

**An Analysis of MoFA Indonesia's (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia)
Digital Diplomacy Via Twitter during COVID in 2020-2021
UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**UNIVERSITAS
ISLAM
INDONESIA**

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**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

2023

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia

As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn

Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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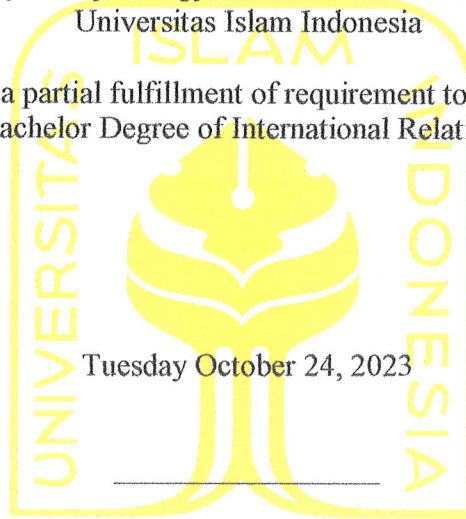
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AUTHORIZATION PAGE

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Defended in front of Board of Examiners
in the Department of International Relations
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I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

October 24, 2023

A handwritten signature in black ink is written over a yellow postage stamp. The stamp features the Garuda Pancasila emblem and the text 'REPUBLIK INDONESIA', '2000', 'METEKA', and 'TEMPEL'. The serial number 'AEAKX650983400' is visible at the bottom of the stamp.

REPUBLIK INDONESIA
2000
METEKA
TEMPEL
AEAKX650983400

Ahmad Yasin

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ABSTRACT

The dissemination of information is becoming easier and easier due to technological developments and this affects international relations, especially how diplomacy is provided. The presence of social media provides a new place to carry out public diplomacy and this is one of the reasons for the creation of digital diplomacy. Many countries, including Indonesia, utilize social media platforms, such as Twitter, to carry out diplomacy. When COVID struck throughout the entire world and caused many countries to go into lockdown, it became the right time for many countries to improve their digital diplomacy, including Indonesia. Thus, this research sought to analyze the effectiveness of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in using the social media platform Twitter to carry out digital diplomacy. Research has proved that the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made efforts to provide information on topics needed by the audience, but has not interacted maximally with existing audiences and has not put in the maximum effort to expand its digital diplomacy presence.

Keyword: COVID, Digital Diplomacy, Twitter, MoFA Indonesia

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Amid a strong current of globalization since the 2000s, technology has been increasingly developing and changing many aspects of daily life, and because of this, many countries, especially Indonesia, have begun to transform their diplomatic activities from traditional diplomacy, namely face-to-face interactions, to digital diplomacy. This has the same goal but a different approach. There are many types of digital diplomacy that a country can do, such as online conferences, cultural diplomacy or propaganda through video games, public diplomacy using social media, and so on. Public diplomacy which is carried out through social media or in short, digital public diplomacy, has been carried out by many countries using Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and other platforms. Indonesia is one of the countries that actively uses social media in carrying out its diplomacy, especially in the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which has carried out digital diplomacy through social media since June 2010 (MoFA Indonesia, n.d.). This is evident from the fact that the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has created social media accounts, namely Twitter and Facebook in June 2010, Instagram in July 2016, and a Youtube channel in February 2017. At the beginning of the creation of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Twitter account, posts were only used to share news topics on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs web portal, State of Indonesia (MoFA Indonesia, 2010)

In 2016, research was conducted called the Digital Diplomacy Review or #DDR2016, which showed that Indonesia was in the 37th position out of 209 countries (Dwikardana, Triwibowo, Valerisha, & Martha, 2017). This is evidence that, since 2016, the Indonesian

Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been active in carrying out digital diplomacy, especially diplomacy through the social media Twitter. On 20 December 2016, MoFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) Indonesia tweeted their concern for Refugees on the Border of Bangladesh and Myanmar by visiting the Refugee Camp (MoFA Indonesia, 2016). On December 29 of the same year, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs or MoFA Indonesia tweeted “The event for the release of humanitarian aid for Rohingya was also attended by the Ambassador of Myanmar and the Ambassador of the Philippines” (MoFA Indonesia, 2016). This was not only the concern of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. but MoFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) Indonesia also tweeted about an agreement on the Strategic Forum for Maritime Cooperation between Indonesia and Japan (MoFA Indonesia, 2016). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only cares for citizens of other countries, but also for Indonesian citizens who are abroad, which was demonstrated in a tweet by MoFA Indonesia on December 30, showing that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs facilitated the repatriation of 41,612 Indonesian citizens/TKI with problems including 27,877 from Malaysia, 8,657 from Saudi Arabia, 2,601 from PEA and 2,477 from other countries (MoFA Indonesia, 2016).

Then, at the end of 2019, a SARS-CoV-2 virus was detected, which quickly became known as COVID. This virus was first detected in Wuhan, China. COVID initially entered Indonesia around the beginning of 2020 and spread throughout the world in June 2021. COVID caused drastic economic decline in most of the countries of the world because they had to lock down borders to and from other countries, which reduced export and import goods as well as diplomatic activities. The lockdowns were to prevent the spread of the SARS-Cov-2 or COVID virus. During this pandemic disaster, Indonesia had to maintain its diplomatic relations with other countries, and one of its strategies was an act of digital diplomacy conducted on 26 June 2020. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs led the APEC Digital Economy Steering Group (DESG) Virtual meeting, the main question of this discussion being "How can Digital

Economy boost economic recovery in the time of COVID?". In this virtual meeting, a delegation from Indonesia also presented the topic "Digital Economy can facilitate the flow of goods & services even though the pandemic limits direct interaction" showing that the Digital Economy must play a role in utilizing MSMEs to overcome participation in disrupted supply chains. The DESG meeting also aimed to explore further cooperation with APEX and boost the Asia-Pacific economy, including in creative industries (MoFA Indonesia, 2020).

In the same year, on October 9, 2020, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Indonesian Ministry of Trade and the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board launched a digital platform for the Indonesia-Latin America and Caribbean (INA-LCA) 2020 business forum. This launch was carried out virtually by the Deputy Minister and was attended by Indonesian businessmen, Indonesian media and Indonesian Representatives in the Latin America and Caribbean Region. The platform was launched with the aim of providing a forum for interaction between entrepreneurs in Indonesia, Latin America and the Caribbean (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

There are several Indonesian diplomatic activities that have been postponed due to the Covid pandemic, one of which is the G20 2020 Leader's Summit which was attended by many state leaders and one of them is Joko Widodo as the leaders of Indonesia Republic, initially the 15th G20 meeting was held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, but due to the pandemic Covid, the 15th G20 meeting was held virtually (IISD, 2020). Another activity that was postponed due to COVID was the annual activity, namely Outstand Youth for the World (OYTW), an activity to strengthen ties of friendship between Indonesia and Vietnam, which was postponed in 2021 because of the pandemic (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022). Not only that, Travel Corridor Arrangement (TCA) is a cooperation activity in the business sector with Indonesian economic partners, namely the United Arab Emirates, South Korea, China, and Singapore. This

business cooperation activity was also suspended during the pandemic (MoFA Indonesia, 2020).

Previous studies have already been conducted on the impact of COVID on digital diplomacy (Anshori, 2020) and (Setiawan, 2020). However, previous studies only discussed the impact of COVID digital diplomacy within the scope of the United Nations, and not the impact of COVID on digital diplomacy in Indonesia. Other case studies have discussed this within the scope of Indonesia and during the COVID pandemic, but only in general terms, such as in terms of the rescue and cooperation of Indonesian foreign policy. Because COVID had a huge impact on the economy of every country, other studies also mostly discussed employment and the Indonesian economy during the COVID pandemic. The purpose of this study was to analyze how the Indonesian ministry of foreign affairs conducted digital diplomacy during COVID and to determine whether the Indonesian diplomacy system used during the COVID pandemic is still being used efficiently after the COVID pandemic by using Digital Diplomacy theory.

1.2 Research Question

Based on the background outlined above, the research question for this thesis is how did MoFA Indonesia implement digital diplomacy Via Twitter during the COVID era of 2020-2021?

1.3 Research Objectives

Based on the background and with the aim of answering the research question above, the objectives of this research are:

1. To analyze the implementation of MoFA Indonesia digital diplomacy Via Twitter;
and

2. To analyze the effectiveness of MoFA Indonesia digital diplomacy using Twitter during the COVID era of 2020-2021.

1.4 Research Scope

In this analysis, the author has set the boundaries of the discussion so that the scope of the discussion is not too broad. The scope of this research is limited to the implementation of digital diplomacy by the Indonesian Ministry Foreign of Foreign Affairs during the COVID era. The reason the author only focuses on the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, in particular, only on the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs twitter account or MoFA Indonesia is because it is in accordance with the theory that the author wants to employ and allowed the author to avoid being too general and focus more on the content on the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Twitter. Data from the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia showed that, within 11 days of the announcement of the first case of COVID, the number of positive cases of COVID had already reached 69 people, 4 of whom died (Jaya, 2021). Because of this, many foreign and domestic policies had to be changed to prevent the COVID pandemic from increasing the number of victims of the virus. Several policy matters changed, such as restrictions on imports and exports abroad, restrictions on tourists entering Indonesia and restriction on people in Indonesia wanting to leave the country. There were also lockdowns from within the country, namely WFH (Work from Home). This WFH policy was first legalized in Jakarta in mid-2020 and then applied throughout Indonesia. Because of this policy, Indonesian citizens did everything using digital technology, and so, naturally, diplomacy and international cooperation activities were also carried out using digital technology. The importance of this research is that the topic chosen by the author is closely related to a phenomenon studied in International Relations, namely Digital Diplomacy, which is not only carried out by Indonesia but various countries around the world with the aim of

bringing peace. The reason the author chose the time period of 2020-2021 is because COVID entered Indonesia at the beginning of 2020 and continued through 2021. The reason why the period stopped in 2021 is because at the end of 2021 diplomatic activities which were previously limited due to COVID have now started to open again and even though the coronavirus has not been completely eradicated, at the end of 2021 the Covid cases will be more controlled and the distribution of the Covid vaccine has been carried out, and also because the Covid case has begun to be controlled again, lockdown policies in many countries have begun to be released and this has made world citizens use social media not as often as when the lockdown policy was still implemented.

1.5 Literature Review

Many people have conducted research on digital diplomacy in Indonesia, but most did their research before the COVID pandemic. Some did conduct their research on Indonesia diplomacy during the COVID pandemic, but the difference between their research and this research is that they focused on Indonesia's objectives on a particular issue through the use of digital platforms, using the the medium to communicate with other related international actors. This study focused on how the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted digital diplomacy during COVID.

One study was by Muhammad Fikry Anshori with the title "Diplomasi Digital Sebagai Dampak Pandemi Global COVID Studi Kasus Diplomasi Indonesia Di Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB)", which was published on August 30, 2020. This study focused more on Indonesia's digital diplomacy that occurred in the United Nations. This study also examined the existence of the global COVID pandemic which forced many things that were previously done through face-to-face meetings to shift to virtual and online, such as the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations in New York, coordination with

the Embassy and Consulate General of The Republic of Indonesia in the United States, and the United Nations Security Council meeting (Anshori, 2020). The limitation of this study is that it only discussed diplomacy within the scope of the UN, such as changing the way the coordination or meetings were held from face-to-face to virtually.

The second example is a study written by Asep Setiawan with the title "Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Era COVID: Penyelamatan dan Kerjasama", which was published in 2020. This study focused on Indonesian foreign policy in the era of the COVID pandemic, particularly policies aimed at saving Indonesian citizens in countries affected by COVID using a large-scale repatriation route. This study also examined the cooperation between Indonesia and China and other foreign private parties to find an COVID vaccine with the hope that by 2021 Indonesian citizens inside Indonesia and abroad could be protected from the virus (Setiawan, 2020). The limitation of this study was its focus on only economic and labor problems in Indonesia during the pandemic, such as protecting Indonesian citizens both in the country and abroad.

The third study is a study written by Farina Gandryani and Fikri Hadi which, just like the previous study, discussed Indonesian diplomacy in the COVID-19 pandemic with the title "Kedudukan Diplomasi Parlemen Dalam Rangka Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional Pasca COVID Di Indonesia", which was published on October 1, 2021. This study focused on the role and position of parliamentary diplomacy in the Indonesian constitutional system and diplomatic models that could be carried out in the context of handling the impact of COVID related to national economic recovery, the form of diplomacy carried out in the form of bilateral, multilateral, or through parliamentary forums such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (Gandrayani & Hadi, 2020). The limitation of this study is that it only focused on economic issues like the second study, but here the subject or actor who

carried out this diplomacy was only within the scope of Parliament in restoring the Indonesian economy after COVID.

The fourth study is a study written by Hanifahturahmi, entitled "Strategi Politi Luar Negeri Indonesia dalam Upaya Mitigasi Pandemi Global COVID" and published on August 31, 2021. This study focused on analyzing Indonesia's foreign policy strategy in mitigating the global COVID pandemic. This study also focused on what factors influenced the foreign policy strategy. The drawback of this study is that although the author of this study analyzed Indonesia's foreign policy strategy during the COVID pandemic, the author used the Alliance for Multilateralism which only focuses on two things, namely protecting Indonesian citizens abroad and supporting WHO policies and establishing good cooperation (Hanifahturahmi, 2021)

This fifth study was written by Nurfitri Nugrahaningsih and Widah Anistya Suwarso, with the title " Model Strategi Diplomasi Budaya di Masa COVID : Studi Kasus Festival Cap Go Meh di Kota Singkawang" and published on November 30, 2021. This study focused on identifying the cultural diplomacy strategies carried out by the Singkawang City Government in order to attract domestic and foreign tourists during the COVID pandemic. The strategy carried out by the Singkawang City government succeeded in attracting domestic and international tourists, and therefore the author is interested in the topic as one of the strategies was to use digital diplomacy by using digital platforms to promote tourism. What is lacking from this study is that the scope used by the author was limited to the Singkawang City government. Although the strategy used was digital diplomacy, the subject was still only the Singkawang City government and the object was tourists, not foreign governments (Nugrahaningsih & Suwarso, 2021).

From the five studies above on the topic of Indonesian diplomacy during the COVID pandemic, the authors of the three of the studies explained Indonesia's diplomacy strategy during the COVID pandemic, which aimed at improving the economy through diplomacy or changing the diplomacy system during the COVID pandemic. However, the first study only focused on Indonesian diplomacy within the scope of the United Nations, the second study focused on economic diplomacy for the improvement of the Indonesian economy, the third study also focused on economic diplomacy for the improvement of the Indonesian economy after the COVID pandemic, the fourth study only focused on two things, namely protecting Indonesian citizens abroad and supporting WHO policies and establishing good cooperation, and the fifth study employed a scope that was limited to the Singkawang City government, where the subject was the Singkawang City government and the object was tourists, not foreign governments. The present study is general in nature with the scope of the performance of digital diplomacy by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the COVID era.

1.6 Research Framework

Digital Diplomacy is the use of digital tools in the practice of diplomacy. The digital tools in question are those such as social media, online conferencing, big data, AI analysis, and so on (Diplo, n.d.). Digital diplomacy can also be the use of ICT to manage foreign policy agendas, meaning it can become a mechanism for countries to manage international change. There are 2 major sources of change: incremental shifting and exogenous shocks. With the change of incremental shifting, face-to face diplomacy or traditional diplomacy will be less useful, though not useless in detecting and responding to change, thus digital diplomacy can be utilized as it is capable of collection and analysis to utilize technology to manage change defined by incremental shifting. Although digital diplomacy can replicate face-to-face diplomacy, it is considered less useful for relationship management during times of exogenous

shock, such as personal diplomacy, to build or repair relationships with other salient others (Holmes, 2015). By bringing social media into the realm of diplomacy has brought new changes in public diplomacy, with the multidirectional communication capabilities of social media, ordinary people can enter into the spotlight of political life and make their voices heard, not only internal targets but diplomats can create a sustainable dialogue with the foreign public (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). These critical changes explain why social media has become such a powerful symbol of the new public diplomacy or what can be called digital public diplomacy, with the capabilities of social media, allows diplomats not only to convey one-way messages but also to have direct conversations with foreign publics or local publics (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). With the potential of social media and its ability to reshape the conduct of public diplomacy, digital diplomacy theory has 3 important keys for the analysis of the effectiveness of social media as a platform for the state to conduct public diplomacy, and which also helped the author to answer research questions in detail. The three keys are agenda setting, presence expansion, and conversation generating (Bjola & Jiang, 2015).

- a. The agenda setting in question is about issues or topics that are often mentioned in government social media;
- b. Presence expansion is about how often the government is present in social media which can be determined from such factors as the number of posts on social media. The government must be regular in posting things to social media so that it can increase followers, likes, or engagement with digital citizens;
- c. Conversation generating in this case involves comments or feedback aimed at government social media, which can also be called sentiments analysis. It can also be known if the comments or feedback given are negative or positive (Bjola & Jiang, 2015).

The reason the author chose to use digital diplomacy theory from Bjola & Jiang is because this theory is closely related to existing research questions. Another reason is because digital diplomacy theory was developed to examine public diplomacy carried out by a country through social media. COVID has been one of the main triggers for digital public diplomacy, which was mostly carried out in early 2020, or to be precise since March 2020, which coincided with the World Health Organization (WHO) declaring COVID as a global pandemic.

1.7 Provisional Argument

The author uses the digital diplomacy theory in the description of a comparison of the use of digital diplomacy by the Indonesian ministry of foreign affairs before the COVID pandemic struck and after the COVID struck. The author has used the 3 the important keys stated by Bjola in this analysis. The first key analyzed was the agenda settings or topics and what hashtags were often used by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on their social media. The author also analyzed the presence expansion or interest of Indonesian citizens and global citizens in the social media of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, identifying whether this interest has increased since the COVID pandemic hit or remained the same. Finally, for conversation generating, the author analyzed how often feedback was provided by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs via MoFA Indonesia's Twitter and to what extent the feedback continued to be repeated to create a cycle of conversation.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Type of the Research

The research method used by the author was a qualitative approach. A qualitative research method is a research method that aims to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by research subjects holistically, and by way of description in the form of words (Meloeng & Lexy, 2007). The reason researchers use qualitative methods is that the issues discussed are descriptive issues and do not involve numbers or calculations.

1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research

In this study, the subject determined by the researcher was the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the object was Indonesian digital diplomacy in 2020-2021. of the researcher analyzed how the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted digital diplomacy during COVID.

1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

There were 2 kinds of data collected by the researcher, the first of which was primary data. The primary data was collected from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Twitter account. The second type of data was secondary data. The secondary data was collected by the researcher from various kinds of books, online articles, articles, and so on.

The author collected primary data from MoFA Indonesia's Twitter account using a tool made by Helmi Satria. He created a Google Colab project which uses the Tweet-Harvest tool to trawl through data according to advanced searches on Twitter. After the writer had collected the necessary data, it was entered into Excel to compile the data and use the features of Excel

to create a diagram that would help guide this thesis. The reason the author collected data from Twitter is because Twitter is one of the most widely used social media platforms in the world and the tool used by the author is specifically designed to collect tweet data. With tweet data from MoFA Indonesia's account, the author could answer the research question.

1.8.4 Process of the Research

Before the researcher conducted his research, he carried out a literature review on related data. Researchers usually collect data using a method chosen by previous researchers, so that researchers understand the topic and the facts. After the data had been collected, the research focused on analyzing the existing data so that the researcher could answer the research questions.

1.9 Thesis Outline

To make it easier to follow all the descriptions and discussions in this proposal, the structure of this proposal is as follows:

Chapter 1 is an introduction consisting of background research on Indonesian digital diplomacy through social media, namely Twitter, both before and during the COVID pandemic, The introduction also contains the research question that is the focus of research, the research objectives, the the purpose of the research, the scope of the research which includes the limitations of the scope of the research, and a literature review outlining several previous studies on similar topics that provide an initial description of the research ahead. The theoretical framework serves as a research analysis tool on research topics. Research methods consist of the type of research, research subjects and objects, data collection methods, and research processes.

Chapter 2 is the background which contains an explanation of introductory information before searching for answers to research questions and conducting research. This information is in the form of an understanding of some of the digital diplomacy that Indonesia has conducted via Twitter since 2016, as well as how COVID appeared and the significant negative impact that it had on the world, especially Indonesia. Also outlined is how diplomacy changed from being carried out in a traditional format to digital diplomacy.

Chapter 3 contains the analysis of the author's findings in the study. In the analysis or findings of the research, the author analyzed the research problems in accordance with the science of international relations and provides original results as a form of respect for the science of international relations. Here, the effectiveness of MoFA Indonesia's digital diplomacy using Twitter during the COVID era of 2020-2021 was investigated using the theory of digital diplomacy theory. In the first sub-chapter, the author analyzes the agenda setting or topics that were often used by MoFA Indonesia in their tweets by looking at what hashtags were often used in the period 2020 to 2021. Next, presence expansion is analyzed by looking at official government accounts from countries tagged or mentioned using the "@" feature by MoFA Indonesia and also looking at accounts from anywhere that are favorites, comments, or retweets in MoFA Indonesia's tweets to determine to what extent MoFA Indonesia's tweet reaches the world. Lastly, conversation generating is looked into. In this subchapter, the author focuses more on the comments on MoFA Indonesia's tweets, how often MoFA Indonesia provided feedback to its tweet comments, and also how often conversation rotation occurred. The more frequently rotation occurs, the stronger it is at conversation generating (Bjola & Jiang, 2015).

Chapter 4 contains a conclusion which summarizes all of the arguments written by the author, from chapter I with the introduction, research background, research questions, research

objectives, research scope, literature review, and research methods, to chapter 2 with the background, namely the development of Indonesia Digital Diplomacy, how COVID emerged and how it had a significant negative impact on the world. The conclusion also summarizes chapter 3 where the author conducted his analysis by using the 3 important keys to analyze the effectiveness of social media: agenda setting, expansion presence, and conversation-generating

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIA'S DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

This chapter contains an explanation of Indonesia's participation in digital diplomacy. In the first sub-chapter of the second chapter, some of Indonesia's efforts to carry out digital diplomacy and improve the quality of digital diplomacy will be discussed, especially the digital diplomacy that was carried out on Twitter before COVID began. The second sub-chapter discusses how COVID emerged and spread throughout the world, with a particular focus on Indonesia, and shows the impact that COVID has had on the international world. The discussion in the third sub-chapter is more focused on the impact of COVID which has changed diplomatic activities from traditional diplomacy to digital diplomacy. This sub-chapter will also mention some of Indonesia's efforts in conducting digital diplomacy with the aim of dealing with COVID, including conducting virtual meetings, being alert to COVID, and public digital diplomacy to maintain Indonesia's image in the international community.

2.1. The Development of Indonesia's Digital Diplomacy

In 2010 the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs finally took steps to initiate its digital diplomacy through social media, marked by the creation of Twitter and Facebook social media accounts in June 2010. At first, the public diplomacy content of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Twitter only shared news topics, as well as links in accordance with post topics that led to the website of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that Twitter members could find out more about the topic of the news. This was then continued with the creation of an Instagram account in July 2016 and also the creation of a YouTube channel in February 2017. The Director for Information and Media Service is one of the structures of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is responsible for managing

social media and the MoFA Indonesia Twitter account is one of its responsibilities, Administration Subdivision and Functional Position Group is a Division that assists the Director for Information and Media Services, the structure in charge of managing information and communication technology as well as digital diplomacy data and so on is the Head of Center for Information and Communication Technology. The Head of Center for Information and Communication Technology also has several divisions to help coordinate its tasks, these divisions are Information and Communication Technology Governance Division, Information and Communication Technology Development Sector, Information and Communication Technology Operational Sector, Administration Section, and Functional Position Group (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, n.d.). In January 2017, via Twitter, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced the launch of the Safe Travel application which was still in beta. The safe travel application was launched with the aim of making it easier for Indonesian citizens to travel abroad (MoFA Indonesia, 2017). This safe travel application contains information on the destination countries people want to visit including information such as time differences, security conditions, local laws and customs, health, and information on the Indonesian Embassy/KJRI/KRI (Consulate of The Republic of Indonesia). The application not only provides information, but if you register a trip abroad in the safe travel application, you will receive direct notifications in the form of appeals, suggestions or warnings regarding the country you are currently traveling in. Safe Travel also has an emergency feature to request fast help in an emergency by sending location, allowing the recording of video and calling the nearest Indonesian Embassy/KJRI/KRI to report what happened (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

In 2017, Indonesia became one of several countries that were increasingly conducting international diplomacy using technology, and this was evidenced by a survey conducted at

the 2017 Digital Diplomacy Review showing that Indonesia ranked 38th out of 209 countries (Prabandari & Rahyaputra, 2018). To improve the quality of Indonesia's digital diplomacy, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs posted via Twitter that the International Seminar on Digital Diplomacy was being held in Indonesia, in Jakarta on 12 July 2018. This seminar was a collaboration between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, UN Global Pulse, and DiploFoundation, which discussed themes and topics in the diplomatic agenda that had an important role in innovating digital diplomatic and international affairs such as internet governance, digital policy, and the use of new data analytics and connectivity tools in the practice of diplomacy included in social media, data, visualization, big data, and so on (Diplo, 2018).

From the Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs post on Twitter on September 5 2018 after the awarding of the PNBPA Award to the Indonesian Consulate General in Hong Kong, it is evident that, on the same day, a Digital Diplomacy Public Relations Technical guidance training was held which was also attended by 29 Indonesian representatives in the Asia Pacific Region. Deputy foreign minister Abdurrahman Mohammad Fachir was the speaker and he emphasized the importance of digital diplomacy for public accountability, public education, and community empowerment (MoFA Indonesia, 2018). Deputy Foreign Minister Pak Fachir not only mentioned this for the enhancement of diplomatic activities through digital platforms, but also to emphasize that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has an important role in triggering, facilitating, and empowering all national stakeholders to jointly take advantage of the Digital Economy Era, and with the principle of going from manual to digital, from paper-based to paperless, and from cash to cashless, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also followed and utilized technological developments both in diplomacy and internal improvement (MoFA Indonesia, 2019). This was conveyed by the Minister of

Tourism Arief Yahya in the Power Breakfast CEO forum: a Lasting Legacy in the Digital Economy Era which was held in Jakarta on 27 February 2019.

On 10 September 2019, Indonesia hosted the Regional Conference on Digital Diplomacy (RCDD) in Jakarta as a follow-up to the International Seminar on Digital Diplomacy: Beyond Social Media which was also held in Jakarta on July 12, 2018. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted this RCDD as an event for experts in the field of digital diplomacy, who came from think tanks, ministries, and related institutions in the region. It was also attended by 150 government representatives, expert practitioners in the field digital diplomacy, academics and think tanks from 10 ASEAN countries and 6 countries in the Asia and Pacific Region, namely Australia, China, India, Japan, the Republic of Korea and New Zealand (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2019). This RCDD discussed opportunities and challenges regarding how diplomacy is carried out in the digital era and how information and communication technology can be used effectively for joint diplomacy. The RCDD also presented expert speakers in the field of digital diplomacy who discussed three main topics namely, Digital Diplomacy: Overcoming Challenges and Seizing Opportunities, the Role of Digital Diplomacy in Crisis Situations and Utilizing Digital Technology to Achieve the Goals of Diplomacy with the aim of assisting discussions and explanations regarding existing discussions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2019). The RCDD conference also discussed The Jakarta Message which is an acknowledgment of the importance of cooperation in enhancing digital diplomacy on a national, regional, and global scale as well as a call to build a community that is free from false information. The expected outcome of The Jakarta Message was action for sustainable cooperation and building regional networks to increase the use of digital technology in diplomacy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2019).

Then on December 13, 2019, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced via Twitter that a new web series would be released telling the story of an Indonesian female diplomat named Damai was successful in realizing her dream of becoming part of a mission to preserve the world. Meanwhile, Damai's lover, Aria, wanted to propose to her. Aria was worried about Damai who would be sent to conflict areas for peace missions (MoFA Indonesia, 2019). This web series was created as a result of a collaboration between the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KompasTV, and is something that rarely happens in Indonesia where the topic is about the life and struggles of Indonesian diplomats in maintaining world peace, especially those who will be sent to conflict areas. Unfortunately, however, this web series ended after the main character, Damai went to the conflict area. It would have been great if the series was continued and showed Damai struggles in the conflict area to complete her peace mission.

2.2. COVID In Indonesia

At the beginning of the detection of the COVID virus in China, WHO tweeted that there had been an outbreak in China of a new novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) which would soon spread throughout the world. On January 13 of the same year, the first COVID case was recorded outside of China, in Thailand and only 2 days before the detection of the first COVID case outside of China, China reported its first death from the virus. This coronavirus continued to spread to the Americas, more precisely the USA, which had the first case detected outside of Asia. The virus then continued to spread throughout the world (World Health Organization, 2020). At first, Indonesia underestimated the COVID virus, and this was not just the government but many citizens also underestimated COVID and thought that Indonesians would be immune to the COVID virus. President Jokowi also underestimated the COVID

virus and said that the virus would not enter Indonesia because he had installed 135 thermal scanners to detect infections from travelers. Furthermore, some officials made jokes that Indonesians' immunity is strong because they eat "*Nasi Kucing*" food with a small portion of rice with small fried fish. Many thought at the beginning of the emergence of COVID in Indonesia they thought that covid would heal by itself (Rakhmat, 2020).

The first detection of COVID in Indonesia was in Depok and those infected by COVID were mothers and children who had just returned from Japan. At this time, Indonesian citizens started to worry that the attack of COVID had begun and worried about what steps or policies the government would take next. In March, the same month as when the first COVID case was detected, President Jokowi and other officials refused to implement a lockdown in the COVID area because a lockdown would destroy the people's economy and burden the government because they had to provide food for everyone in Indonesia. Indeed, at that time, COVID case data indicated numbers still in the dozens and from there, the spread of COVID in Indonesia increased (Akbar, 2021). From the recording of the first case until April 16, 2020, when WHO advised countries affected by COVID to go into lockdown, there were a total of 5,516 cases of COVID in Indonesia and 496 total deaths recorded (Damarjati, 2020).

Instead of implementing a lockdown, President Jokowi preferred to carry out PSBB, namely large-scale social restrictions. With this policy, the Indonesian economy continued to run but there were a number of restrictions in the areas of work, education, and in public areas to prevent the spread of COVID (Ihsanuddin, 2020). When news of this policy broke, it wasn't just a few people that were worried about how the PSBB policy would affect their jobs, especially the middle and lower level workers, who feared being laid off due to the policy of limiting workers in the work area. This PSBB policy was initially carried out for 14 days with

a proposal from the governor/regent/mayor to the Minister of Health. After this time, there was progress and a decrease was recorded in daily COVID cases, but instead of continuing this policy, especially in zones that still had high daily cases of COVID, the restrictions were eased, from PPKM which only applied in Java and Bali to micro PPKM which covered the RT/RW level. As a result, the lightened policy was that micro PPKM could continue to be extended many times. The results were not as expected, so the government adopted policies that were even more stringent, namely Emergency PPKM which extended beyond Java-Bali with stricter restrictions on community activities than the previous policy (Arnani, 2021). The extension and re-tightening of the PPKM actually received a lot of rejection from the surrounding community, especially people who were in the emergency PPKM target areas, namely areas that were still in the COVID red zone condition. This was evident in the emergency PPKM target areas by the existence of a lot of banners and posters written in rejection of the emergency PPKM policy (Marsyukrilla, 2021). In the midst of the PPKM policy relief, the education process returned to face-to-face, which elicited a mixed negative-positive from the community towards returning to face-to-face education process. The negative responses from the community highlighted that COVID had not been completely eradicated, and the return of the educational process to face-to-face, would actually increase the number of COVID cases which had previously been successfully suppressed and increase the possibility of COVID clusters (BBC News Indonesia, 2021). The PSBB relief policy became PPKM and the education process returned to face-to-face due to the anxiety of the people who continued to be detained at home without direct connections with neighbors or outsiders. In addition, many people felt that the face-to-face teaching process is more effective than online. When the first information arrived regarding a vaccine that would come to Indonesia, there were many concerns among the community, including whether the vaccines

were only for officials, whether the vaccines would be expensive, whether the vaccines were safe, and so on.

2.3. The Impact of COVID on Diplomatic Practices

At first, digital diplomatic activities or online meetings were considered as one of the worst alternatives because diplomatic activities were thought to be more efficient and effective if they were carried out face to face with opponents. But due to the development of technology, compelling circumstances, and strong recommendations from WHO to implement a lockdown policy in all countries affected by COVID, many countries limited their diplomatic activities and directed all of their diplomatic activities from traditional or face-to-face diplomacy to digital diplomacy or virtual conferences. Many countries and international organizations practiced virtual meetings or conferences to discuss health and the economy to fight and deal with COVID, as was done by the IMF and the World Bank whose spring meetings were held online in the midst of the COVID pandemic on 17-19 April 2019 (Diplo, n.d.). ASEAN also held a virtual summit to fight COVID with ASEAN members on April 14, 2020. The discussions in this summit included regional medical equipment supplies for the Emergency Region and the establishment of a regional fund to fight the COVID pandemic. Even though ASEAN was to hold around 1,500 meetings in the year, not all of those meetings could be held, and around 230 meetings were postponed to the end of 2020 due to the ongoing COVID pandemic (Dinh & Gomez, 2020).

The G20 group, which was formed from 19 countries and the European Union, usually holds its conferences in person in one place and face to face, but during the pandemic, diplomatic activities had to be delayed. The G20 2020 conference was turned into a virtual video conference. The G20 virtual conference, to be precise, was held from 21 to 22

November 2020. The G20 Summit which was held in November was a follow-up to the G20 Summit which had also been held online in March. Discussions at the November G20 Summit, included that Indonesia encourages G20 cooperation for the protection of citizens where Indonesia has evacuated and repatriated more than 145 thousand Indonesian citizens and facilitated and collaborated with other countries to repatriate their citizens to Indonesia. The cooperation was encouraged by the G20 Summit to also include health cooperation, especially vaccines and also cooperation in mitigating the socio-economic impact of the crisis by reopening cross-border connectivity for people and goods with strict health protocol requirements (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2020). Another step for Indonesia to improve its economy and diplomatic relations during the COVID pandemic was when Indonesia led the APEC Digital Economy Steering Group (DESG) Virtual Meeting with the main question being "How can the Digital Economy boost economic recovery in the time of COVID?". The aims of this were to ensure that the digital economy plays its role in utilizing MSMEs, boosts the Asia-Pacific Economy, and explores further cooperation with APEC (MoFA Indonesia, 2020).

In enhancing its digital diplomacy which had been directly affected by COVID, on 16 November 2021 Indonesia held an International Conference on Digital Diplomacy (ICDD) as a place for the discussion of the implementation of effective digital diplomacy in the new normal era. ICDD 2021 was attended by 21 Friendly Countries and had 4 main discussions, namely: 1) Inclusive Digital Economy: Benefits and Challenges, 2) Digital Innovations for the SME's, 3) Making Sense of Data and Digital Diplomacy, and 4) Big Data and Crisis Management (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2021). Indonesia also held a Regional Workshop on Digital Diplomacy with the theme The Essence of Information and Communication Technology for Government Leaders which took place from 1 to 12

August 2022. This activity was an independent learning and online learning activity intended for Government Officials in countries and regions of the Pacific region. This activity was also a follow-up to the ICDD activity with the theme Unmasking Digital Diplomacy in the New Normal which took place on 16 November 2021, ICDD 2021 and also produced the Bali Message on International Cooperation in Digital Diplomacy which focused on 5 main areas, namely 1) Government Policy Framework to Support Digital Diplomacy; 2) Crisis Management Through Digital Diplomacy; 3) Data Management to Support Digital Diplomacy; 4) Innovation to Support SMEs; and 5) Capacity Building and Digital Inclusion (Kominfo, 2022).

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF MOFA INDONESIA'S DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

3.1. Agenda Setting

With the fast development of technology and information today, Digital Diplomacy has become an option for many countries to reach foreign audiences. Many countries have already adopted it, whether it be using social media, video games, or anything digital. Indonesia is one of these countries. This rapid development of technology and information in combination with the COVID pandemic era, has increased the number of gadget users, especially users of social media, creating a big opportunity for countries, especially Indonesia, to attract foreign audiences to notice them. By using the agenda setting, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made topics and issues that can attract foreign audiences which indirectly demonstrates the results of the extraordinary diplomatic work that has been carried out by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The era of the COVID pandemic

could also be considered the right time to attract more audience through social media because during the pandemic many of the world's citizens were experiencing lockdowns and had to stay at home. This directly made people use their gadgets more often and be more active on social media. In the pandemic era, the Indonesian foreign ministry utilized one of the social media platforms, namely Twitter, for diplomacy by bringing up various discussions, such as the importance of multilateral cooperation, Indonesia's role in various international forums including the G20, IORA, ASEAN, and APEC, and the efforts of the Indonesian government in tackling COVID-19.

Regarding the agenda setting used by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on its Twitter, there was a global topic that was happening at the time, namely "COVID". Topics related to COVID were the most frequently uploaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2020-2021, with the topic of COVID also being able to help foreigners who were in Indonesia at the time to receive COVID updates as well as demonstrate Indonesia's consistency and results in the fight against COVID. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed its concern for the threat of COVID even before the first COVID case was detected in Indonesia. Figures 1, 2, and 3 are examples of foreign ministry uploads on Twitter social media:

Figure 3.1 A Tweet from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about initial efforts to deal with COVID



As seen in Figure 3.1, in the ASEAN meeting, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia immediately emphasized the importance of cooperation between countries to prevent the dangers of COVID and minimize the impacts that COVID could have. Many of the tweets uploaded by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarded the results of collaborations, conferences, and so on, providing direct links to the official website of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was done so that interested parties could explore more in regards to the topic.

Figure 3.2 A Tweet from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about COVID policy



As seen in Figure 3.2, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also cares about foreigners who were in Indonesia at the time. They posted a tweet in English of the Indonesian government's policy regarding the development of COVID and hoped that foreigners in Indonesia could understand and comply with the policies that were being implemented to ensure control of the spread of COVID in Indonesia.

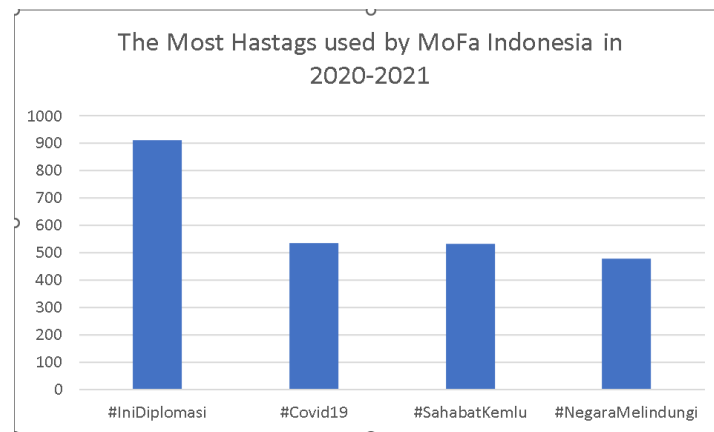
Figure 3.3 A Tweet from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about COVID cases update around the world



The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only used the safe travel application but also posted tweets regarding the development of COVID around the world and the status of Indonesian citizens affected by COVID. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs hoped that this would help Indonesian citizens abroad remain calm and vigilant in dealing with the COVID outbreak. Tweets on the development of COVID appeared mandatory as the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs always tweeted if there was an update regarding the development of COVID anywhere in the world. The tweets were not only in Bahasa Indonesia, but the same tweets were posted in English versions.

The author of this study also conducted research related to the hashtags used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the pandemic era, as can be seen in Diagram 3.1.

Diagram 3.1 The most frequently used Hashtags by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

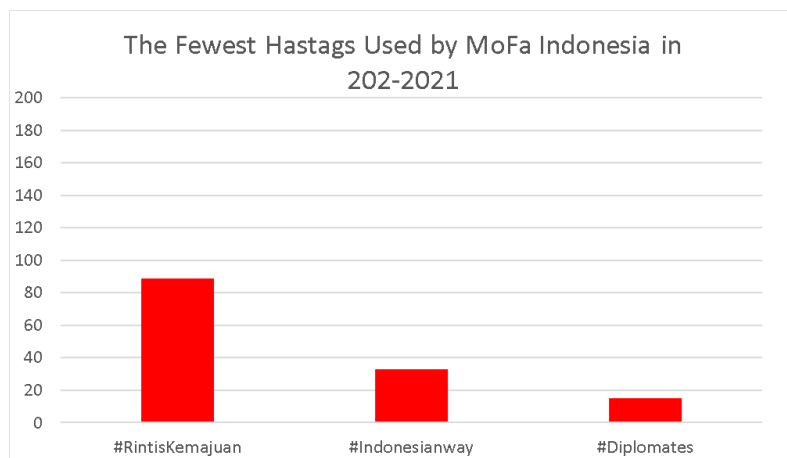


Source: https://twitter.com/Kemlu_RI?s=20 (compile by author)

As seen in diagram 3.1, #IniDiplomasi was one of the hashtags frequently used by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its tweets, not only during the COVID pandemic, but even before its onset. Before the pandemic, #IniDiplomasi was widely used by MoFA Indonesia to show Indonesia's results or efforts in establishing diplomacy with other countries whether it be for the development of Indonesia or diplomacy to assist other countries in the development of their country. #IniDiplomasi has also been widely used to inform conferences led or attended by Indonesia in the international arena, such as the G20 Summit, diplomatic visits, ASEAN Regional Forum, and so on. In addition to this hashtag, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also followed global issues using #COVID. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs frequently updated its audience on the development of the COVID virus throughout the world as well as the development of cooperations with other countries that were formed to deal with COVID. Besides these hashtags, there were several other hashtags also often used by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the COVID pandemic, including #SahabatKemlu and #NegaraMelindungi. Just like #IniDiplomasi, #SahabatKemlu is also a hashtag that was often used by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs before the

pandemic to greet its Twitter audience, while #NegaraMelindungi became increasingly used during the pandemic. #NegaraMelindungi was not only used in tweets about Indonesia's efforts to protect Indonesian citizens abroad and inside the country, but so that Indonesian citizens abroad could stay alert yet calm with the knowledge that Indonesia was willing to protect its citizens who were fighting COVID abroad. #NegaraMelindungi was also often used in tweets regarding updates on the development of COVID worldwide. From the data collected by the author, there were more than 500 tweets on the development of COVID around the world during the period of 2020 to 2021.

Diagram 3.2 The least frequently used Hashtags by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Source: https://twitter.com/Kemlu_RI?s=20 (compile by author)

#RintisKemajuan was not one of the hashtags rarely used by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the timing of this hashtag was not quite right. Before the COVID pandemic, #RintisKemajuan was still often used in Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs tweets about cooperation with other countries to improve development and the economy, but during the COVID pandemic, Indonesia most often used #IniDiplomasi, #COVID and #NegaraMelindungi. By using these hashtags, the agenda setting carried out by the Indonesian

Ministry of Foreign Affairs was following the global issues at the time. #RintisKemajuan was still used during the COVID pandemic but was only used when the tweet focused more on economic development cooperation. The other hashtags, #Indonesianway and #Diplomates, are hashtags with the same meaning as #IniDiplomasi and #SahabatKemlu but are in English. Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs tweets in English used #Indonesianway and #Diplomates, while those in Indonesian used #IniDiplomasi and # SahabatKemlu.

Figure 3.4 A Tweet from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about forced expulsion in Palestine



As previously mentioned, during the 2020-2021 COVID pandemic, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not only focus on the topic of COVID issues but also on other topics and issues that MoFA Indonesia was still paying attention to, such as the issue of conflict between Palestine-Israel, maritime cooperation, the issue of Indonesia's border conflict. Interestingly, although the topic of COVID was often used by MoFA Indonesia in its tweets and the topic of the Palestine-Israel conflict was rarely tweeted about compared to COVID, it was the topic of Palestine-Israel that received the most attention from the audience. One of MoFA Indonesia's tweets, containing Indonesia's condemnation of forced evictions in Palestine, had arguably the most responses during the COVID pandemic. The keyword "vaccine" is one of the words needed by the Twitter audience, even though the hashtag related

to vaccines is #DiplomasiVaksin and one of the least used hashtag in the period 2020 to 2021, even though MoFA Indonesia doesn't use #DiplomasiVaksin in their tweet that mentioned "vaccine" but the keyword "vaccine" is mentioned almost 100 times in MoFA Indonesia's tweets, the keyword "COVID updates" is also one of the keywords needed by audiences, especially for immigrant workers from Indonesia, to find out about developments in Covid cases in the country they live in, because MoFA Indonesia often uploads tweets related to COVID cases development worldwide, not only that, it's not uncommon for MoFA Indonesia include active COVID Cases of Indonesian Citizen Abroad in tweets related to covid cases development worldwide.

In conclusion, MoFA Indonesia made every effort to take advantage of the agenda setting. With the existence of #COVID19 and #NegaraMelindungi, it could sufficiently meet the expectations of the Twitter audience because the hashtag #COVID19 provided information related to COVID, such as worldwide updates, diplomacy carried out by MoFA Indonesia in regards to COVID, and the development of COVID policy in Indonesia. Meanwhile, #NegaraMelindungi contained information provided by MoFA Indonesia regarding the protection provided to Indonesian citizens who were abroad, such as the repatriation of Indonesian citizens who were in COVID red zones, such as in Wuhan, and also updates about the COVID situation worldwide. Similar to #COVID19, #NegaraMelindungi was also used in tweets regarding policies of tightening control of goods or tourists entering Indonesia. However, MoFA Indonesia's agenda setting was not quite effective, as mentioned before, as it could only sufficiently meet the expectations of the Twitter audience because MoFA Indonesia used these hashtags in many tweets and got some responses, but not many. Tweets regarding COVID lost out to those containing international issues. As seen in Figure 3.4, although there is only one tweet on an international issue, it had a lot of responses

compared to those using #COVID19 and #NegaraMelindungi. This shows that the Twitter audience were more interested in international problems compared to COVID.

3.2. Presence Expansion

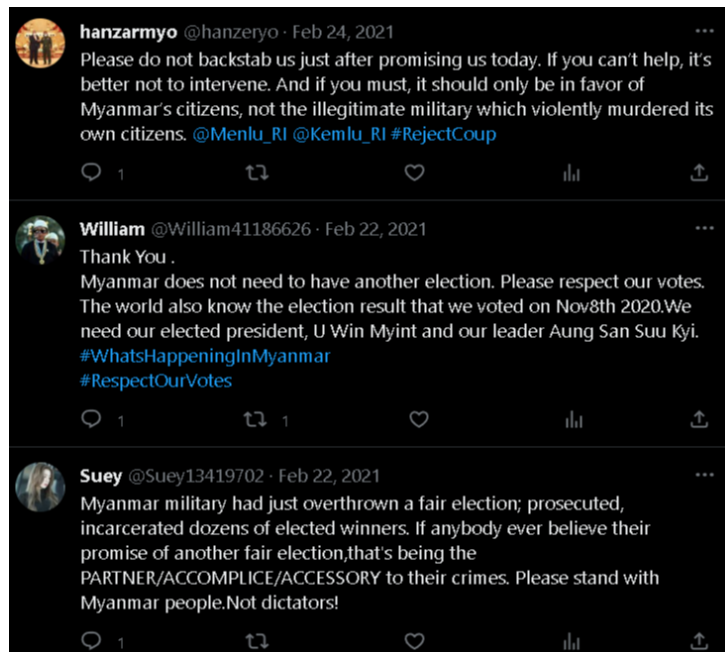
Presence Expansion is the second key to analyze the effectiveness of digital diplomacy through social media. The dissemination of information has always been a major task in public diplomacy, and it differs in its traditional and modern forms. Traditionally the dissemination of information was carried out through mass communication, cultural exchanges, or educational programs, while modern times with the rapid development of technology and the emergence of social media have allowed the scope of diplomatic presence to expand across space and time through social media postings, such as tweets or visual narratives. Presence-expansion through the social media platform Twitter is measured by existing engagements such as retweets, comments, and favorites, and the number of existing engagements shows the delivery of messages beyond existing followers (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). The author found that one of the tweets that had the most responses in the form of favorites, retweets, and replies during the 2020-2021 period. This tweet from MoFA Indonesia contained a website that provided the latest information on the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad during the COVID pandemic.

Figure 3.5 A Tweet from MoFA Indonesia About Covid Information



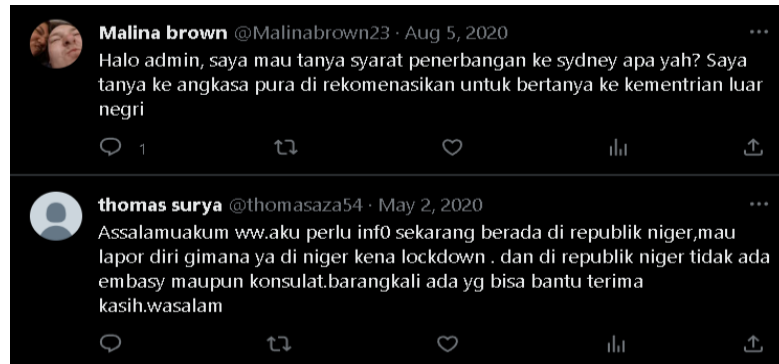
Figure 3.5 is a tweet about a notification by MoFA Indonesia regarding the official website from MoFA Indonesia, which provided the latest information on COVID, such as regulations and policies on COVID, COVID data for foreigners in Indonesia, COVID data for Indonesian citizens abroad, conferences, places for QnA, and so on. In the digital era, presence expansion is the main key for diplomats to determine how well the diplomacy is being conveyed to the audience by looking at engagements such as responses, reactions, input, or criticism from incoming audiences. In this case, the author found many interesting replies to the tweet.

Figure 3.6 Replies to a MoFA Indonesia tweet about COVID information



If you look at Figure 3.6, what the author finds interesting is that many of the replies are not in line with the topic of MoFA Indonesia's tweet. The replies are not only about the conflict in Myanmar, but several are about problems that concern Indonesia, such as the injustice of Afghan refugees in Indonesia, problems experienced by Indonesian citizens abroad, and so on. Another interesting thing is that many of the replies related to international problems were posted in 2021, while MoFA Indonesia posted the tweets in 2020. Several of the accounts that replied to the post came from abroad, with some being from Myanmar, the Netherlands, and Afghanistan, India, the United States, and also from other countries. This is enough to prove the extent of MoFA Indonesia's presence-expansion

Figure 3.7 Other replies to an MoFA Indonesia tweet about COVID information



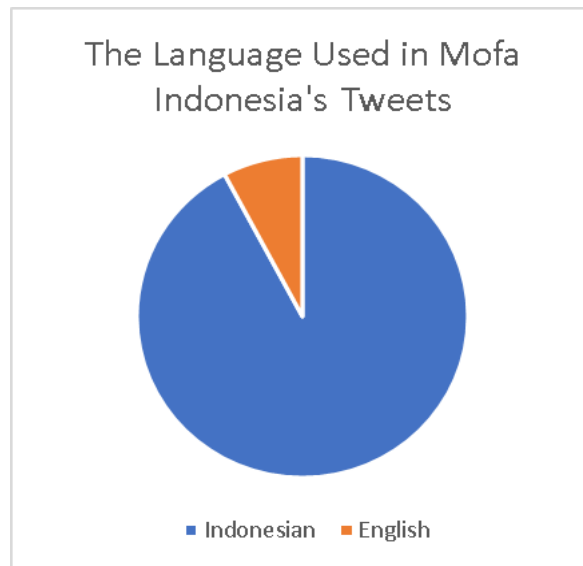
As seen in Figure 3.7, these replies were posted in the same year, 2020. The replies contained questions related to overseas travel, such as how to report in a country where there was still no Indonesian embassy, as well as requirements for traveling overseas. If you look at the tweet and the replies, the Twitter audience is more interested in Indonesian issues which include international scopes, and is less interested in topics related to COVID. The author also found one of the tweets from MoFA Indonesia that had the most responses in the form of favorites, retweets, and replies in the 2020-2021 period regarded Indonesia's concerns about the arms races taking place in the region. With direct notifications and information provided through the Safe Travel application, using the Safe Travel application is also a source of information for Indonesian immigrant workers who are abroad, students studying abroad or tourists from Indonesia who have not been able to return home to find out updates. information related to COVID in the country they live in. One of the tweets from MoFA Indonesia used the "@" tag to mention several official Australian military accounts.

Figure 3.8 A Tweet from MoFA Indonesia that mentions Australian military accounts



As seen in Figure 3.8, this tweet expresses thanks and appreciation from MoFA Indonesia for the good cooperation and coordination between Australian authorities in the process of successfully searching, rescuing and returning the crew of the Indonesian ship Bandar Nelayan 188. By using the "@" tag to mention official Australian military accounts, such as @AusBorderForce, @Australian_Navy and @DubesAustralia, MoFA Indonesia was able to achieve presence-expansion into Australia.

Diagram 3.3 Tweet Language Used by MoFA Indonesia



that the diagram above shows that the tweets uploaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs use Indonesian more than English, although several uploaded Indonesian tweets from MoFA Indonesia have been translated into English. Even so, the tweets uploaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs still show achievement and success in the realm of Indonesian diplomacy. Many of MoFA Indonesia's tweets use Indonesian because they only contain domestic problems or events that occur in domestic area, such as digital diplomacy seminars for prospective diplomats, award recipients, International conferences held in Indonesia, and so on. But in this case, even though the presence expansion achieved by MoFA Indonesia was far enough to reach the whole world, the problems contained within the tweets related to Indonesia, and so MoFA Indonesia's tweets only appeared once or twice and did not often appear on other countries' Twitter homepages. There is a translate feature provided by Twitter but the language shown in a tweet will show the original language before translating. After the translate button has been clicked, the translation appears according to the country of the account that saw the tweet. MoFA Indonesia uses mostly Indonesian in its tweets and

occasionally English, which means only a few of MoFA Indonesia's tweets reach other countries' homepages.

In conclusion, MoFA Indonesia's efforts to expand its presence expansion can be said to be not good enough. This can be seen from what language MoFA Indonesia uses the most in its tweets: MoFA Indonesia did not use English much in its tweets. Furthermore, it can be seen from the response to MoFA Indonesia's tweets. Their tweets can be said to be enough to reach the whole world but this didn't happen because of several problems related to Indonesia in the international arena, such as Indonesia supporting the government of the Myanmar civil conflict, the issue of Afghan immigrants in Indonesia being treated badly, and Indonesia as the mediator between state conflicts and so on. In other matters, MoFA Indonesia tried to expand its presence expansion through neighboring countries, such as when MoFA Indonesia tweeted about expressing appreciation and gratitude to the Australian authorities for their assistance in rescuing Indonesian crew members, In this tweet, MoFA Indonesia mentioned the official accounts of Australian military using the "@" tag feature in its tweet.

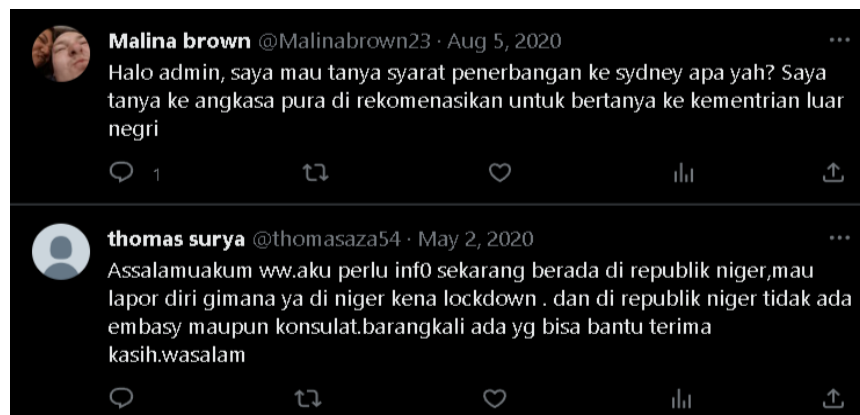
3.3. Conversation Generating

The third key to analyze the effectiveness of digital diplomacy through social media is conversation-generating. The increasing development of technology makes it easier for two-way communication to occur. With the existence of social media it also makes not only two-way communication but also multi-way communication very easy to do. Good public diplomacy can no longer be monologue-based but must be dialogue-based and this must be facilitated into two-way communication or multidirectional communication between parties (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008), with the existence of two-way conversations enabling diplomats to adjust the focus of their agenda, reduce misinformation and enhance mutual understanding

(Bjola & Jiang, 2015). Thus, conversation generating one of the most appreciated features of new public diplomacy (Pamment, 2014).

Conversation-generating via social media platforms such as Twitter, is already facilitated by the reply feature of tweets that allows two-way communication to occur. In this case, even though MoFA Indonesia tried to optimize its presence-expansion on Twitter social media, efforts were still less than optimal and perhaps this was because this third key had not been given enough attention by MoFA Indonesia. In one of MoFA Indonesia's tweets regarding a website related to COVID information, there were several replies that were not answered.

Figure 3.9 (reply) Question to MoFA Indonesia tweet about COVID information



MoFA Indonesia may have had another reason for not answering this question because the website created by MoFA Indonesia not only provides quite complete information regarding COVID, but also provides a place for questions and answers regarding existing COVID policy issues. Because of this, the author explored further and found several comments that were replied to by MoFA Indonesia and one of these is displayed in Figure 3.10.

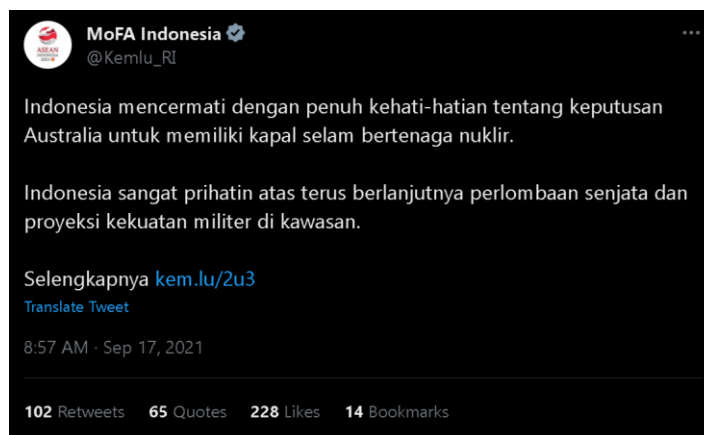
Figure 3.10 A MoFA Indonesia reply to confirm misinformation



Figure 3.10 shows that MoFA Indonesia posted a tweet regarding updates on COVID developments and provided photos with more explanation. One Twitter user, namely @yoviarista, noticed the wrong number of total cases contained in the photo, which MoFA Indonesia paid attention to and corrected the mistake made. MoFA Indonesia confirmed and replied to @yoviarista's comment and including a link to direct other Twitter users to tweets containing revised results of COVID developments at that time. The conversation process involves a repetitive circuit starting with information providing, then receiving comments and reposts, providing feedback, readjusting information, and making new comments (Bjola &

Jiang, 2015). If we examine the tweet in Figure 3.10, it shows evidence for conversation generating, because one of the purposes of conversation generating is also to correct misinformation and this tweet had a conversation process involving a repetitive circuit, from MoFA Indonesia which provided information and then received a comment from the Twitter account @yoviarista which was then further replied to by MoFA Indonesia by providing feedback to @yoviarista and providing a link to updates on COVID developments that had been revised by MoFA Indonesia at that time. In this tweet, @yoviarista also responded to the feedback given by MoFA Indonesia by writing ‘you;re welcome’. However, in the period of 2020 to 2021 which had more than 1500 tweets uploaded by MoFA Indonesia, the author found less than 10 replies to Twitter users with feedback from MoFA Indonesia. Displayed below is a tweet from MoFA that had a lot of responses.

Figure 3.11 A Tweet from MoFA Indonesia About the Arms Race in the Region



As seen in Figure 3.11, the tweet contains Indonesia's concerns about the arms race that is taking place in the region and Indonesia's role as a spectator or observer by carefully observing Australia's decision to have a nuclear-powered submarine. In Figure 3.12 are some of the comments made on this tweet.

Figure 3.12 Positive Replies to MoFA Indonesia's Tweet About the Regional Arms

Race



As seen in Figure 3.12, the comments show support for MoFA Indonesia's tweet on Indonesia's steps in carefully observing Australia's decision to own nuclear-powered submarines. Although one of the replies does show criticism, it is positive criticism that suggested that that Indonesia should facilitate the spectator experience so that it would be better and more useful.

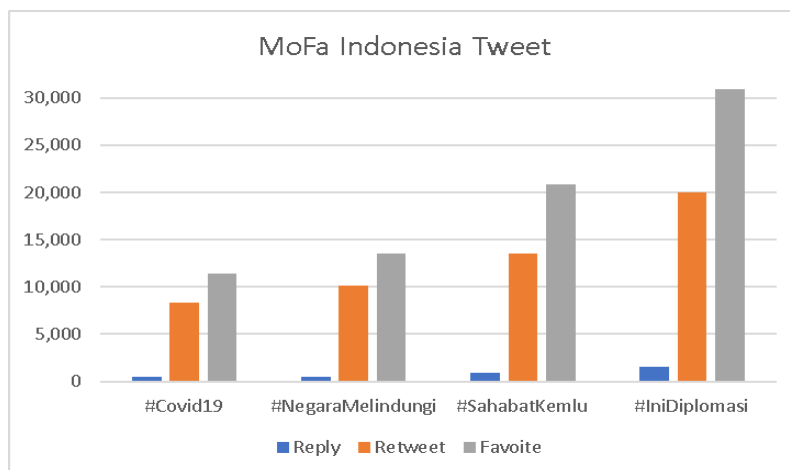
Figure 3.13 Negative Replies to MoFA Indonesia's Tweet About the Regional Arms

Race



The figure above explains that there are not just a few people who disagree with MoFA Indonesia's tweet regarding concerns about an arms race in the region. This is because the steps taken by Indonesia are the opposite of the situation, such as when Indonesia rejected the arms race that took place in the region, but at the same time signed a contract for the acquisition of six FREMM class frigates and two Maestrals class frigates, which were contracts to purchase military equipment such as fighter jets and so on. Other negative replies focused on what Indonesia needed to worry about was the cause of the arms race, not Australia's decision to own a nuclear-powered submarine, and if Indonesia was still concerned about the arms race, it was more like useless concern, like being concerned about a country trying to protect their sovereignty. As seen in Figures 3.10 and 3.11, even though there was no feedback or response from MoFA Indonesia for these comments, conversation generating happened among the Twitter audience, which also happened a lot in several other MoFA tweets. While conversation generating occurred between Twitter users through MoFA Indonesia's tweet comments, MoFA Indonesia did not participate or build the conversation circulation.

Diagram 3.4 Responses to MoFA Indonesia's Tweets



If you look at Diagram 3., the most used Hashtags only got lots of favorites but lacked replied from the Twitter audience. Of the many hashtags used, the replies could be said to be less than 5000 replies. Even though other factors such as retweets and favorites have the highest nominal value, this is evidence that the Twitter audience were not very interested in giving opinions on MoFA Indonesia's tweets, perhaps because many of MoFA Indonesia's tweets only provided information related to conferences, diplomatic visits and MoFA Indonesia's activities and were lacking in generating a quasi-continuous dialogue between Twitter users. Social media, such as Twitter, is actually a suitable place for this with its interactive features, and has the potential to generate a quasi-continuous dialogue between diplomats and foreign publics (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). The conversation generating carried out by MoFA Indonesia was more visible on international issues related to Indonesia because the Twitter audience preferred to respond to international problems or conflicts rather than the global issue at the time, namely COVID. As was found by the author, tweets related to COVID were filled with replies out of the topic, such as on problems and conflicts. Meanwhile, replies to tweets related to Indonesia's concerns about the arms race that was happening in the region were in line with the topic of the tweets or not far from the topic.

In conclusion, the conversation generating in the comments on several MoFA Indonesia tweets occurred and was started by the Twitter audience, but the author did not find MoFA Indonesia participating in the conversation. However, if there was a written comment highlighting incorrect information in an update on the development of COVID around the world, MoFA Indonesia provided feedback and corrected and revised the misinformation. This is included as sufficient conversation generation because there was conversation circulation, but if conversation circulation had continued to rotate, the conversation generation would have been stronger (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). However, as the author found, conversation

generation mainly occurred among Twitter users and this was mostly found on tweets regarding conflicts or issues related to Indonesia in the international arena. Twitter users rarely built conversations on tweets related to COVID information.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

After the Second World War, diplomacy was carried out through face-to-face meetings, whether they be diplomatic visits, conferences held in one place and attended by representatives from various countries, or mass communication and student exchanges. This is known as public diplomacy. However, as time goes by and technology continues to develop, diplomacy has entered the next stage, where it can be carried out without being directly present at a physical place . This is known as digital diplomacy. Digital diplomacy is the use of digital tools in the practice of diplomacy. The digital tools in question here are those such as social media, online conferencing, big data, AI analysis, and so on (Diplo, n.d.). Although digital diplomacy is a new stage in diplomacy and can replicate face-to-face diplomacy, it is considered less useful for relationship management during times of exogenous shocks, such as personal diplomacy to build or repair relationships with other salient others (Holmes, 2015).

.Even though digital diplomacy is said to be less useful, many countries cannot divert their attention from digital diplomacy, because the fast development of technology has made it easier for citizens of the world to access information, through social media, websites, video games and so on. This has made many countries, including Indonesia, begin to use digital

diplomacy as public diplomacy. Indonesia is one of the countries that actively uses social media in carrying out its diplomacy, especially the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which has carried out digital diplomacy through social media since June 2010 (MoFA Indonesia, n.d.). This is evident from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs creating social media accounts, namely Twitter and Facebook in June 2010, followed by the creation of an Instagram account in July 2016 and a YouTube channel in February 2017. In 2016, research called Digital Diplomacy Review or #DDR2016 was conducted which showed that Indonesia was in the 37th position out of 209 countries (Dwikardana, Triwibowo, Valerisha, & Martha, 2017). This is evidence that, since 2016, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been active in carrying out digital diplomacy, especially diplomacy through the social media platform Twitter.

From 2020 to 2021, which is when the COVID virus attacked the world, a lot had to change. These changes occurred in the economy, health, education, and especially diplomatic activities. The changes that occurred were due to lockdown policies imposed in many countries, which were implemented to suppress the spread of the COVID virus, which at that time was spreading very quickly. While many countries carried out total lockdowns in their countries, Indonesia did not dare to take this step because it would have brought the economy to a halt, so Indonesia implemented PSBB, namely large-scale social restrictions. With this policy, the Indonesian economy continued to run but there were a number of restrictions in the areas of work, education, and in public areas to prevent the spread of COVID (Ihsanuddin, 2020). Even so, many middle and lower level workers were still affected by this policy with many being fired, having wages reduced, and so on. There were many Indonesians who disagreed with the policies implemented, especially when the PSBB policy that was successful was then relaxed again to become the PPKM policy. When restrictions were relaxed, COVID

cases began to rise again which resulted in the policy being tightened again, which was even tighter than previous policies, namely the emergency PPKM policy. Many Indonesian citizens were disappointed and did not agree with the policy.

With the change in diplomatic activities from traditional diplomacy to digital diplomacy, many countries followed this path because in order to suppress the spread of COVID, many diplomatic activities had to be shifted to digital. What were previously face-to-face meetings, conferences with everyone in one place and so on, were shifted to being carried out virtually. Because many citizens were experiencing lockdowns, they were frequently using their gadgets and social media, so it was an appropriate time for many countries to increase digital diplomacy, especially through social media. By using the 3 important keys in the analysis of the effectiveness of social media as a platform for the state to conduct public diplomacy, to the author was able to answer the research question in detail. The three keys were agenda setting, expansion, and conversation generating (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). The author analyzed how effectively MoFA Indonesia used the social media Twitter to conduct digital diplomacy during the time of 2020 to 2021. The agenda-setting carried out by MoFA Indonesia through the use of the hashtags #COVID19 met the expectations of the Twitter audience as did using #NegaraMelindungi. Twitter users were able to find out about Indonesia's efforts to protect Indonesian citizens abroad and at home, and MoFA Indonesia also provided the latest information regarding updates on COVID cases around the world. However, the agenda-setting carried out by MoFA Indonesia was not optimal because the Twitter audience preferred topics related to international problems, and in particular, whether Indonesia was in a pro, neutral or con position. Even though the agenda setting was different to the interests of Twitter users, presence-expansion was more pro-active with MoFA Indonesia trying to expand its presence in various countries by using the "@" or retweet

feature. MoFA Indonesia's tweets are mostly in Indonesian rather than English, making MoFA Indonesia's tweets rarely appear in other countries because the use of English is less than the use of Indonesian. Meanwhile, conversation-generating showed a similar outcome to agenda-setting - the Twitter audience preferred to build conversation circles on MoFA Indonesia tweets related to international issues rather than tweets related to COVID information. And not only that, but MoFA Indonesia also rarely participated directly in the circulation of conversation that occurred in the comments of their tweets and only did so when correcting inaccurate information they had presented. These instances also only lasted for 1 round of conversation, which may have been a factor in MoFA Indonesia's tweets receiving few responses.

4.2 Recommendations

There are several shortcomings in this research, and further development is required for future research. A weakness experienced by the author of this research is the limited scope of objects: this research only focuses on the MoFA Indonesia Twitter account and only on data obtained from 2020 to 2021. Another problem was encountered during data collection which is that it takes longer to collect information for Twitter users who don't have a blue tick due to limitations of the platform. For this reason, the author hopes that future research will expand upon this or use more advanced tools to collect the data so that further research can be maximized.

The author also hopes that, from the results of this research, MoFA Indonesia can evaluate and develop its digital diplomacy via Twitter. This research can become an additional reference for other researchers wishing to study Indonesian Digital Diplomacy providing a source of information and knowledge for the general public.

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