

Potential and Challenges of Paradiplomacy of Kuningan Regency

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Abstract

Changes in interaction patterns where the state is no longer the main actor in international studies, globalization has an impact on interaction behavior so as to pave the way for local governments to participate in international relations activities. Kuningan Regency as one of the developing regions has economic potential, tourism, agriculture and human resources, does not yet have para-diplomacy cooperation. The main argument of this study is the importance of identifying potentials and challenges by subnational actors to be able to maximize para diplomacy cooperation. This study used descriptive research method in the analysis process based on data collected from interviews, books, journals, and other open sources from the local government of Kuningan Regency. The purpose of this research is to find out what potential and challenges are owned by Kuningan district. The importance of knowledge about regional potential in order to maximize the paradiplomacy framework. The findings found facts about the potential of Kuningan Regency in several sectors, including tourism potential, agropolitan potential, agricultural potential, SME / IKM potential, human resource potential, and finally investment potential. However, the challenges found include the weak understanding of paradiplomacy cooperation, general challenges for the implementation of the MoU that are not necessarily, a promotion that is still very lacking in terms of investment and products and SMEs / SMEs in Garut district, and the last challenge of cross-sector cooperation both from the government, education actors and the community.

Keywords: *paradiplomacy, potential, challenge.*

INTRODUCTION

The focus of issues in international relations has changed, which is high political which tends to discuss wars and conflicts and uses hard power to switch to low political issues, namely the issue of cooperation (Rudi, 2003: 2). Cooperation is encouraged due to globalization and the industrial revolution so that it changes the pattern of interaction between countries towards today. Even closed countries, still have limited cooperation with some countries in order to survive. To ensure good cooperation relations between countries, a way is needed as a process in fighting for their respective interests. Effective communication is one of the supporting factors in the cooperative relationship which in the discipline of International Relations is often referred to as diplomacy.

Diplomacy activities were initially very state centric which was the activity of the central government. However, there began to be changes in diplomatic activities that could be carried out by local governments as subnational actors interacting with other countries. Local governments can no longer be positioned as mere representatives of the central

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government who have authority in the regions. Where local governments are simply understood as actors who are obliged to take the essence of central government programs and then implement them in regional development plans (Simbolon, 2022).

The massive participation of local governments in their work internationally indicates a moment of fundamental change that is very important regarding state sovereignty. The existence of the Westphalia System which positions sovereignty in the central government must understand and share the role and work with local governments in various international activities. How big the division of sovereignty is, of course, will vary from country to country (Wolff, 2007). This situation is an opportunity for local governments to develop global networks through diplomatic activities. Diplomatic activities carried out by local governments are known as paradiplomacy.

In practice, paradiplomacy, the most important role in sub-state actors in conducting foreign activities will refer to capacities and behaviors that are in accordance with the interests of specific actors (Wolff, 2007). When referring to Law No. 24 of 2000 concerning International Agreements and Law No. 9 of 2015 concerning Regional Government and Permendagri No. 25 of 2020 concerning Procedures for Regional Cooperation with Regional Governments Abroad and Regional Cooperation with Institutions Abroad. This law provides a basis for paradiplomacy practices for local governments, whether provincial, district or city by having the authority to conduct relations and cooperation with foreign parties (Mukti, 2015). The existence of juridical space and opportunities for local governments to communicate with international networks shows that there is an opportunity to develop and accelerate the realization of regional development and should be implemented.

Paradiplomacy is still relatively young for government activities in Indonesia. Paradiplomacy itself refers to efforts and capabilities to conduct foreign relations with foreign parties carried out by 'sub-state' entities, or local governments, in the framework of their specific interests (Wolff, 2007). The term 'paradiplomacy' was first launched in academic debates by Basque scholar Panayotis Soldatos in the 1980s as a merger of the term 'parallel diplomacy' into 'paradiplomacy', which refers to the meaning of 'the foreign policy of non-central governments', according to Aldecoa, Keating and Boyer (Mukti, 2015).

Paradiplomacy activities can also be interpreted as a form of Globalization will be colored by improved relations, where the role of the central government fades and is taken over by local governments. The spirit of regional autonomy places local governments as the center of economic drivers, especially the real sector. Local governments become coordinators in synergizing economic, social, cultural actors in their regions and translating their regional potential abroad. With the opportunity through paradiplomacy activities, it is certainly an opportunity for a region to improve and develop the region. Such a situation needs to be maximized by knowing the potential possessed.

Paradiplomacy activities can be seen from several cities that have implemented this practice. West Java, for example, several cities and regencies have carried out paradiplomacy cooperation, such as Bandung-Suwon City, Bandung-Liuzhuo, and Bandung-Braunschweig (Bandung City Cooperation, 2022). The Special Region of Yogyakarta also has paradiplomacy cooperation with several cities such as Kyoto, Gangbuk and several cities still exploring (Jogjaprov.go.id, 2021). Some regions in Indonesia have implemented paradiplomacy practices, but there are still many regions that have not carried out this activity, one of which is Kuningan Regency.

Kuningan Regency is administratively divided into 32 sub-districts, 361 villages and 15 villages with a population of 1,167,686 people) with an area of 1,194.09 km² mostly mountainous areas. Until the time this research was conducted, Kuningan Regency did not have paradiplomacy cooperation. In 2015 there was a plan for cooperation with PT.

Chevron, however, seems to be hampered (Bappeda, 2015). By looking at the number of regions that have carried out paradiplomacy activities, Kuningan Regency actually has the opportunity to carry out paradiplomacy cooperation, but until now it has not been realized. So it is necessary to identify the potential possessed by Kuningan Regency and what challenges will be faced by Kuningan Regency in carrying out paradiplomacy activities. Seeing the potential of paradiplomacy is certainly a consideration in seeking regional economic development by establishing relations with various foreign countries. The existence of the concept of paradiplomacy can certainly be an advantage for Kuningan Regency,

Based on the explanation above, this paper will identify the potential and challenges faced by Kuningan Regency. The discussion in this paper will be divided into two parts. The first will identify what potentials are owned by Kuningan Regency in terms of the first step in the preparation of paradiplomacy cooperation. Second, it will discuss the challenges that will be faced in the practice of paradiplomacy by Kuningan district. The purpose of this research is to find out what potential and challenges are owned by Kuningan district. The importance of knowledge about regional potential in order to maximize the paradiplomacy framework.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The term paradiplomacy was first introduced by a Basque scientist named Panayotis Soldatos in a scientific debate in the 1980s (Paquin, 2020). Paradiplomacy was originally a merger of the word 'parallel' with 'diplomacy' which resulted in the word paradiplomacy, which has a correlation with the meaning of central non-government foreign policy (Liu & Song, 2020). The decentralization of the global diplomatic sphere has inadvertently increased the involvement of local governments from around the world in foreign affairs (Cornago, 2018), thus paradiplomacy has shown the emergence of new actors in international relations other than states (Kuznetsov, 2020; Tavares, 2016). That way, paradiplomacy which refers to cross-country activities carried out by sub-state actors, both provincial and municipal, is a real opportunity in front of the eyes for local governments to speak more in the international arena.

Paradiplomacy cooperation according to Lecours, as quoted from Mukti categorizes paradiplomacy into three groups, namely economic goals, multipurpose, and the third is complex paradiplomacy (Mukti, 2015). The first type focuses on economic goals alone without any element, while the second involves elements of economy, culture, education, health, technology transfer, while the third form involves elements of politics and identity. In this paper researchers will focus on the second type because it can be seen that the second type of cooperation is widely carried out by Bandung, Surabaya and Semarang and other regions

METHOD

The method used in this research is descriptive research or descriptive method of analysis. With this method, researchers try to explain clearly based on the results of research that has been done. According to Arikunto, descriptive research is research that aims to examine a picture of situations, conditions, and so on, and the results are presented in the form of research reports (Arikunto, 2019).

The descriptive research method of analysis used in this research is carried out to describe the research that has been carried out and the results obtained are carried out with a qualitative approach. Furthermore, this method can be described and poured through words that can explain and describe the actual situation at the time in the field or at the time of research. By describing and explaining the potential and challenges of the local

government of Kuningan Regency in utilizing paradiplomacy activities to establish cooperation with foreign parties.

Data sources are directly obtained through interviews with related sources in describing problems. While indirect data sources are obtained based on reading materials or called supporting data in the form of evidence and records that have been compiled. The existence of literature studies, namely data collections, books, scientific papers, and others.

In collecting this research data, researchers will use three steps as an effort to obtain data, namely interviews, observations, and documents. The informants in this interview were the Bapeda of Kuningan Regency and the Cooperative Office of Kuningan Regency

Data analysis in this research was carried out when the data collection process in the field began. Data analysis aims to find a deeper understanding of the object under study. Data analysis and interpretation in this research includes the stages of data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing which are a full part of qualitative analysis (Wijaya, 2018).

DISCUSSION

A. PARADIPLMACY POTENTIAL OF KUNINGAN REGENCY

Paradiplomacy activities are tantamount to interactions between states in international relations. Differences exist in the actors involved with existing Boundaries. At the beginning of IR studies, the actor who has absolute authority is the state. While paradiplomacy emphasizes the role of subnational actors in international studies. So that the purpose of subnational actors interacting is based on the interests of subnational actors. Subnational actors certainly have a vested interest in paradiplomacy. These interests must also be different from one another. Several influencing factors such as geography, human resources, regional characteristics and advantages, and culture, this makes no subnational actor have the same identity. For Kuningan districts that do not yet have a cooperative relationship with foreign entities, the first step is to identify what potential is owned and the private sector owned.

Kuningan is a regency in West Java Province, Indonesia. The capital city is Kuningan has an area: 119,409.31 ha and with a population: 1,167,686 people (Kuningankab.go, 2022) Kuningan has potential in the tourism, agropolitan, SME / IKM sectors, and also in investment. Kuningan Regency that does not yet have foreign cooperation or paradiplomacy activities certainly needs to be identified what potential Kuningan Regency has to support foreign cooperation in the future. This potential will later become a tool for Kuningan Regency diplomacy to show the capability to conduct foreign relations with foreign parties. The first step that needs to be done is to identify the potential of the Kuningan Regency area and what sectors are its advantages.

The tourism sector of Kuningan Regency is a potential that has more value. Kuningan Regency has 30 objects and tourist attractions (odtw) consisting of: 16 natural odtw, 12 special interest odtwk and 2 cultural odtw, tourism is a strategic potential for kuningan regency so as to increase the potential of hospitality tourism. Based on data from the Kuningan Regency Government, the 2020-2021 period saw an increase in the number of hotels in Kuningan Regency, namely 132 hotels in 2020, 137 hotels in 2021. The following is the potential of Tourism and Creative Economy of Kuningan Regency (Destination, Tourism Business Services and Creative Economy), based on data released by the Youth, Sports and Tourism Office of Kuningan Regency in 2020:

- 79 Natural Attractions
- 51 Artificial Tourist Attractions

- 25 Pinunjul Tourism Village
- 40 Tourism Villages (Stub and Developing)
- 19 Historical Attractions
- 102 Restaurant
- 365 Creative Economy Actors
- International Annual Festival
- Local Cultural Events/year
- Cultural Center
- Antiquities Sites

Tourism activities are one of the leading sectors in the economy. Tourism objects that are localized in one region in the west have the potential to be developed as tourism-linkage, will be very attractive and interesting. Moreover, supported by the number and distribution of hotels and inns and facilities provided, this tourism is also supported by agropolitan potential consisting of four districts, namely

- a. Kuningan District : Production center for dairy cattle, spices, horticulture and fisheries, as a center for various processed foods and is an argoindustry development area through optimization of existing assets.
- b. Cilimus District : The center of sweet potato, sheep, fish, melinjo and honey production as well as the development of superior commodity-based industries through the development of profitable cooperation between farmers and industry.
- c. Ciawigebang District: Production center of Shallots, Cassava, Fruits, Purebred Chicken, and fruit trading center in Kuningan District, as well as the development of the Fried Onion and Lime Syrup industries through the development of profitable cooperation between farmers and industry.
- d. Luragung District : As a district that excels in the development of beef cattle and sugar palm as well as the development of the glutinous tape industry through the provision of raw materials from local.

Next, Kuningan Regency has agricultural potential. Data obtained from the Food Security and Agriculture Office of Kuningan Regency, where Kuningan Regency has made the concept of Horticultural Area, which consists of 10 areas, namely

1. Darma Area = Vegetables
2. Ciautumn Area = Vegetables
3. Jalaksana Area – kramatmulya = Vegetables
4. Pasawahan-mandirancan area = fruits (Durian - Mango)
5. Ciawigebang Area = Fruits (Mangoes)
6. Cidahu – Kalimanggis Area (Durian – Mango)
7. Selajambe Area, Subang, Cilebak (Ginger, Kapolaga)
8. Japara Area – Cigandamekar
9. Ciniru-Hantara Area
10. SIndangagung Area

In determining this area, the local government of Kuningan Regency is based on the number of commodities cultivated by farmers and also based on market demand. From

these two indicators, of course, it can be the potential superiority of brass regency products.

The following potentials owned by Kuningan Regency are the Potential of SMEs / SMEs of Kuningan Regency consisting of the Number of SMEs / SMEs as many as 59,561, the Number of Cooperatives 752, the Number of PKL 8,717, the Number of Modern Stores 202, the Number of Workers 29,760 people, the Number of Medium Industries as many as 250 companies (Sibadu, 2023). The next potential of Kuningan Regency Regional Leading Products is Fried Onion Products, Processed Sweet Potatoes, Pasteurized Milk & Cow's Milk, Sticky Rice Tape, Lime Syrup, Ketempling. This superior product certainly has the potential to go export, for example, fried onion products based on BPS data from destination countries, Indonesia exports the most shallots to Thailand, reaching US \$ 4.66 million with a volume of 3.13 thousand tons. After that, there are Singapore and Malaysia with US \$ 1.74 million and US \$ 111.23 thousand respectively. Other products such as sweet potatoes have high demand by China and Japan. Examples of two superior products of Kuningan Regency clearly have potential to the international market if Kuningan Regency has cooperation with foreign entities.

In addition to the economic and tourism sectors, another potential possessed by Kuningan Regency is its human resources. The population of Kuningan Regency of 1.2 million people has a variety of potentials that can be explored. The quality of life of the people of Kuningan Regency is seen from the Human Development Index report. The average life expectancy reaches 73 years, the average length of schooling for 12 years and annual per capita expenditure is 9 million. The last potential identified by researchers based on data from Bappeda Kuningan Regency is investment. The Purple Potential sector of the first Kuningan district, Sekor Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries which can be seen in the table below.

Table 1 Potential of Agricultural Tail Tail, Livestock and Fisheries in 2020

Agricultural Commodities	Livestock Commodities	Fisheries Commodities
Cassava 253,539 tons	Beef cattle 29,533 head	Goldfish 5,137
Corn 9,508 tons	Sheep 125,652 heads	Tilapia 5,374 tons
Soybeans 693 tons	Goats 7,489 heads	Gurame Fish 2,591 tons
Shallots 27,130 tons	Dairy cows 7,008 heads	Catfish 4,066 tons
Chili 7,284 tons		
Durian 35,284 tons		
and Mango 246,464 tons		

Source: Sekda Kab. Kuningan

This investment sector is certainly the leading sector of Kuningan Regency, which can be an attraction for foreign investment in foreign investment schemes in Indonesia. Furthermore, the leading potential of investment in Kuningan Regency in the industrial sector. Can be seen in the table below.

Table 2 Industrial Sector Potential

Criterion	Sum
Workforce	27,353 people
Company	12.43 units
Investment value	141.64 Billion

Source: Sekda Kab. Kuningan

The identification above shows a lot of potential cooperation owned by Kuningan district. The benefits of paradiplomacy cooperation for Kuningan Regency can be reviewed by looking at the practice of paradiplomacy cooperation that has been implemented by other regions In Indonesia. The first, Bandung City which has similarities in administration as an area of West Java Province. Paradiplomacy cooperation carried out by the city of Bandung has had a positive impact on the development of the city. It can be seen from the economic aspect, Bandung collaborates with several subnational actors such as Cuenca City Ecuador, Namur City Belgium, Forthworth City United States, Suwon City and Seoul South Korea, Yingkou City and Shenzhen China, Petaling City Malaysia, Hamamatsu City and Kawasaki Japan (Kerjasama.bandung.go.id, 2022). Bandung can take advantage of the paradiplomacy cooperation scheme in developing its city. The second city of Semarang is a city that actively conducts paradiplomacy cooperation. Semarang City conducts paradiplomacy cooperation with Brisbane City Australia, Beihai City, Nanjing, and Fuzhou China, Croatian Split City, Dutch Schieland City, and South Korean Junggu City. (humas.jatengprov.go.id, 2022)

For a region that has not carried out paradiplomacy activities, Kuningan Regency can take the necessary first steps towards foreign cooperation by recognizing its superior potentials. From the results above, Kuningan Regency has six excellent potentials that can be used as an attraction in attracting foreign entities to establish cooperation with Kuningan Regency. The six potentials include: Tourism potential, agropolitan potential, agricultural potential, SME / IKM potential, human resource potential, and finally investment potential. From the results of the identification of this potential will be useful for the progress of Kuningan Regency. Cooperation can include tourism, agropolitan, agriculture, SMEs / SMEs, human resources, and investment depending on the agreement with foreign entities. So that researchers see paradiplomacy activities can be used as a practice of cooperation carried out by Kuningan Regency with the aim of developing potential in its region.

B. CHALLENGES OF PARADIPLOMACY OF KUNINGAN REGENCY

Kuningan Regency has considerable opportunities for paradiplomacy cooperation, but there are considerable challenges faced in realizing these opportunities. The challenges faced by the first Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Agency) of Kuningan Regency include the lack of understanding of paradiplomacy cooperation with foreign entities and the benefits obtained by Kuningan Regency. Understanding paradiplomacy cooperation will certainly help develop regional potential that cannot be done independently, because of the characteristics of Indonesian regions that still lack capital and There is a slightly challenging impression to start international cooperation for Kuningan Regency considering the practice of paradiplomacy and international relations interaction that is not too familiar among local governments.

The next challenge is the implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), of course the beginning of paradiplomacy cooperation carried out by the region with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), this needs to be a concern for Kuningan Regency by taking an example from the Failure of Semarang City Sister City Cooperation with Beihai City in the cooperation process, in 2008 the MoU was signed, but after that there was no follow-up so that cooperation stopped.

Another challenge presented by Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Agency) and the Kuningan Regency Cooperative Office is still the lack of promotion, the marketing strategy is still weak so that it cannot reach foreign entities to establish cooperation with Kuningan district. In the main practice in foreign relations carried out by the regions, promotional activities become the main function by local governments to build people-to-people/business to business transactions. In addition to promotional challenges, there are also challenges from the brass community where there is still no cross-sectoral cooperation ranging from the government, the education community, and the community.

Because there is still a lack of public understanding of the benefits of paradiplomacy cooperation. An example obtained by researchers from the Kuningan Regency Regional Government, occurred in 2015, exploring cooperation between Kuningan Regency and PT. Chevron from America was forced to be discontinued due to the emergence of resistance from the surrounding community due to the issue of environmental destruction. This of course should be overcome if there is cross-sectoral communication from the Kuningan district government, the Education community, and the community in order to bring mutual understanding and realization of cooperation.

CONCLUSION

Paradiplomacy has been successfully utilized by several regions in Indonesia to solve problems, improve the quality of both economy, culture and technology by maximizing its potential. Kuningan Regency as one of the regions that does not yet have paradiplomacy cooperation needs to prepare initial steps in conducting foreign cooperation, identification of the potential of Kuningan Regency found the potential of tourism potential, agropolitan potential, agricultural potential, SME / IKM potential, human resource potential, and finally investment potential. These potentials are instruments used in conducting paradiplomatic activities with foreign entities.

Having great potential, Kuningan Regency also has several challenges in the stages of conducting paradiplomacy cooperation, including challenges in understanding the practice of diplomacy that is still lacking in the Kuningan Regency Government so that the usefulness of this cooperation is not the main focus in regional development, other challenges in general from paradiplomacy practices that have been carried out by other regions, The MoU is not followed up or not implemented and is only ceremonial, the next challenge is the lack of support for the promotion of regional potential abroad and the lack of cross-sectoral cooperation from the government, academics, and the community so that the direction and policies of local governments can run in accordance with regional development goals.

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