ifa ECP Monitor Country Report

Indonesia

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1. External cultural policy objectives in geopolitical context

After the fall of Indonesia's authoritarian regime under Suharto in 1998, the country has undergone a gradual transition to democracy with new governance priorities at home as well as shifted international objectives. As a relative newcomer to public diplomacy, the country has put forward a narrative about a tolerant and pluralist society (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2018b). Particularly in the period after 9/11—and with renewed focus after the "Arab Spring" movements in the Middle East and Northern Africa in the following decade—Indonesia has highlighted its non-theocratic and moderate form of Islam (Huijgh, 2017). In the strategic implementation of this narrative, Indonesia applies an "integrative diplomacy", comprising the interwoven disciplines of politics, security, economics and culture (ibid.).

Indonesia is an archipelago state consisting of approx. 13,000 islands located between the Asian and Oceanic territories. The state shares borders with a number of smaller states with strong ethnic and historic ties to Indonesia, such as Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2019). Within this regional context, the country is a middle power, home to an emerging market and part of the group G20 states. In recent years, Indonesia's international standing has been particularly shaped by its growing popularity as a tourist destination (OECD, 2019).

| | 2019 | % change since 2015 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Population (millions) / ranking | 270,625.6 / 4th | 258,383.3 / 5% |
| GDP ranking | 16 th | 16 th / - |
| GDP per capita | €3356.7 | 16% |
| Cultural economy (%GDP) | - | - |
| Education economy (%GDP) | - | 3.6% ¹ |
| R&D economy (%GDP) ² | 14,9% (2018) ³ | 16,6% / -10.2% |
| Media economy (%GDP) | - | - |

Table 1: Economy of Indonesia

Sources: World Bank, Statistics Indonesia

With a population of 270 million, Indonesia calls itself the world's third largest democracy (Kementerian Luar Nigeri Indonesia, 2019). In the years since Indonesia started its democratic transition in 1998, the country has experienced continuous economic growth, now putting its GDP in 16th place worldwide, with a GDP per capita of approx. \in 3,356 (Freedom House, 2020; The World Bank, 2020b). In line with the country's ambitious plan for economic ex-

¹ Last year available to the World Bank is 2015.

² Indonesia specifies this figure as "Government Research Budget" without closer definition of what is comprised. The calculation and data collection may vary from methods applied in the OECD or at Eurostat.

³ Latest available data from 2018.

pansion, Indonesia makes large investments in its research and development. Contrarily, spending on education (measured by % of GDP) lags behind the World Bank's average, and particularly those economically strong countries whose ranks Indonesia would like to join (The World Bank, 2020a).

| | 2019 | 2015 | |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Hard power rank | 16 th | 12 th | \checkmark |
| World trade ranking | 29 th | 30 th | \uparrow |
| Soft power rank | n/a | n/a | - |
| Diplomacy rank | 21 st | 20 th (2016) | \checkmark |

Table 2: Indonesia's geopolitical and geo-economic position

Indonesia's ambition for global influence is not yet reflected in its geopolitical rankings. Neither in 2015 nor in 2019 was Indonesia ranked within the "Soft Power 30" (Portland, 2019). While the country's world trade ranking increased slightly in the same period, Indonesia's hard power declined four places to 16th and its diplomacy position fell by one place to 21st.

| | 2019 | % change since 2015 |
|-----------|-------|---------------------|
| Culture | 0.274 | 0.06 |
| Education | 10.37 | -0.15 |

Measured by the percentage of total government outlays, Indonesian government spending on culture is modest, especially considering the measurement metric, which includes public spending on tourism (Statistics Indonesia, 2021). Spending on education, on the other hand, amounted to 10.37% of total government spending – comparable to that of India – in agreement with President Joko Widodo's (2014-present) plans to invest in Indonesia's human resources and infrastructure (Maikel Jefriando, 2019).

2. External cultural policy: an overview

While international demonstrations of Indonesian culture, such as "wayang" puppet theatre performances, have played a role for the country in decades, Indonesia's strategic understanding of "cultural diplomacy" has changed in recent years (Cohen, 2019). The importance of staging singular large-scale events to celebrate Indonesian culture – for instance in London or The Hague – has diminished relative to the investment in long-term international partnerships. This strategically targets Indonesia's participation in or organization of international dialogue formats on culture, democracy and interfaith issues (Huijgh, 2017). A range of scholarships, targeting young people both at home and around the world, further form a key component of this objective (Cohen, 2019). To this end, universities play a large institutional role

⁴ The Ministry of Finance of Indonesia reports on culture as "Tourism & Culture".

in Indonesia's ECP plan across different subfields (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2019).

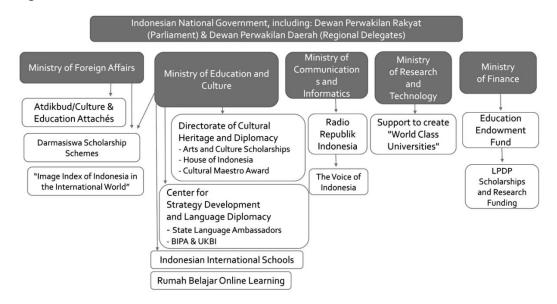


Figure 1: Institutional map of Indonesia's ECP

Indonesia's ECP has become more prominent in recent years – a development that was matched by the creation of a new governance body: The Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Diplomacy. It is an administrative unit within the Ministry for Education and Culture and was founded in 2013 (Cohen, 2019). The Indonesian government takes the term "cultural diplomacy" to be a tool to advance Indonesian interests in the international realm and to be in charge of its own image abroad (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2018b). In a consequent set of Indonesian laws passed in 2017, the use of culture within international diplomacy was made binding (Cohen, 2019). In the presentation of Indonesia's new cultural agenda in 2018, President Widodo once again highlighted the importance of instrumentalizing its cultural wealth to advance the country's position in the world (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika, 2018).

As an ethnically, linguistically, religiously and geographically diverse country, the notion of cultural diplomacy is understood as a tool for internal cohesion, as well. For instance, this manifests4 in cultural festivals foregrounding the shared cultural heritage in dance and music. Indeed, the occurrence of violent domestic conflicts along ethnic or religious lines is acknowledged in policy documents on culture, connected with the mission to use cultural initiatives to ease the tensions (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2018a). Particularly, reports of discrimination and violence against Papuan citizens and maltreatment of religious minority groups have permeated international media coverage and affected the image of Indonesia abroad (Freedom House, 2020). Correspondingly, the Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Diplomacy addresses matters of domestic, as well as international importance. As a consequence of this understanding of the term, the directorate has published separate "Cultural Diplomacy Guidebooks" to assist in the coherent implementation of the national strategy (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2018b).

The concept of cultural diplomacy is anchored within the Indonesian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as well. In accordance with the aforementioned "integrative" approach, cultural diplomacy is understood under the wider "Economic, Social and Cultural Diplomacy" and functions as one of fourteen performance indicators for Indonesia's foreign engagement. Notably, culture takes on a comparatively small role in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In order to assess and successively enhance Indonesia's image abroad, the ministry has created a "Image Index of Indonesia in the International World", which uses public interest in Indonesian culture as one of its six indicators (Kementerian Luar Nigeri Indonesia, 2019).

| | 2019 |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Number of countries with ECP activities | 21 |
| Total number of institutions abroad | 33 (incl. education institutions) |
| Total number of FTE staff engaged in ECP activities | > 345 |
| Government financial support (€ million) | > 34.5 |
| Total expenditure of all ECP operators (€ million) | > 34.5 |
| Comparative ECP ranking | medium |

Table 4: Key ECP Statistics for Indonesia

Indonesia's status as an emerging economy is reflected in its relatively nascent cultural diplomacy ambitions. Though much larger in population than countries like France or Spain, a coherent Indonesian ECP approach with corresponding institutional presence abroad was added much later in Indonesia. Strategic objectives therefore emphasize where Indonesia intends to catch up. For instance, the knowledge of Indonesian culture abroad – both its rich cultural heritage as well as its contemporary cultural exports – is a central aim (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2018b). This is especially important as the image of Indonesians abroad was found to be associated with negative experiences Indonesian migrant workers encountered in other countries (Setijadi, 2017). Similarly, portrayals of Indonesian culture abroad have often been seen "through the lens of postcolonial exoticism" (Cohen, 2019, p. 272). Indonesia seeks to convey its own image, not shaped by clichés or by its former colonizers, which unites modern culture and well-known cultural heritage. The country therefore aims to enhance its cultural influence and introduce its cultural output to the international mainstream (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2018b).

In the implementation of these cultural diplomacy activities, the Indonesian government does not state an explicit regional focus. Nevertheless, across the different subfields portrayed below, certain trends become visible. Activities and institutions frequently target Indonesia's neighbourhood with countries like Malaysia, Thailand and Timor-Leste. Beyond that, a selection of countries in Europe, as well as Australia and the United States are frequently included. Certain activities, such as Indonesian foreign media, specifically target the Indonesian diaspora abroad, which is strongly represented in countries of the Middle East. Overall, there is now an Indonesian diaspora of around 8 million people worldwide, with the largest populations in the neighbouring Malaysia, in Saudi Arabia and in the United Arab Emirates (Muhidin & Utomo, 2015). However, only recently has the government undertaken the formulation of policies to strengthen the political and cultural ties to this diaspora (Setijadi, 2017). With this approach, Indonesia also explicitly embraces the role of the so-called "Indonesianists". This refers to a group of people studying Indonesian cultural practice and heritage abroad, which have been identified as "particularly significant diplomatic assets" (Cohen, 2019, p. 273).

3. Fields of ECP

3.1. Culture and the arts

Until 2014, Indonesian arts diplomacy was primarily conveyed through Indonesian embassies and a selection of mobility schemes for artists and cultural groups (going both ways). The Indonesian Arts and Culture Scholarship, initiated in 2003, is a central scholarship scheme in this field. The programme offers young people the opportunity to study Indonesian cultures and specific regional heritage practices in local arts centres⁵. In 2019, 72 people from 40 different countries participated in the programme. Since the programme's inception, most international participants came from Fiji, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines (Kementerian Luar Nigeri Indonesia, 2019). Additionally, support for cultural missions from Indonesia to travel abroad further benefitted 215 individuals in 2017. Their craft took them to 28 countries, roughly following the aforementioned regional emphasis (USA, Europe, Asia, Oceania) (Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2019). Through the presence of cultural attachés in selected embassies abroad, individual performances and cultural fairs were organized (Cohen, 2019).

The Indonesian Ministry for Education and Culture took a significant step in 2014, when it established the "Rumah Budaya Indonesia" (RBI), Indonesian Houses of Culture. Akin to the British Council, these are national cultural institutes to support Indonesia's local cultural exchange abroad (Cohen, 2019). With a very quick expansion over recent years, 19 RBIs currently exist. Out of these, 17 were created in countries which were already home to an Indonesian cultural attaché, while two did not already have such an attaché (Myanmar and Turkey). The RBI carry out three primary functions: facilitating learning about Indonesian culture, hosting Indonesian cultural events and performances and promoting and advocating for Indonesian culture abroad (Wildan, 2017).

⁵ Interestingly, Indonesian citizens may also apply and partake in the programmes. Not only does this further the domestic dimension of cultural diplomacy, which strives towards internal cohesion, but it also aims to create closer international people-to-people linkages between all scholarship recipients (Huijgh, 2017).

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|--|--|------|
| Number of countries present | 19 | - |
| Number of institutes | "Rumah Budaya Indonesia"/ In- donesian House: 19 institutes in 19 countries "Atdikbud"/Indonesian Cultural Attachés/: 17 | - |
| Number of FTE staff | - | - |
| Number of artists in exchange programmes | 215 Indonesian artists abroad through "International Cultural Missions" in 28 countries | - |
| Number of cultural agreements | 47 agreements with 38 coun- tries | - |
| Budget (€ million) | - | - |
| Government financial support | ~ €5.1 million | - |

Table 5: Key statistics on culture and the arts

Sources: Wildan, 2017; Direktorat Warisan dan Diplomasi Budaya, 2019a; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, n.d.

3.2. Language

Like culture, Indonesia is also legally required to promote the Indonesian language internationally. Corresponding language promotion programmes focus on "Indonesian" (Baha Indonesia), even though Indonesia is home to more than 580 languages, of which 13 have more than one million speakers (CPD Annual Research Conference, 2014). The mandate for international advancement of Indonesian falls to the Language Development Agency, a subdivision of the Ministry for Education and Culture. This agency was supported with approx. \in 33,794,000 in 2019. This budget was put towards two notable international programmes. Bahasa Indonesia bagi Penutur Asing (BIPA) is a network of Indonesian for foreign speakers (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2019a). The programme provides language proficiency certification through the Ministry for Education and Culture (a specially developed test called UKBI). Further, the network facilitates 209 language learning environments⁶ in 29 countries, the majority of which are in Asia (138). The largest concentration of institutions offering Indonesian language classes can be found in the country's immediate neighbourhood with 45 institutions in East Timor, 30 in Thailand and 21 in the Philippines (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, n.d.).

Secondly, the network is also in charge of sending Indonesian teachers abroad (Collins et al., 2020). The so-called "State Language Ambassadors" (Duta Bahasa Negara), deployed by the Language Development Agency, go beyond the functions of mere language instruction and are entrusted with responsibilities of "language diplomacy", as well (Kementerian Pendidikan

⁶ Many of these are universities where Indonesian classes are being offered.

dan Kebudayaan, 2019b). Since the programme's foundation in 2015, the number of countries, institutions and ambassadors involved increased steadily until 2019, when 259 ambassadors were sent to 122 institutions in 26 countries (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kembudayaan, n.d.-a). Approx. 18,171 students (2018) could be reached this way (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2019b). The consequent reduction is likely attributable to the COVID-19 pandemic, which has made the delivery of on-site language instruction difficult.

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|--|--|--|
| Number of countries where courses are offered | 29 countries | > 8 |
| Number of students enrolled | In-class > 18,171 (2018) | > 1,883 |
| | Online - reach | - |
| Number of candidates for Indo- nesian language qualifications | - | - |
| Number of language teachers | 259 (State Language Ambas- sadors programme) | 14 (State Language Ambas- sadors programme) |
| Budget (€ million) | > € 33.8 million | - |
| Government financial support (€ million) | € 33.8 (support for Language Devel- opment Agency) | - |

Table 6: Key figures on language promotion

Sources: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kembudayaan, n.d.-b; Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kembudayaan, 2019b; Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, n.d.; Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kembudayaan, n.d.-a; Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2019a

3.3. Primary and secondary education

The location of Indonesia's primary and secondary educational institutions abroad is especially focused on the most important destination countries for Indonesian workers. The schools are intended to allow the children of the Indonesian diaspora to study with an Indonesian curriculum, while at the same explicitly fulfilling a "soft diplomacy" function. Fourteen of these schools exist in eleven different countries with a clear regional emphasis: the majority (7) is in the Indonesian neighbourhood, with an additional five schools in North Africa/Middle East. Finally, the Netherlands and Russia are each home to one school (Salengke, 2019).

As an archipelago state, Indonesia also invests in an online learning platform called Rumah Belajar, which can be utilized by students in the country and abroad alike. In 2021, 273,509 teachers and 666,708 students were listed as users (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kembudaya-an, n.d.-b). This number is likely to have increased significantly due to COVID-19.

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|---------------------|------|------|
| Number of countries | 11 | - |
| Number of schools | 14 | - |

Table 7: Key figures on primary and secondary education

3.4. Tertiary education and science

Aside from Indonesia's still-budding international research reputation, the country's image as a paradise for tourists has also enhanced its status as an attractive destination for international students. The 7,677 inbound students in 2020 are overshadowed by Indonesia's 49,900 outbound students (UNESCO, n.d.). Perhaps to address this mismatch, the number of English-language programmes available in Indonesia's 3,226 colleges and universities has grown in recent years, with the island Bali as a particularly popular destination (Ministry of Research and Technology, 2018; Reuter, 2019).

A number of scholarships and mobility schemes form key pillars of Indonesia's ECP. Foremost is the Darmasiswa, which could be identified as an effort in the field of culture just as much as in the field of education. The scholarship scheme, which is jointly delivered by the Ministry for Education and Culture and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, was founded in 1974 and was originally only open to ASEAN countries. Its reach was soon expanded – the programme now targets international university students from all countries with a diplomatic relationship with Indonesia to study abroad at one of the 72 participating Indonesian colleges. Scholarship recipients study Indonesian culture, arts and language. 579 students from 101 countries received this scholarship in 2019 (*About Us*, 2020).

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| Number of countries | > 101 | > 80 |
| Number of universities / colleges abroad | - | - |
| Number of domestic universities / colleges | 3,226 | - |
| Number of students | | |
| Number of foreign students | Outbound: 49,900 Inbound: 7,677 (2020) | - |
| Number of government scholarships awarded | 579 Students (from 101 countries) | 643 Students (from 80 countries) |

Table 8: Key figures on tertiary education

Sources: Ministry of Research and Technology, 2018; UNESCO, n.d.; About us, n.d.

Indonesia does not currently possess any international branch campuses of its universities or scientific institutions. Complementary to the mobility schemes provided, several Indonesian universities offer individual double degree programmes with universities abroad (Feller, 2020). The very first international branch campus to be located in Indonesia was announced in 2020 – belonging to Australia's Monash University – perhaps marking a new chapter for Indonesia's own understanding of international education as well (Study International, 2020).

Although Indonesia is not represented abroad with the corresponding institutions, it is one of the foremost goals of Indonesian scientific policy to increase local competencies and achieve a higher representation of Indonesian scientists and academics in international publications. Similarly, the country aims to enhance local capacities to make Indonesian scientists competitive. Therefore, increasing the number of co-authored research publications is a central priority (Reuter, 2019). The competitiveness of the country's universities, too, falls short in this realm. In comparison to the countries in the ASEAN neighbourhood, such as Singapore and Malaysia, Indonesia's universities fall behind in international rankings (with no Indonesian university ranking higher than 600 in the Times Higher Education World University Rankings) (THE, 2019). The Ministry of Science and Technology, in which higher education is comprised, offers targeted assistance to help five of its universities attain "World Class University" status: Universitas Indonesia, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Airlangga and Institut Pertanian Bogor (Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi, 2019).

Specific to Indonesia's science policy, the LPDP scholarship programme finances master's or doctoral studies at home and abroad⁷. In line with President Widodo's goals, the programme aims to build Indonesia's capacities and human capital to offer a buffer in the case of future economic crises. Among the 3,468 recipients for international scholarships, the most frequently selected destination was the UK, followed by Australia, the Netherlands and the US (LPDP, 2020). Under the umbrella of the programme, the Indonesian government also offers "International Collaboration RISPRO⁸ Funding", a basic research funding scheme. Approximately €657,140 were awarded to international projects in 2019 (Ibid.).

⁷ The fund is located in the Ministry of Finance and managed by the Indonesian government through the use of the National Education Development Fund (DPPN).

⁸ Short for "Funding for Innovative Productive Research" in Indonesian.

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|---|---|-------------------------|
| Number of countries | > 10 | - |
| Number of researchers / staff | LPDP staff: 86 | LPDP staff: 77 |
| Number of projects | LPDP: 11 | - |
| Number scientists in exchange programmes | LPDP Scholarships: 3468 | LPDP Scholarships: 2771 |
| Government financial support (€ million) | Approx. €657,140.44 for In- ternational Collaborative Re- search ⁹ | - |

Table 9: Key figures on science and research

Sources: LPDP, 2020; LPDP, 2016

3.5. Foreign Media

Indonesia's public broadcasting service is called Radio Republik Indonesia, which is one of the few broadcasters that reaches across Indonesia's entire dispersed territory. This state radio network possesses the division of Voice of Indonesia, in charge of reaching all Indonesians through their broadcasting abroad. This division targets seven countries or territories that are home to significant portions of the Indonesian diaspora, namely Hong Kong, Malaysia, Brunei, Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Saudi Arabia, where it finds "tens of thousands" of listeners via online audio streaming (Radio Republik Indonesia, n.d.). The radio channel pursues the mission to "Make RRI a Trusted and Global Public Broadcasting Institution" (Voice of Indonesia, n.d.). The corresponding website offers some video content – a helpful addition, as Indonesia does not possess an international television channel.

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|---|--|------|
| Radio | | |
| Number of countries broad- casted to | Online only: Worldwide Especially targeting: 7 | - |
| Number of languages | Broadcast: 1 News Website: 9 | - |
| Number of channels | 1: Voice of Indonesia, a chan- nel by Radio Republik Indone- sia | - |

Table 10: Key figures on foreign broadcasting, including social media statistics

⁹ Several other research funds under the umbrella of LPDP offer the opportunity to research internationally. As they are not separately reported, the number listed above must be understood as only a fraction of the international budget available.

| | 2019 | 2015 |
|--|--|------|
| Audience / weekly (million) | > 10,000 | - |
| Digital & social media audience (million) | <u>Live online video & audio</u> <u>streaming</u> Facebook 10,634 (2021) Twitter: 2,830 (2021) Instagram: 1,623 (2021) | - |
| Budget: | Approx. €62,000 | - |

Sources: Voice of Indonesia, n.d.; Radio Republik Indonesia, n.d.; Radio Republik Indonesia, 2020; Facebook; Twitter; Instagram

4. Challenges and future outlook

Indonesia has undergone a remarkable development in the last 20 years. Not only has the country made progress on its democratization course, economic growth and diversification, but it has also quickly scaled up its ECP engagement – exemplified by the creation of the "Rumah Budaya Indonesia". The country's mixture of long-established programmes, such as the Darmasiswa Scholarship, in combination with these new additions, indicates that we might expect strong ECP involvement in the next years. Nevertheless, uniting domestic with international aspects of this involvement remains a challenge. Potential conflicts between the country's multiethnic and multilingual populations are mentioned in nearly every government document on cultural diplomacy. Indeed, the country has been home to continued interethnic violence, for example targeting the Papua population, and discrimination against minority religions (Freedom House, 2020). In the last years, these reports have repeatedly attracted the attention of international media outlets and human rights organizations (Harsono, 2020; Jones, 2019). These issues harm Indonesia's "niche narrative" (Huijgh, 2017, p. 763) in public diplomacy, which paints the country as a tolerant and religiously pluralist country.

What is more, finding a balance between expenditure for external cultural policy fields and domestic spending remains a contested issue in Indonesia. Especially as a developing country, the country's intensive support for international students and Indonesian students seeking an education abroad rather than investing in better accessibility to education domestically is not always popular at home (Alta & Sudrajat, 2020). Indeed, despite Indonesia's economic growth, some domestic difficulties, such as infrastructure, have been left unaddressed in recent years (Huijgh, 2017). Domestic criticism may slow down the upwards trajectory Indonesia's ECP interaction has been on

As the future of Indonesia's ECP is on the line, President Widodo's ability to join global and local trajectories together to ensure lasting domestic support for the country's integrative diplomacy course will be essential. Most importantly, the narrative Indonesia puts forth must be matched by the government's actions – particularly by safeguarding human rights and civil liberties – in order to fulfil its objectives. As China's influence expands in East Asia, the values put forth in Indonesia's cultural diplomacy strategy could make the country an influential counterweight in the region. Even more, in the long run Indonesia could become an important builder of bridges for the role of Islam on the world stage – if its international commitments are credible.

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Imprint

The External Cultural Policy Monitor

Developed by Helmut K. Anheier, Hertie School & UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs, and ifa Competence Centre. Supervised by Helmut K. Anheier. Coordinated by Sarah Widmaier for ifa.

Preferred citation Winkler, Katrin (11/2021). "Indonesia. Country Report," in: Helmut K. Anheier and ifa (eds.). The External Cultural Policy Monitor. Stuttgart: ifa.

The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the ifa.

Publisher: ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen) Charlottenplatz 17, 70173 Stuttgart, Postfach 10 24 63, D-70020 Stuttgart

www.ifa.de

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DOI: https://doi.org/10.17901/ecp.2021.022

