened the Taiwan Corner and Taiwan studies center in several universities in Indonesia to promote cultural exchange and Taiwan studies in Indonesia (ESIT, 2016).

Moreover, the Taiwan government provides scholarships for Indonesian students through programs such as the Taiwan Scholarship under the MOE, as well as the Huayu Enrichment Scholarship, the International Cooperation and Development

Fund (ICDF), the Ministry of Science and Technology Scholarship, the Taiwan International Graduate Program under *Academia Sinica*, the MOE Short-term research award, the MOE APEC Scholarship, the Research Grant for Foreign Scholars in Chinese Studies under the Center for Chinese Studies, the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy fellowship, and grants from *Chiang Ching-kuo* Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. There are also some scholarship schemes provided by universities to help international students finance their study in Taiwan.

Taiwan government policy toward international student demonstrate the evolution of Taiwan public diplomacy. Taiwan government move can be categorizing as one of the way to communicate with international public. From public diplomacy perspective, we can categorize the Taiwan government activities before 2010 as one-way communication. While they improved their approach into two-way communication after 2010 through cooperation with various institution including Indonesian government body. The policy package initiated by Taiwan government varies from government to government cooperation, university to university cooperation, institution to institution cooperation, also individual channel cooperation.

After 2000, Taiwan government and institutions strengthen their relationship with Indonesian counterpart. However, most of the initiatives still on the basis of first-tier relationship building initiatives. The initiatives focus on cultural and educational exchange programs and leadership visits. After 2016, through the New South-bound Policy initiated by Tsai Ing-wen government, Taiwan improve their public diplomacy including building the cultural and language institute, development aid projects, city twinning arrangement, relationship building campaigns, and also non-political network scheme. The government encourages to strengthen people to people relation between Taiwan and Indonesia.

2.3 Indonesian Students in Taiwan

As mentioned in the previous chapter, according to Ma (2013) “based on the trajectory of policy development and the changes in numbers of international student enrollment, the course of international student recruitment in Taiwan can be divided into three stages”. Firstly, from 1950-1986 Taiwan recruited overseas Chinese students only. Secondly, from 1987-1999 Taiwan intended to provide education benefits for Taiwanese and decrease overseas Chinese enrollment numbers and did not intend to recruit foreign students. Thirdly, the period from 2000-2011 saw Taiwan shift its policy focus towards the recruitment of foreign students and the changing demographic profile of international students.

Based on Taiwanese laws toward international students, Indonesian students in Taiwan have two main statuses: foreign students and overseas Chinese students. The designation “foreign student” refers to local Indonesian citizens pursuing degrees (mostly master and doctoral degree), studying on exchange, or studying the Chinese language in Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Indonesian “Chinese student” designation identifies Indonesian ethnic Chinese students that are also pursuing degrees (mostly bachelor degrees), studying on exchange or studying the Chinese language. Before 2011, Indonesian ethnic Chinese students categorized as overseas Chinese students represented the majority of Indonesian students in Taiwan. However, from the 2011-2012 school year, the number of Indonesian local students designated as “foreign student pursuing degree in Taiwan” exceeded the number of Indonesian overseas Chinese students and the trend is growing each year.

There are several reasons international students, including those from Indonesia, decide to pursue their studies in Taiwan. Firstly, is the academic resources and quality. Secondly is the diversity of culture. Thirdly is reasonable and affordable tuition. Fourthly is the higher standards of living. Fifthly, is the better opportunity for further

studies. Sixth is the availability of scholarships. Seventh is learning Chinese. Eighth is the better opportunity for securing a job back home. Ninth is the location of Taiwan in the heart of Asia (FICHET, October 2015).

Taiwan is excellence in various field such as academic resources and quality, diversity of culture, and high standard of life that can become their strength in international society. However, international public including Indonesian, did not get sufficient information about Taiwan that cause Taiwan present in international public still limited. This is one of the reason why there is still limited number of international student, including Indonesian, who is studying in Taiwan.

Before the 1990s the interaction between Indonesia and Taiwan was limited, so it's difficult to track when Indonesian students first came to Taiwan. However, according to the president of ICATI “during the 1960s there were several Indonesian students who came to Taiwan for study. They were all Overseas Chinese Students (OCS) that pursued degree level or Chinese language study in Taiwan” (Kabinawa, 2013, p. 62). Data compilation about Indonesian students who study in Taiwan started from 1986/1987 when there were 259 Indonesian students studying in Taiwan. Since then, the number of Indonesian students has fluctuated between 200 and 250 students from 1986 until 1993. The number increased from 249 in 1993 to 368 in 1994. After that, there was an increase in Indonesian student numbers, reaching more than 1,000 in 1998. However, it decreased from the 2002/2003 school year, but after the 2003/2004 school year, the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan showed a rapid increase. Based on TETO statistics, as of 2017, 5,074 Indonesian students were studying in Taiwan, including 3,131 degree students at the bachelor, master and doctoral level, 317 exchange students and 1,626 students studying Mandarin.

Table 2.1 Statistics of Indonesian students in Taiwan school year 1986-2016

School Year	Total student
1986/1987	259
1987/1988	291
1988/1989	217
1989/1990	214
1990/1991	211
1991/1992	208
1992/1993	245
1993/1994	249
1994/1995	368
1995/1996	335
1996/1997	380
1997/1998	382
1998/1999	579
1999/2000	1685
2000/2001	2174
2001/2002	1158
2002/2003	961
2003/2004	1002
2004/2005	1391
2005/2006	1494
2006/2007	1555
2008/2009	1658
2010/2011	2881
2011/2012	2575
2012/2013	2901

2013/2014	3186
2014/2015	3559
2015/2016	4394
2016/2017	5074
Total	41586

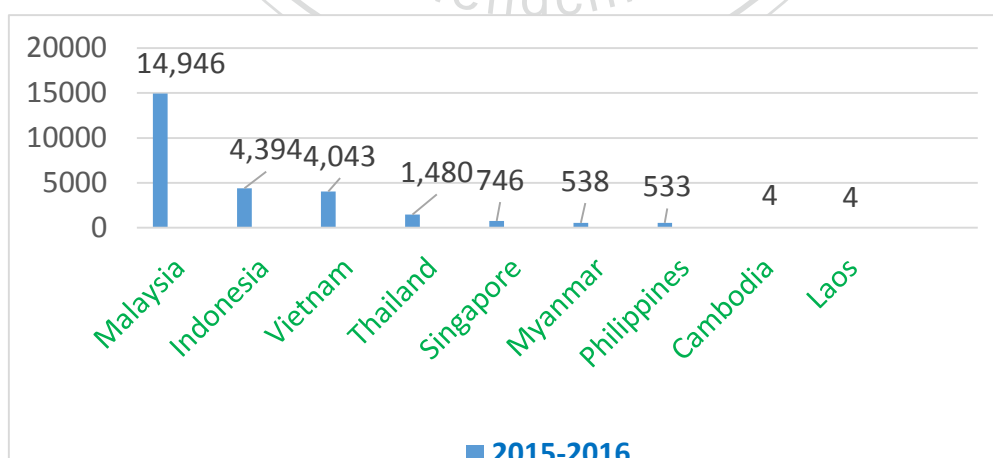
Source: Statistical Summaries provided by the Ministry of Education, ROC Taiwan for International Symposium of PPI Taiwan 2017, Master Thesis of Kabinawa (2013) and Taiwan Economic and Trade Office (TETO) in Jakarta

From the statistics above and supported by Ma's research findings, we can draw several conclusions. Firstly, the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan from 1986 until 1999 was not significant because ranged between 200 to 400 only due to the Taiwan government education policy which focused on benefiting Taiwanese as the requirements for overseas Chinese student enrollment was tightened. In addition, at this time, Taiwan did not place the recruitment of foreign students as an integral component of its education policy. As a result, no Indonesian indigenous students were studying in Taiwan at that time. From 1998 to 2000, the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan number increased due to several factors. The year 1998 saw Indonesia in political turmoil that put ethnic Chinese in the country in a disadvantageous position, causing many to flee the country and send their children to study abroad. One of the destinations available for Chinese at that time was Taiwan. In addition, Taiwan also willingly accepted these Chinese. Furthermore, at that time, Taiwan was implementing its first "Southward Policy" that aimed to increase Taiwanese investment in Indonesia. This policy would open more job opportunities and require Indonesians to demonstrate Chinese linguistic ability and familiarity with Taiwanese customs. The year 2000 marked the first time indigenous Indonesian students studied in Taiwan due to the Taiwan government policy shift to start recruiting foreign students. The decrease in

Indonesian student numbers during the 2002/2003 academic year (the only case when Indonesian student numbers fell below 1,000 from 1999 until 2017) may have been due to Taiwan's political situation at that time. That year followed the 2000 election and saw the opposition party take power for the first time in 2001. The significant growth in the number of Indonesian students after 2011 is generated by the intensified cooperation between the Indonesia and Taiwan governments. In addition, Indonesians obtained more information about Taiwan and learned about the opportunity to study in Taiwan. At the same time, Taiwan realizes that their soft power through education would enhance their presence in international society so they developed several policies to favor international students. Furthermore, the New Southbound policy initiated by the government of President Tsai Ing-wen has had big contributions to increasing Indonesian student numbers from 2016.

According to the Taiwan MOE, Indonesia is the second-largest source of Southeast Asian students in Taiwan after Malaysia. For the 2015/2016 school year, there were 4,394 students from Indonesia, while Malaysia sent 14,946 students and Vietnam 4,043 students.

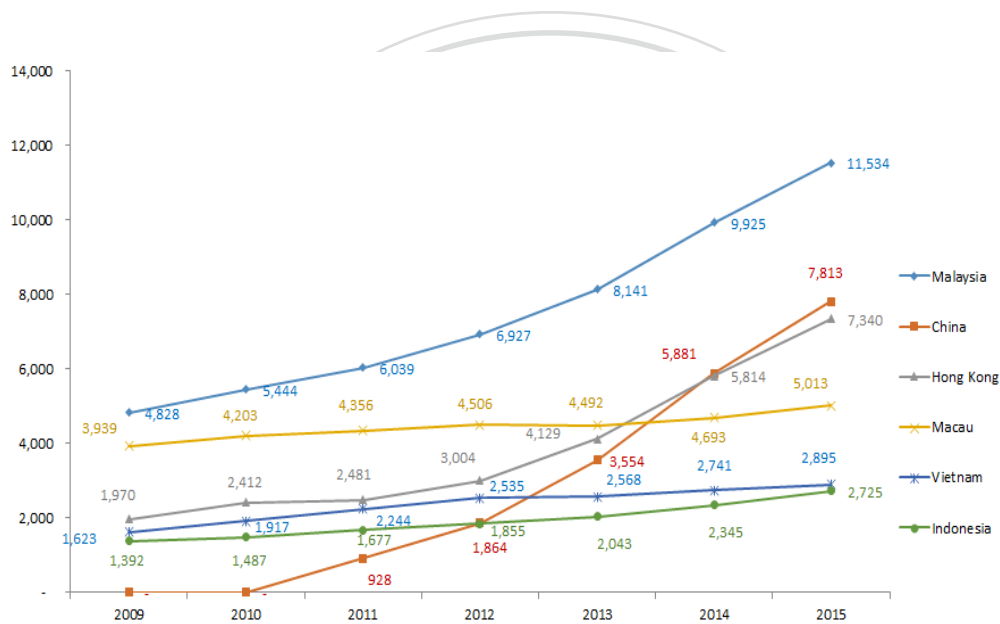
Figure 2.1 The comparison of Southeast Asian students in Taiwan



Source: Statistical Summaries provided by the Ministry of Education, ROC Taiwan for International Symposium of PPI Taiwan 2017

In addition, Indonesia is among the top six regions sending international students to Taiwan to pursue degree programs. Malaysia still contributes the largest number of international students, followed by China, Hong Kong, Macau, Vietnam, and Indonesia. For the 2015/2016 school year, there were 2,725 international degree students from Indonesia in Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Malaysian student count was around 11,534 for the same period.

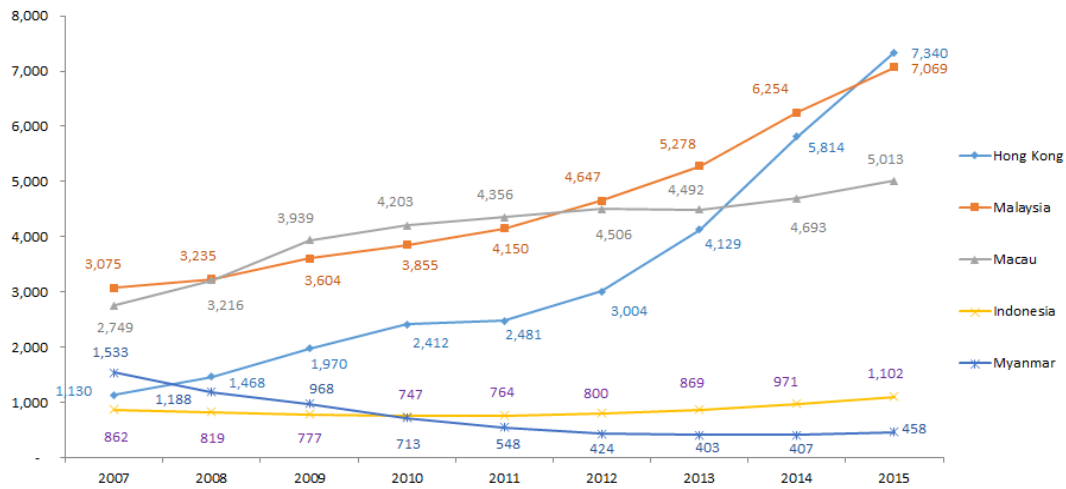
Figure 2.2 Top six regions sending international students to Taiwan (Degree Program)



Source: Statistical Summaries provided by the Ministry of Education, ROC Taiwan for International Symposium of PPI Taiwan 2017

As for overseas Chinese student numbers, Indonesia is among the top five sources of overseas Chinese students in the degree program after Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Macau.

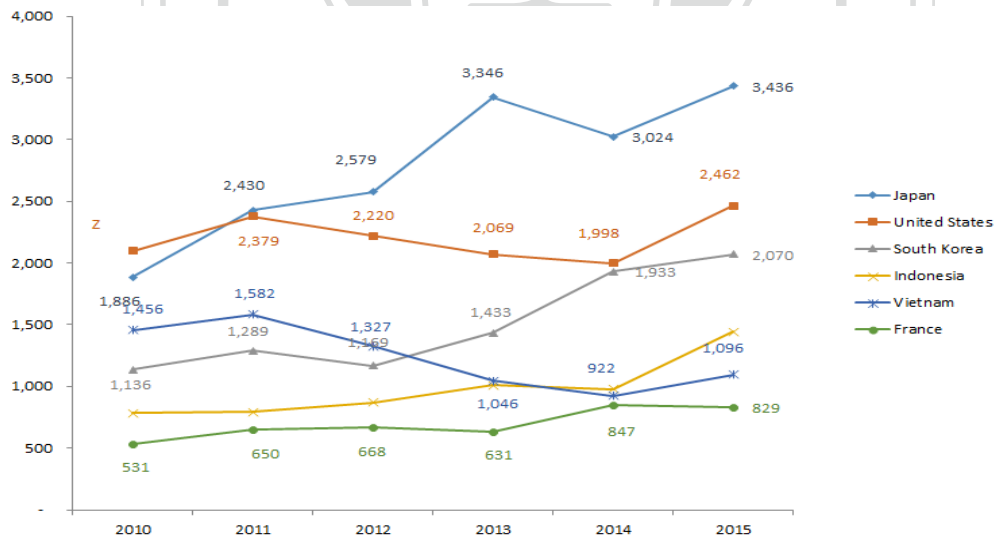
Figure 2.3 Top 5 leading regions of Overseas Chinese Student (Degree Program)



Source: Statistical Summaries provided by the Ministry of Education, ROC Taiwan for International Symposium of PPI Taiwan 2017

Indonesia is also among the top five regions sending Mandarin-learning students to Taiwan after Japan, the United States, and South Korea.

Figure 2.4 Top six regions sending Mandarin-learning students to Taiwan



Source: Statistical Summaries provided by the Ministry of Education, ROC Taiwan for International Symposium of PPI Taiwan 2017

As we see from the numbers above, the number of Indonesian students who study in Taiwan is growing rapidly. However, if we compare this number with counterparts from Malaysia, the total number of Indonesians who study in Taiwan is still far behind

meanwhile the population of Indonesia is much larger than Malaysia. The main reason is the lack of Chinese fluency among Indonesians and the limited number of English-taught programs in Taiwan. Indonesian condition was different with Malaysian. Since the 1950s, going to Taiwan for university has been a popular choice for ethnic Chinese in Malaysia. In addition, there are many schools, either elementary or middle schools, that use Chinese as the medium of instruction in Malaysia. Furthermore, early on, graduates of independent Chinese secondary schools (that use English as the medium of instruction) faced ethnic quotas when applying to college in Malaysia. Unable to attend local colleges and universities, they looked for overseas options. Moreover, back in the 1950s, once Malaysian students had finished their studies in Taiwan, their degrees were not recognized by the Malaysian government, so they often become teachers in the independent school system. Alumni of Taiwan schools that return to independent school not only improve the professionalism of the education system but also encourage other students to study in Taiwan because they share their study experience with their students and colleges (Taiwan Panorama Magazine, 2017). The circumstances in Malaysia are quite different from those in Indonesia. In Indonesia, Chinese use Indonesian, English or a local language as their primary means of communication. In addition, they use Indonesian or English as the medium of instruction at school. Because of this, Chinese is not a popular language in Indonesia and not many Chinese or Indonesians can speak it fluently. In addition, there is no policy in Indonesia banning ethnic Chinese from access to public colleges so they still have several choices to study. Furthermore, there are not such significant numbers of Taiwan alumni in Indonesia as in Malaysia so information about Taiwan education is less prevalent.

Even though the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan still lags far behind the number of Malaysian students, there is growth in the number and activities in Taiwan.

There are several organizations established by Indonesians to accommodate their interests and contribute to Indonesia-Taiwan relations. In addition, these student organizations have held several academic, cultural and religious activities to help the governments of the two countries. The next chapter of this thesis will discuss these.



Chapter III

Indonesian Student Associations and Their Activities

Indonesia is a diverse country. There are many ethnic groups, cultures, and religions in the country. The diversity is found in the myriad of organizations that existed even prior to its independence. The phenomena are also reflected in the number of student organizations in Indonesia and abroad, including Taiwan. It is important to understand the various types of organizations in Taiwan – their vision, mission, and activities – that can and do contribute to people-to-people relations. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part explains the four types of Indonesian student associations in Taiwan. The second part highlights their activities in Taiwan that are related to the so-called new public diplomacy. The third part discusses the factors influencing Indonesian students to establish these associations and conduct their activities.

3.1 Various Type of Indonesian Student Associations in Taiwan

Indonesian student associations in Taiwan can be divided into four types. The first type is identity-based organizations. The second type is organizations based on religious background. The third type is based on services to the community, either educational or other services. The final type is established at the university-level.

3.1.1 Identity-Based Organizations

Identity-based Indonesian student associations can be further divided into three types. They are ethnic-based student associations (PERPITA¹), organizations that are established based on nationality (PPI Taiwan²), and organizations which have

¹ *Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia di Taiwan*/Indonesian Student Organization in Taiwan/台灣印尼僑生聯誼會

² *Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Taiwan*/Indonesian Student Association in Taiwan/台灣印尼學生聯合會

membership based on their place of origin (Ranup Lampuan of Aceh and PPSU³ of North Sumatra).

3.1.1.1 Ethnic-Based Organizations (PERPITA)

PERPITA was the first Indonesian student organization in Taiwan. It was established in 1960 at National Cheng Kung University, Tainan. The idea of establishing PERPITA came about due to the many issues faced by Indonesian Chinese students in Taiwan, such as the problem of cultural differences and the lack of communication among Indonesian overseas students in Taiwan. Through PERPITA, Indonesian students were trying to help one another to solve those problems as well as to strengthen their relationships. Most PERPITA members can speak fluent Mandarin, which allows them to have partnerships with Indonesian stores in Taiwan or Taiwanese companies, especially companies that require employees with Mandarin linguistic abilities.

Currently, some PERPITA members and alumni work in Taiwanese companies or Indonesian companies that have cooperation with Taiwan, Hong Kong or Mainland Chinese companies. Some of them develop their own businesses in Taiwan or Indonesia. The networking built by PERPITA's members helps strengthen Indonesia and Taiwan relations, especially in the economic sector. Members and alumni of PERPITA also actively share information about the opportunity to study in Taiwan for undergraduate degree students. They actively participate in helping and supporting Chinese-Indonesians who join preparation classes to apply for Taiwanese university exams. They also provide useful information for newly admitted students, mostly undergraduate students, so these students can easily adapt to the Taiwanese living environment.

³ *Persatuan Pelajar Sumatra Utara*/ Indonesian Student Association from North Sumatra

3.1.1.2 Nation Based Organization (PPI Taiwan)

PPI was established on May 2, 2010, at Chung Yuan Christian University, Chungli. The declaration of PPI Taiwan at that time was signed by the head of the Indonesian Economic and Trade Office in Taiwan, Mr. Suhartono, and the chairman of the declaration team, Mr. Hadi Kuntjara as representative of team 12⁴. The idea behind establishing PPI Taiwan was the need of Indonesian students in Taiwan for an organization for all students. The idea had been discussed since 2005 with the head of IETO and through a dialog with Indonesian Minister of Education, Mr. Bambang Sudibyo in 2006. Moreover, in 2007 Indonesian students started to create a mailing list for all Indonesian students in Taiwan. Many cyber meetings were conducted to discuss the organization model in 2008-2009 and to spread the idea of the first nationalist organization for Indonesian students.

PPI's operation is similar to a small federative state under a democratic system with central administration and branches. For central administration, PPI Taiwan has two bodies, executive and legislative. The legislative bodies are elected from universities that enroll Indonesian students in Taiwan. The president, who is elected by the General Session of PPI Taiwan, leads the executive body. Furthermore, PPI Taiwan is divided into three territories: north, central, and south. The northern territory consists of universities in Taipei, Keelung, Taoyuan, Yilan, Hualien, and Taitung. The central territory consists of universities in Hsinchu, Miaoli, Taichung, Changhua, and Nantou. The southern territory consists of universities in Chiayi, Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Pingtung. Recently, three PPIs have emerged at the regional level: PPI Tainan, PPI Hsinchu and PPI Kaohsiung.⁵ These PPI regions have arisen due to the lack of

⁴ Team 12 is a formulation team of PPI Taiwan that consists of representatives from Indonesian students from north, central and south Taiwan

⁵ Members of PPI Tainan: National Cheng Kung University, Chia Nan University of Pharmacy and Science, Southern Taiwan University of Science and Technology, Taiwan Shoufu University; members of PPI Hsinchu: National Chiao Tung University, National Tsing Hua University, Chung Hua University;

significant Indonesian student numbers in several universities in that region, so they establish PPI at the regional level instead of at the campus level. As of 2017, there were around 13 PPIs at the university level.⁶

The activities of PPI Taiwan are mostly funded by IETO, while Indonesian corporations in Taiwan also contribute a few funds. Meanwhile, for PPI Campus, they get their funding mostly from member contributions. Nonetheless, several PPI Campus chapters got financial support from IETO if they hold cultural events. The mission of PPI Taiwan is to offer: (1) research for providing policy recommendations to IETO; (2) educational programs for Indonesian students and migrant workers; (3) charity, cultural, and sporting events; (4) networks with the Taiwan government and academic institutions; (5) a communication hub for all Indonesian students in Taiwan. In short, PPI Taiwan aims to organize activities for Indonesians in Taiwan, collaborate with other Indonesian student organizations or Indonesian organizations in Taiwan, participate in OISAA and OISAA Asia-Oceania region activities, and hold or participate in several activities that aim to promote Indonesia in Taiwan or Taiwan in Indonesia.

3.1.1.3 Origin Based Student Organization (Ranup Lampung and PPSU)

Two of the most active Indonesian student organizations are those whose membership is based on place of origin in Indonesia. The students are originally from the island of Sumatra, and Aceh and North Sumatra (Sumatra Utara) provinces. The

and members of PPI Kaohsiung: National Kaohsiung University of Applied Science, National Sun Yat-sen University, Wenzao Ursuline University of Language.

⁶ There are National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, National Chengchi University, Taipei Medical University, National Taiwan Ocean University, Chinese Culture University, National Taiwan Normal University, National Central University, Chung Yuan Christian University, Yuan Tze University, Asia University, National Chin Yi University of Technology, National Dong Hwa University and National Pingtung University of Science and Technology.

names of the organizations are Ranup Lampuan⁷ and PPSU⁸. Those organizations were established due to the growing number of students that came from these provinces. Both organizations have similar goals of strengthening the relationship between their members and to facilitate cooperation between Taiwan and their regions.

The main motivation for the establishment of Ranup Lampuan was to develop a feeling of togetherness and eagerness to help each other in Taiwan, and apply their passion to improve their province's condition through their time in Taiwan. Ranup Lampuan has collaborated with Elite Study in Taiwan, Taiwan Education Center and PPI Taiwan to organize Taiwan Education Expo in Aceh several times. They have also facilitated cooperation between Taiwanese universities with Aceh Universities. This organization has also bridged cooperation between businesspeople from Aceh and Taiwan.

PPSU was established on April 27, 2014, at Tunghai University, Taichung. This organization aims to help develop North Sumatra. PPSU aimed to facilitate cooperation, especially in the education sector, between North Sumatra and Taiwan. They also help North Sumatran students who are accepted to Taiwan universities to deal with everything related to administrative issues. In addition, PPSU also conducts several events to strengthen the relationship between students who came from North Sumatra. Furthermore, PPSU members actively promote studying in Taiwan through social media and North Sumatra local mass media. In addition, they conduct several events to promote Taiwan education in North Sumatra. PPSU provides a positive impact especially to increase North Sumatran student numbers in Taiwan.

3.1.2 Religious Based Student Organization (FORMMIT)

FORMMIT is an Indonesian student organization in Taiwan that applies Islamic

⁷ *Forum Silaturrahmi Mahasiswa Aceh di Taiwan/ Forum of Acehnese Student in Taiwan*

⁸ *Perhimpunan Pelajar Sumatra Utara/ Indonesian Student Association from North Sumatra in Taiwan*

tenets as the platform of the organization. The membership of FORMMIT is limited to Indonesian Muslim students studying in Taiwan, prospective members have to apply and they are free from paying any membership fee.

Even though FORMMIT is a student organization, some of its activities are conducted for Indonesian migrant workers. To do so, they usually collaborate with Indonesian migrant workers' organizations in Taiwan. Their activities include Islamic Feast Day (*Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha*) celebrations and Islamic *Da'wah* (proselytizing or preaching of Islam) through several activities that are conducted either by FORMMIT itself or in collaboration with other Islamic organizations. For Ramadhan month (the holy month in Islam), FORMMIT collaborates with other Islamic organization to invite ustadz (Islamic preachers) from Indonesia to come to Taiwan and conduct *ceramah* (Islamic lectures) in several mosques and *mushalla* (Muslim place of prayer) across Taiwan. In addition, FORMMIT, through its members, also encourages and helps several universities to provide *mushalla* for Muslim students.

In 2010, FORMMIT held The First Annual Indonesian Scholars Conference in Taiwan (AISC Taiwan) in Southern Taiwan University (STU). FORMMIT continually held the annual conference from 2010 until 2013; however, FORMMIT did not hold such events from 2014 until 2017 due to the lack of human resources to manage them.

3.1.3 Function-based Student Institution Established by Students

PPI Taiwan established two autonomous institutions as the formal education facilitator in Taiwan to serve the needs of migrant workers and other diaspora in the education sector. PPI Taiwan established UTT to facilitate tertiary education and PKBM for elementary and middle school education.

3.1.3.1 Indonesian Open University in Taiwan

A learning unit of Indonesian Open University was established in Taiwan based on the initiative of PPI Taiwan. Indonesia Open University is a long distance learning

institution established by the Indonesian government to serve the needs of Indonesians to pursue undergraduate and graduate degrees. There are 26 foreign branches of Indonesian Open University around the world including in Hong Kong and South Korea. The Taiwan unit is called *Kelompok Belajar Universitas Terbuka Taiwan* or UTT.

This idea of establishing a unit in Taiwan was the result of an informal discussion between Indonesian migrant worker organizations and PPI Taiwan. The migrant workers expressed their eagerness to pursue higher education while they are working in Taiwan. The total number of Indonesian migrant workers at that time was 142,983, about 40.26 percent of the 355,136 total foreign migrant workers in Taiwan (data generated by PPI Taiwan through KOMPAS, March 30, 2010).

Based on that discussion, PPI Taiwan tried to facilitate the open long distance learning unit to serve the needs of Indonesian migrant workers. This initiative got the highest support from Indonesia Economic and Trade Office in Taipei (IETO). As a follow up, IETO sent a letter to the Ministry of Culture and Education of the Republic of Indonesia. The ministry suggested the establishment of Indonesia Open University in Taiwan.

Before the establishment of UTT, PPI Taiwan – together with IETO, MOE Republic of Indonesia and Indonesian Open University – intensively discussed all of the related regulation and preparation. The representatives from PPI Taiwan learned about the management of an Open University from Indonesian Open University in South Korea. Similar to Indonesian Open University in South Korea, Indonesian Open University in Taiwan is managed by the Indonesian Student Association. After several meetings, and much discussion and preparation, PPI Taiwan and Indonesian Open University foreign division signed the agreement to establish Indonesian Open University in Taiwan on September 28, 2011. Later, on November 13, 2011, the

chairman of IETO and the Rector of Indonesian Open University signed a memorandum of understanding marking the establishment of Indonesian Open University in Taiwan.

UTT is managed by an autonomous body of PPI Taiwan with the staff coming from Indonesian students who currently study in Taiwan. As an autonomous body, UTT operates based on their own regulations without intervention from PPI Taiwan. However, PPI Taiwan has the right to ask for reports and explanation from UTT wherever it is needed. UTT opens recruitment for staff every year and all of the staff work voluntarily without payment or compensation. The head of UT Taiwan is elected by management meeting then approved by the chairman of PPI Taiwan and the chairman of IETO. The head of UT Taiwan must submit annual reports to PPI Taiwan before the *Sidang Istimewa PPI Taiwan* (yearly special session meeting of PPI Taiwan). In addition, the head of UTT must present the report in front of the PPI Taiwan representative assembly and executive board at the annual meeting. Furthermore, UTT has to send the report to IETO annually after getting approval from PPI Taiwan. PPI Taiwan receives 10% of its management fee from UTT every year and the fee is paid before the annual general meeting.

3.1.3.2 Community Learning Center PPI Taiwan

PKBM PPI Taiwan (*Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat PPI Taiwan/Community Learning Center PPI Taiwan*) was established to provide formal elementary and high school education services. Package A is for elementary school students, Package B for junior high, and Package C for senior high. The education system style is similar to UTT where most of the classes are conducted online.

In addition, the community learning center also aims to initiate library and training programs for migrants that come from Indonesia. The students in the community learning center are the children of Indonesian students currently studying

in Taiwan or are Indonesian migrant workers who do not have an elementary or high school diploma. Some of the students have already graduated and are continuing to pursue their tertiary program at UTT or a Taiwanese university.

PKBM is similar to UTT in terms of the internal structure of the organization, staff recruitment, and coordination with PPI and IETO. The main differences between PKBM and UTT lie in their organization arrangements. The parental organization of UTT is Indonesia Open University in Jakarta, while PKBM is an independent educational institution. However, both of these organizations must be compliant with the regulations of the Indonesian government with PPI Taiwan and IETO as their advisory boards.

3.1.4 University-based Organizations

Indonesian students in several campuses have established their own Indonesian student associations (ISA) on their campuses. These associations also have a connection to PPI Taiwan. The membership of ISA on the campuses is free and open to all Indonesian students who study at that university. The most active campus ISAs are at NTUST, NCU, and NCKU. These three universities have more Indonesian students than the other universities in Taiwan. In addition, they actively meet and work together to organize cultural events, to prepare for sports competitions held by PPI or PERPITA, and to conduct religious activities in cooperation with FORMMIT. Furthermore, some of the members serve as bridges of cooperation between their Taiwanese university and their alma mater university in Indonesia.

3.2 Indonesian Student Activities

The increase in the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan has led to a consequent increase in their activities. Besides studying, Indonesian students actively conduct several activities such as cultural activities, community development activities (education), religious activities, political activities, and social activities. They also serve

as bridges of cooperation between Indonesian institutions and Taiwanese institutions. In this section, I will discuss four activities of Indonesian students – cultural, educational, religious and networking initiatives – to highlight their relationship to public diplomacy.

3.2.1 Cultural Activities

Indonesian students organize several cultural activities every year. They do not only manage them by themselves but also collaborate with other international students to promote Indonesian culture to the Taiwanese and international community. Students usually work voluntarily for their associations. There are several big cultural events held by Indonesian students to promote Indonesian culture, such as:

1. Indonesia Cultural Exhibition at National Taiwan University of Science and Technology (ICE NTUST)
2. Indonesian Cultural Day in Tainan (ICD Tainan)
3. Indonesian Cultural Day at National Central University (ICD NCU)
4. Indonesian Day at National Pingtung University
5. Indonesian Wave at Asia University
6. Indonesia Exhibition at Wenzao Ursuline University of Language
7. Indonesia Cultural Day at Yuantze University

Among these cultural events are the three biggest Indonesian student's cultural events in Taiwan: ICE NTUST, ICD Tainan, and ICD NCU. Of these, ICE NTUST is the oldest and biggest cultural activity in Taiwan. This event is held by the NTUST Indonesian Student Association with support from the Office of International Affairs of NTUST. The first ICE was held in 2006 when Indonesian students at NTUST still numbered fewer than one hundred people. Currently, the number of Indonesian students studying at NTUST has exceeded three hundred students, therefore making the event has become bigger and better managed. ICD Tainan is held by PPI Tainan and involves

Indonesian students studying at different universities across Tainan, such as National Cheng Kung University, Chia Nan University of Pharmacy and Science, Southern Taiwan University of Science and Technology, and Taiwan Shoufu University. This cultural event is the largest Indonesian cultural event in the southern area of Taiwan. In the central area the largest cultural event, ICDNCU, has been held four times since 2012.

These events usually share a similar schedule. In the daytime, they usually introduce Indonesian information about cultural diversity, ethnic clothing, food, geography, traditional games, and so on. In the evening, a cultural show is performed such as Indonesian dance, song, and folklore. They provide special prizes such as bicycles, rice cookers, electric fans, Indonesian t-shirts, Indonesian food, and other Indonesian products by organizing lucky draws to attract visitors. The lucky draw prizes are sponsored by the university, IETO, or several companies. Even though the concept is similar, but the themes are usually different at each cultural event. The themes are chosen based on a story that will represent Indonesia culture from the five biggest islands of Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and Papua) plus Bali.

There are several factors that determine the size of each cultural event such as student numbers, the amount of support from the campus, the number of previous events, and the amount of financial support. For the financial support, Indonesian students apply for funding from several sources such as the Indonesian Representative Office, the Office of International Affairs from each university that conducts the event, donations from alumni, Chinese-Indonesian communities, Indonesian companies that are based in Taiwan, Taiwan companies that have business with or in Indonesia, student donations, and benefits from student organization business activities such as selling products or cultural performances.

The chairman of IETO and PPI are usually invited to deliver a speech. The

Indonesian representative office, represented by the chairman of IETO, or the vice chairman, or cultural deputy, always emphasize the important role of the students to collaborate with the representative office in Taiwan. Indonesian students are considered an asset to assist the representative office in Taiwan to promote Indonesian culture, assist the migrant workers especially to communicate the need for education and networking. In addition, through the opening speech, the Indonesian representative and the university representative always praise the voluntary work of the students and their love of Indonesia that they showed during the preparation and conduct of the event. Each year, the cultural events held by Indonesian students become bigger and attract more attendees especially international students and Taiwanese. This cultural event coverage in PPI Taiwan and OISAA media (either website or social media) are also covered by Indonesia media (such as television, radio, and online media outlets). This cultural event indirectly produces two effects. The first effect is to promote Indonesian culture to Taiwanese. The second effect is to increase of Taiwan's public visibility in Indonesia through the news coverage of the student activities.

3.2.2 Educational Activities

Several educational activities are held by PPI Taiwan and FORMMIT for students and migrant workers. These activities include formal education such as UT-Taiwan and PKBM PPI Taiwan; informal education in collaboration with other organizations, such as computer training provided by FORMMIT and MTYT (*Majlis Taklim Yasin Taipei/Indonesian Muslim Group*); and baking training, such as provided by the collaboration between PPI Taiwan and GWO-Taiwan (Global Worker Organization).

The education activities held by UTT led to the initiation of the UTT students' association called HIMMAS UTT (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Universitas Terbuka Taiwan/ Indonesian Open University in Taiwan Student Association*). The aim of

HIMMAS UTT is to advocate for UTT student needs. They also promote and conduct several activities to encourage positive migrant worker activities such as writing training, journalism training, Indonesian culture education, writing and photography competition, and other activities. One of the activities of HIMMAS UTT is *Parade Budaya Indonesia* (Indonesian Culture Parade) as an annual activity. This event is held at the National Taiwan Museum to celebrate Indonesia Independence Day on August 17th every year. This event is held in collaboration with National Taiwan Museum, Brilliant Time (one of Taiwan's NGOs), PPI Taiwan, and several migrant worker organizations. These activities aim to promote Indonesian culture to Taiwanese in two ways; directly via visits to the National Taiwan Museum, and indirectly through the coverage in Taiwanese media. In addition, news of this parade is also covered in Indonesian news media such as on Indonesian television and online news outlets.

UTT and PKBM facilitate Indonesian migrant workers to develop their knowledge, skills, and hobbies. Some UTT and PKBM students are well known as activists. They have become members of several organizations ranging from worker's organizations that advocate for labor rights, as well as charity clubs, photography clubs, martial arts clubs, writers' clubs, dance club, and other clubs. Some of them have also won several competitions such as singing competitions, photography competitions, writing competitions, and martial arts competitions. Several media in Taiwan and Indonesia have documented the life experiences of the UTT and PKBM students who work and study, also increasing the positive image of Indonesian migrant workers.

The education activities held by Indonesian students have not only improved the skills of the migrant workers but also increased Taiwan's image as a good destination country for migrant worker because of the care provided to migrant workers' well-being. At the same time, the news about the positive migrant worker activity in

Indonesia also increases the discourses about Taiwan in Indonesia in terms of a positive image. In addition, these activities have also helped both the governments of Indonesia and Taiwan to maximize positive migrant worker activities and prevent negative activities. Furthermore, it also increases the positive image of Indonesians in Taiwan society.

3.2.3 Religious Activities (Indonesian Muslim Student Activities)

Most of the activities of Indonesian Muslim students in Taiwan are coordinated by FORMMIT and sometimes in cooperation with PPI Taiwan and PPI region or PPI Campus. The activities consist of annual meetings in several universities or *mushalla* (prayer rooms). In this annual meeting, Indonesian students organize *da'wa* (Islamic teaching and discussions) delivered by *ustadz* (preachers) invited from Indonesia for *Ramadhan*, while for other months they are delivered by Indonesian students currently studying in Taiwan. Indonesian students are also actively involved in organizing celebrations of important Indonesian and Islamic day, Qur'an teachings for Indonesians, Taiwanese, and others, especially in *Daan* Mosque. Furthermore, they also organize discussions related to Islamic teaching, Islamic law (*Fiqh*), and the Islamic way of life. Moreover, they also hold education and training activities for the Indonesian diaspora including online *Da'wa* (Islamic teaching) for Indonesian migrant workers. In the holy month of *Ramadhan*, Indonesian students help the mosque to prepare for *ifthar* (fast-breaking) in ways such as cooking *ifthar* food, preparing the room for *ifthar*, and cleaning the dishes after *ifthar*. Indonesian Muslim students also conduct and participate in activities to introduce Islam to the Taiwanese and international community.

In Taipei, Indonesian Muslims students also join the International Muslim Student Association (IMSA) of which Indonesian students are the biggest group. Most of IMSA's activities are conducted at NTUST, which has the largest contingent of

international Muslims students. At the beginning of each school year, IMSA holds a party to welcome Muslim students who come to study in Taiwan. This annual event is supported by the NTUST Office of International Affairs and most of the committee members are Indonesian students. During the event, the committee shares information about studying in Taiwan, Taiwan culture, and a guide for Muslim students on how to live in Taiwan especially with information related to halal food, prayer places, and other information. The events also function as a place to build and strengthen the relationship between Muslim students in Taiwan so they adapt more easily to the Taiwan living environment. PPI Taiwan and FORMMIT are also invited by IMSA to attend this event and introduce their organizations. In addition, IMSA also has held several events to celebrate Islam festivals. They have also organized annual Islam exhibitions namely the International Muslim Exhibition (IMCE) to introduce Islam to Taiwanese and the international community.

Indonesian Muslim students under FORMMIT together with other Indonesian Muslim organizations established an umbrella organization for Indonesian Muslim associations in Taiwan, namely Indonesian Muslim Family in Taiwan (*Keluarga Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan/KMIT*), in 2007. In addition, Indonesian Muslim students in Taiwan also have strong relations with the two biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia. They are *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhamadiyah*. *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) is a traditional Sunni Islam movement in Indonesia and has a strong influence in Java, which is where most of the Indonesian migrant workers are from. *Muhamadiyah* is a reformist socio-religious organization originated in Yogyakarta. This organization devoted itself to social and educational activities. NU and *Muhamadiyah* have special international branches in Taiwan. Both of these organizations have strong relations with IETO and several mosques in Taiwan. Most NU members are Indonesian migrant

workers, while *Muhammadiyah* members are student and some of the migrant workers. However, these two organizations actively cooperate with each other. Indonesian students are actively involved in both of these organizations to run the organization professionally. Furthermore, both organizations have become a partner of IETO, especially for religious (particularly Islamic) activities.

Indonesian Muslim students collaborate with Indonesian migrant workers and other members of the Indonesian diaspora under IETO's support, playing an important role in spreading and disseminating Islam in Taiwan. Because of them, several prayer rooms are available at several Taiwan universities such as NTUST, NCU, NCKU, NCCU, NTOU, and NCTU, while mosques in Taoyuan (At-Taqwa) and Donggang (An-Nur) have been established with their support. In addition, the *da'wah* (Islamic lecturer) activities in Taiwan are supported by these organizations. Indonesian Muslim students closely affiliate with mosques and actively participate in facilitating Islamic teachings such as study of the Qur'an and Arabic. They have also organized several Islamic studies group, conducting and participating in several exhibitions to promote Islam. Moreover, several Indonesian students have launched English cellphone applications to help Muslims easily find halal restaurants, prayer facilities, tourist destinations, and Muslim communities in Taiwan. Furthermore, they also actively participate in international Islamic gatherings; the last one being the Regional *Da'wah* Leadership Conference in early November 2017 in Malaysia. Through these religious activities, the students promote Islam to Taiwanese to increase the mutual understanding of Islam and at the same time also promotes Taiwan as a friendly country for Muslims.

3.2.4 Networking Initiatives Activities

Indonesian students who study in Taiwan serve as a networking bridge between Indonesian and Taiwanese. Several students and alumni have made links between the

business entities as well as education institutions of both countries. Several Indonesian alumni have become agents, trading commodities such as coffee and seaweed. Students working in Taiwanese companies assist in providing information about Indonesia. In addition, the alumni who return to Indonesia have initiated Taiwan study centers in several Indonesian universities. They also encourage Indonesian institutions to cooperate with Taiwan institutions. The transnational networking initiated by Indonesian students has increased interactions between the people of Indonesia and Taiwan and, at the same time, the visibility of Taiwan to the Indonesian public.

One of the networking activities initiated by the students is a symposium. In 2017, PPI Taiwan held OISAA Asia-Oceania Annual Symposium at National Chengchi University, Taipei. This symposium is an annual meeting of representatives of Indonesian Student Associations in the Asia-Oceania region. Along with the OISAA Asia-Oceania annual symposium, PPI Taiwan also held the First International Symposium of PPI Taiwan. PPI Taiwan raised the need for Indonesia education representatives in Taiwan. Currently, the status of Indonesia's representative office in Taiwan being under the Ministry of Trade and not the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has caused several drawbacks for Indonesians in Taiwan⁹.

Without any representative official from the Ministry of Education, it is hard for Indonesian students to get appropriate protection and financial support from the government. The request for an official who is in charge of student affairs has already been the main issue discussed even before the establishment of PPI Taiwan and has become more prominent after PPI Taiwan was established. It has become a priority issue for PPI Taiwan work. The effort has not received positive feedback, but PPI Taiwan still aims to raise this issue in the future.

⁹ The main focus of the representative office is for trade and business

The symposium held by PPI Taiwan has also become one of the platforms for people-to-people relations. PPI Taiwan invited Indonesian and Taiwanese to become speakers and guests for the symposium. From the Indonesia side, PPI Taiwan invited members and representatives from the Indonesian People Representative Council, the Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, the Indonesian representative office in Taipei, Indonesian scholars, and OISAA media partners. From the Taiwan side, PPI Taiwan invited representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, and Taiwan scholars.

The first-day of the symposium discussed Taiwan's New Southbound Policy and its opportunities. The Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative introduced the New Southbound Policy program, obstacles faced by this policy initiative and the opportunity for further cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan. It also discussed the opportunity for Indonesian students to become involved in several programs such as job recruitment, business opportunities, and institution partnership. At the same time, several scholars from Indonesia and Taiwan emphasized the opportunity for Indonesians to actively participate in these New Southbound Policy initiatives. This event increased the discourse about the New Southbound Policy among Indonesians, on the one hand introducing the policy to Indonesians who attended the conference and on the other promoting it in the Indonesian media through the news coverage of the symposium.

The second day discussed Indonesian education conditions. PPI Taiwan invited the representative from the Taiwan Ministry of Education to introduce Taiwan's education development, the internationalization of Taiwan education, Indonesia and Taiwan education cooperation, and the opportunity for Indonesia and Taiwan to develop further education cooperation. In addition, the second day also discussed the

Indonesian education condition, challenges, and opportunities.

Furthermore, PPI Taiwan held several side events for this symposium. One day before the symposium, PPI Taiwan introduced two Taiwan innovations – waste management and a start-up initiative program – to Indonesian guests. The guests visited an incineration plant, a green library, and a start-up co-working space in Taipei. Furthermore, there were also two evening cultural events to strengthen the relations among Indonesians and also between Indonesians and Taiwanese.

The symposium activities illustrate the students' role in bridging people-to-people relations between Indonesia and Taiwan. Through the event, Indonesian students facilitated information dissemination from Taiwan to Indonesia and vice versa. At the same time, they also strengthened the relationship between the two countries in terms of personal relations. Furthermore, these activities strengthened the relations between the two countries through the rise of several discourses such as the need for an education representative, the importance of the New Southbound Policy, and the education cooperation opportunity between Indonesia and Taiwan.

3.3 Factors Influencing Indonesian Students Establishing their Associations and Conducting their Activities

There are three factors leading Indonesian students to establish their associations and conduct their activities: (1) Their tradition of communal work (*gotong-royong*) as social capital; (2) The demands of Indonesian migrant workers and students; (3) The support from various institutions, such as the Indonesian government especially IETO, individual campuses/universities, and the Taiwan government. These three factors are important and related each other. Because of the three factors, Indonesian student can carry out their activities.

3.3.1 Community Work as Traditional Social Capital

Indonesians have their communal work culture called *gotong-royong*. This

collective culture allows Indonesians to gather together and work voluntarily for some issues, especially those related to their nation. Indonesians have strong nationalism and it is strengthened when they are abroad. That is one of the reasons why Indonesian actively conduct cultural events to introduce Indonesian culture to their counterparts. In addition, the culture of collective action and organization is deeply rooted in Indonesian students who study abroad, especially as they are taught through their history that the Indonesian student movement abroad contributes to Indonesian independence and development. Moreover, transnational organizations (i.e. OISAA) play an important role in encouraging the activities of Indonesian students all around the world. Through this organization, each Indonesian student organization chapter can coordinate actively, work together, and share their experience with each other.

3.3.2 Demands of the Indonesian Community in Taiwan

Indonesian students encounter several problems in their life in Taiwan because of the cultural differences that led the students to establish these organizations in the first place. In addition, Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan constitute one of the largest populations of Indonesian migrant workers abroad. They deal with several problems and in several cases, the representative office cannot fully support them so they work together with the students to face several problems such as the need for formal education for Indonesian migrant workers.

3.3.3 Institutional Support

Furthermore, the support from various institutions such as student associations; the Indonesian government, especially IETO; Taiwan universities; and the Taiwan government encourages Indonesian student activities. Cultural events, social events, and religious events are conducted under student organizations. In addition, it is easier to manage the events and spread information through the student organizations. Furthermore, IETO support is essential for the student activities and organizations.

Even though IETO cannot fully support Indonesian students financially because of the limitation of their jurisdiction, the representative has tried to actively support and facilitate the organization and activities. Moreover, Taiwan is supportive of the international students. Institutions in Taiwan such as MOE, MOFA, and universities and institutions abroad such as TETO, ICDF, and TEC have shown concern about the international students' needs.

3.4 Concluding Remarks:

This chapter has described the profiles of associations of Indonesian students in Taiwan which we divided into four types. The first type is identity-based organizations. The second type is organizations based on religious background. The third type is based on services to the community, either educational or other services. The final type is established at the university-level. Through the discussion about their associations, we can see how Indonesian students organize themselves to serve their interests and at the same time also indirectly contribute to new public diplomacy. We have discussed their activities, also divided into four main types - cultural, educational, religious and networking initiatives -. Through the discussion about their activities, we can see which kind of activities indirectly contribute to new public diplomacy. In addition, we have reviewed their motivations for establishing these associations and these are influenced by three factors: (1) their tradition of communal work (*gotong-royong*) as social capital (2) the demands of Indonesian migrant workers and students (3) support from various institutions, such as the Indonesian government especially IETO, universities, and the Taiwan government, showing why Indonesian students voluntarily participated in new public diplomacy indirectly. This chapter has also shown student roles in public diplomacy through strengthening people-to-people relations, bridging mutual understanding, and increasing the visibility and positive image of both countries. This material will be beneficial to the discussion and conclusion of the thesis. In the next

chapter, we will discuss and conclude the thesis given the findings we have seen in Chapter Three.



Chapter IV

Conclusion

4.1 Review

This study has examined the role that Indonesian students in Indonesian student organizations in Taiwan play in enhancing the relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan. This thesis has explored the activities of Indonesian students in Taiwan, examining how they have contributed to bridging and increasing people-to-people relations between the two countries and mutual understanding between Taiwanese and Indonesians. At the same time, Indonesian student activity in Taiwan has also increased Taiwan's visibility in Indonesia and the international community. The study has also identified the factors influencing Indonesian students to indirectly but actively participate in public diplomacy.

The subject of people-to-people relations itself has already been discussed by scholars, and the study of the importance of people-to-people relations between Taiwan and Indonesian has also been addressed before (Kabinawa, 2013; Elias, 2013; Paramithaningrum, 2013). However, few studies have specifically and comprehensively discussed the role and activities of Indonesian students in Taiwan from the perspective of new public diplomacy. This thesis, therefore, has filled this gap by looking at some of the activities and actions related to the activities that contribute to the enhancement of relations between Indonesia and Taiwan. The study has contributed to a better understanding of the role of Indonesian students in complementing people-to-people diplomacy between Taiwan and Indonesia that has appeared in the literature.

This chapter will summarize the study's findings and address the research questions

set out in the introductory chapter. The discussion of findings identifies the original contributions of this study to our understanding of Indonesian student activities in Taiwan, people-to-people relations between Indonesia and Taiwan, Taiwan public diplomacy, and the field of public diplomacy as a whole. It explains the activities of Indonesian students and relates it to a theoretical framework. The policy relevance of the findings will be explored, and the chapter will close with a discussion of future research directions.

4.2 Indonesian Student in Bridging the New Public Diplomacy

The public diplomacy approach transforms old public diplomacy to new public diplomacy through debate on the role of actors and issues. Currently, public diplomacy scholars emphasize that the actors of public diplomacy are not only the state but also non-state actors, such as NGOs, private companies, and individual citizens. In addition, public diplomacy theory and practice also expands the issues of public diplomacy from merely focusing on state propaganda to the collaborative cooperation between actors. However, as noted by Nancy Snow (2009), R.S Zaharna (2009), Jen Melissen (2005), Ethan Gilboa (2008) and other scholars, the concept and practice of public diplomacy still requires further development.

Most of the public diplomacy literature consists of descriptive institutional histories and policy recommendations that lack analytical depth. Much of the literature on public diplomacy has been written by former practitioners and is based on their observations. Few studies have applied the theories to the practice of public diplomacy. However, recently there have been several attempts from scholars (Melissen, 2005; Gilboa, 2008; Snow, 2009; Zaharna, 2013; Molly L Bettie, 2014) to build a theoretical framework to analyze public diplomacy, especially after the introduction of the term new public diplomacy. The scholars have suggested using an interdisciplinary approach to understand public diplomacy.

According to Mellisen (2007, p.106), new public diplomacy must be seen as “the process by which direct relations with people in the country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented”. R.S Zaharna (2009) complemented this idea and encouraged the perspective of seeing “public diplomacy as a social process of building a relationship and fostering harmony” (p. 91). This perspective led to the relational framework of public diplomacy focusing on identifying and building relationship. The public are viewed as active participants, stakeholders, or even constituencies. Public diplomacy aims to establish interactive communication channels then enhance or expand those channels. This framework favors educational exchange as a kind of public diplomacy initiative (categorized as the first tier of public diplomacy).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis is carried out from the relational framework perspective of public diplomacy. In this regard, public diplomacy is seen as a process, not a product (Zaharna, 2009, p. 92). In addition, this thesis supports the view that the public are active participants, stakeholders, and constituencies of public diplomacy. In this thesis, the public being discussed is Indonesian students. This thesis examined to what extent Indonesian students participated in public diplomacy, how their participation has contributed to public diplomacy, and how they established interactive communication channels then enhanced or expanded those channels. This thesis also shows the transformation of Taiwan’s public diplomacy from the first tier of public diplomacy into the second tier of public diplomacy through the active involvement of Indonesian students.

Drawn from the explanation in Chapter 2, this thesis has confirmed that Taiwan public diplomacy activities after the 2000s increased the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan. In addition to the need for Taiwan’s education to improve its quality through

internationalization, the recruitment of international students also aims to increase Taiwan visibility in international communities, thus not only overseas Chinese but also non-overseas Chinese have been targets of recruitment (Ma, 2011). From the data on Indonesian student numbers, we can see an increase in student numbers after the 2000s from before that period. The numbers of Indonesian student in Taiwan mostly showed positive growth after the 2000s in line with several initiatives taken by the Taiwan government in terms of international student recruitment, financial allocation, scholarship awards, and bilateral educational cooperation. Indonesia is among the top five home countries of foreign students in Taiwan. This data has shown that there is an attempt by the Taiwan government to establish interactive communication with Indonesian counterparts by way of people-to-people relations. Under the relational public diplomacy framework, this attempt is categorized as the first tier of public diplomacy.

In Chapter 3, this thesis explained the four types of Indonesian student associations in Taiwan. The first type is identity-based organizations. The second type is an organization which is based on religious background. The third type is based on services to the community. The fourth type is organizations that are established at the university-level. The identity-based Indonesian student associations can be further divided into three types. They are ethnic-based student associations (PERPITA), organizations that established based on national identity (PPI Taiwan), and organizations which have membership based on their original residence (Ranup Lampuan and PPSU). This thesis has focused on FORMMIT to explain the organization based on religious background. The service-based organizations have been divided into two organizations that are the autonomous bodies of PPI Taiwan. They are UTT and PKBM PPI Taiwan. Furthermore, there are almost twenty Indonesian students'

associations across several Taiwan campuses. Among them are the three biggest Indonesian student associations in terms of student numbers and activity. They are ISA at NTUST, PPI NCU, and PPI NCKU. All of these student associations were initiated, established, and run by the students as independent institutions with limited support from the government.

Indonesian students have established several associations that aim to serve their interests and solve their problems. However, these associations have transformed to not only serve their members' needs but also to conduct several activities. Through their associations, Indonesian students hold several activities such as cultural activities, educational activities, religious activities, and networking initiative activities. Despite the absence of diplomatic recognition and limited support from the government, the presence of Indonesian students in Taiwan indirectly enhances Indonesia-Taiwan relations. Indonesian students introduce Indonesian culture to Taiwanese and other members of the international community through the cultural events organized by several PPI Campus groups. In addition, via their associations, Indonesian students facilitate education activity for migrant workers through formal and informal institutions. Moreover, they actively engage in religious activities to facilitate Muslim activities and at the same time bridge the relations among Muslims, as well as between Muslims/non-Muslims and Indonesian/Taiwanese.

Through their activities, Indonesian students have indirectly increased Taiwan's visibility in Indonesian and international society, which is the main goal of Taiwan public diplomacy and their internationalization of education. The student activities are published in social media, television, radio, mass media, and news outlets. It increases the discourse about Taiwan in Indonesia. The active involvement of the students in their transnational organizations and their activities while identifying as Indonesian students

studying in Taiwan also promotes Taiwan's image. Moreover, OISAA Asia-Oceania allowed PPI Taiwan to organize the Asia-Oceania regional symposium despite the uncertainty of diplomatic recognition. In addition, the effect of their activities such as UTT, PKBM, and other educational activities have also been widely published and recognized. These activities increase Taiwan's image as a good destination for Indonesian migrant workers. Moreover, the Indonesian student religious activity also promotes Taiwan as a Muslim-friendly country to the international community.

Looking into the research question outlined in the introductory chapter, this study has offered the answer about the role of Indonesian students in enhancing Indonesia-Taiwan relations. Based on their activities we can conclude that there are three roles for Indonesian student in bridging the relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan: (1) strengthening people-to-people relations (2) bridging mutual understanding (3) increasing the visibility and positive image. This thesis has shown that Indonesian students are active participants and stakeholders in Taiwan public diplomacy. They have initiated networking among themselves and with other communities (Taiwanese and international public) without any requirement from the Taiwan government. The uniqueness of Indonesian students' participation in Taiwan public diplomacy is through their voluntary participation in building a better international environment, a main goal of the relational new public diplomacy. Indonesian students can maximize the benefit of public diplomacy to continue, sustain, and enhance the relationship. The Taiwan government initiated the first-tier public diplomacy through the educational exchange. Then Indonesian students contributed to transforming it into second-tier public diplomacy in terms of building the non-political networking scheme by volunteering to establish the student association and conduct several activities.

In addition, the second research question considers the reason Indonesian

students actively participated in Taiwan public diplomacy. Through the explanation in Chapter 3, it is shown that there are three factors leading Indonesian students to establish their associations and conduct their activities: (1) their tradition of communal work (*gotong-royong*) as social capital (2) the demands of Indonesian migrant workers and students (3) support from various institutions, such as the Indonesian government especially IETO, the universities, and the Taiwan government. The three factors are important and are related to each other. Because of these three factors, Indonesian students can carry out their activities.

Students are aware that they promote Indonesia in Taiwan and at the same time promote Taiwan in Indonesia. However, Indonesian students rarely realize the significance of the public diplomacy in their organizations and activities. As a consequence, their activities are still sporadic, not well organized, and lack public diplomacy vision. In addition, even though Taiwan has stated that the internationalization of their educational institutions is a part of public diplomacy, their efforts to maximize the student presence in Taiwan as a tool of public diplomacy is still limited. Furthermore, the Indonesian government also did not maximize the student presence in Taiwan to strengthen their public diplomacy. It has been shown that the government reluctantly responds to students' demands to assign an educational official, responsible for Indonesian student affairs in Taiwan.

4.3 Policy Recommendation

Despite the absence of diplomatic recognition, Taiwan and Indonesia have improved their relationship through various cooperations, in particular, educational cooperation. There are several education exchange opportunities mostly initiated by Taiwan, such as scholarships, scholar exchanges, and recruiting talent from among Indonesian graduates. However, there are several activities that the Taiwan government could do in the future, for instance, improving the quality of Taiwan's education

institutions, providing more English programs, offering more scholarships, encouraging Indonesian students to learn Chinese, and increasing the public visibility of Indonesian students in Taiwan. All of these steps would help students returning to Indonesia to contribute to building sustainable and reciprocal people-to-people and even quasi-official relations between Indonesia and Taiwan.

For the Indonesia government, the presence of the representative from the Ministry of Research and Technology (DIKTI) in the Indonesian representative office in Taipei (IETO) is necessary since the number of Indonesian students in Taiwan has exceeded 5,000 and will be increasing further in the future. The existence of an education representative will help to serve the students' needs. In addition, education is the only body that does not have an official representative in IETO. DIKTI needs to seriously consider the possibility of sending a representative to Taiwan. Furthermore, the willingness of Taiwan to improve their relationship with Indonesia must be supported by the Indonesian government. Educational cooperation should be separate from the one-China policy. Indonesia is eager to improve her education, so the advance of Taiwan in education would be considered by the Indonesian government an opportunity to develop mutual relations in the future.

4.4 Further Research Directions

In addition, this thesis only elaborates the general social characteristics of Indonesian students in Taiwan and briefly discusses their association and activities that potentially contribute to the new public diplomacy. This thesis can serve as preliminary research to lead the further discussion and research related to how to promote Taiwan's Indonesian students in contributing to public diplomacy between them. In addition, in terms of conceptual debate, the future research can elaborate the dependent element in public diplomacies such as the type of participation in public diplomacy, the factor that affects the participation in public diplomacy, and the different patterns of the effect of

the participation in public diplomacy.



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