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COFFEE DIPLOMACY IN JOKOWI'S ERA: THE STRATEGY OF CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY OF INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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ABSTRACT

Cultural and economic diplomacy are crucial and being prioritized in Indonesia's foreign policy. Coffee is one of the commodities used to promote Indonesian culture abroad while at the same time has a potential value to support the nation's economy. This article aims to describe the ways Indonesian President, Joko Widodo, conducts cultural and economic diplomacy through coffee and the involvement of state and non-state actors in Indonesia's coffee diplomacy. This paper uses a qualitative research method. The data used are collected from the Indonesian government official websites and national media coverages during the period of Joko Widodo's administration from 2014 to 2019. There are three main concepts used in this article, derived from the International Relations theory of diplomacy, namely: the concepts of issue areas; actors; and methods. This paper examines cultural and economic diplomacy as the issue areas, state and non-state actors as the actors, and bilateral and multilateral approaches as the methods of conducting diplomacy. The main findings of this paper are: (i) cultural and economic diplomacy through coffee diplomacy are connected to one another and conducted simultaneously; (ii) both bilateral and multilateral approaches are still relevant in conducting coffee diplomacy; (iii) both state and non-state actors are actively involved in conducting coffee diplomacv

Keywords: Coffee, Cultural Diplomacy, Economic Diplomacy, Jokowi, Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

Cultural and economic diplomacy play a central role in achieving Indonesia's national interests through foreign policy. Indonesia's President, Joko Widodo (hereinafter referred to as "Jokowi"), expressed his support for seven strategic agendas in the national cultural strategy at the National Cultural Congress 2018. One of those seven agendas is "to develop and utilize the cultural richness to strengthen Indonesia's position in the international world" (Ministry of Communication and Information, 2018). This strategic agenda demonstrates Jokowi's commitment to strengthen Indonesia's cultural diplomacy as part of its foreign policy. Jokowi also stressed the importance of culture to achieve prosperity. This paper argues that it means Jokowi wants economic opportunities to be achieved through cultural diplomacy.

Indonesia's economic diplomacy is realized by emphasizing important commodities to support trades between countries. One of Indonesia's leading commodities is coffee. Indonesia is the fourth largest coffee producing country in the world after Brazil, Vietnam, and Colombia (International Coffee Organization, 2019, p. 4). This shows a great potential of Indonesia to use coffee as a tool of cultural and economic diplomacy. Both diplomacy aim to form a positive national image of Indonesian culture, while at the same time create opportunities for economic cooperation to improve the welfare of Indonesian society. Therefore, this paper opines that both cultural and economic diplomacy can be conducted simultaneously.

There are very limited studies regarding Jokowi's diplomacy, particularly on the aspect of coffee diplomacy. A previous study by Syaifani and Qubba (2017) highlights the prospect and challenge for Jokowi's digital diplomacy. Their research mentions Jokowi's presence in social media as part of his innovation to utilize technology to conduct diplomacy. Albeit assessing Jokowi's diplomacy method, this study does not include coffee as its focus. Another study regarding Jokowi's diplomacy is conducted by Saputra and Adiputra (2017). This study also does not assess Jokowi's coffee diplomacy but focus on his 'dining table diplomacy' as part of a powerful political strategy (p. 246). Aside from Jokowi's diplomacy, there are also limited studies of coffee as cultural diplomacy. In terms of cultural diplomacy, the existing studies focus more on Indonesia's *batik*, for instance a study by Zahidi (2017), which assessed

Indonesia's cultural diplomacy through *batik* by using the concept of soft power. In the context of coffee diplomacy, a study by Trihartono, Viartasiwi, and Kusumah (2017), points out that coffee is a part of Indonesia's 'gastro diplomacy' and contribute to Indonesia's soft power. However, their study does not provide a clear connection with Jokowi's administration.

This paper argues that those existing studies mentioned above have not dealt with coffee diplomacy in Jokowi's era. Hence, this paper attempts to provide descriptive explanations by answering two research questions using the International Relations theory of studying diplomacy, which consists of *issue areas; actors; and methods*. Firstly, this paper will assess how Jokowi conducts cultural and economic diplomacy through coffee. Secondly, this paper will examine other actors, including state and non-state actors involved in coffee diplomacy. Both bilateral and multilateral approaches of diplomacy will be used to assess the data from official government websites and national media coverages. This paper limits its focus to Jokowi's administration from 2014 to 2019.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper uses the theoretical framework of studying diplomacy based on the work of Bjola and Kornprobst (2018). They argue that the center of diplomacy is to manage and maintain the relationship as well as international order through representation, communication, and negotiation. They also mention three parts of diplomacy, namely: *issue areas; actors; and methods*. The first part is the issue areas. The work by Manojlovic and Thorheim (2007) mentions that diplomacy is needed by states to "go abroad" and "defend" their interests in three areas: political, economic, and cultural (p. 19). This paper will focus on two out of these three areas, namely cultural and economic diplomacy.

This paper argues that examining coffee as part of cultural and economic diplomacy has no connection with the political or security agenda of Indonesia. Therefore, in order to make a more precise and specific analysis, only these two areas are relevant to be examined. The first issue area is cultural diplomacy. The theory of cultural diplomacy used in this paper is diplomacy carried out by the state or commonly

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referred to as "state diplomacy". Cultural diplomacy aims to represent a country by covering various aspects of that country and can be linked to the concepts of "persuasion" and "branding". The purpose of cultural diplomacy is not limited to only seeking "admiration" and "sympathy" from other countries, but also to build trust and cooperation that provide mutual benefits for both countries (Jora, 2013, p. 2-3).

Other than cultural diplomacy, this paper will also describe the economic diplomacy as the second issue area. According to Baine and Woolcock (as stated in Bergeijk and Moons, 2009, p. 2), the definition of economic diplomacy is "a set of activities, both regarding methods and processes for international decision making, related to cross border economic activities (export, import, investment, lending, aid, migration) pursued by state and non-state actors in the real world". A study by Lee and Hocking (2010) focuses on four key modes of economic diplomacy: commercial diplomacy; trade diplomacy; finance diplomacy; and consular visa services (p. 11). This paper will only focus on one key mode of economic diplomacy: trade diplomacy, in order to see its connection with cultural diplomacy. Lee and Hocking (2010) mention that trade diplomacy highlights the trade negotiation among states, private actors, and international trade of coffee as part of Indonesia's economic diplomacy, both using bilateral and multilateral approaches. The involvement of states, private actors, and international organizations will also be examined in the discussion section of this paper.

The second part is the actors. According to Bjola & Kornprobst (2018, p. 4), actors are not limited to the representatives of ministries or diplomats, but also multinational corporations, civil society organizations, and individuals. They point out that in order to assess the effectiveness of diplomacy, we cannot only examine the performance of diplomats, or other government representatives. It is very crucial to also evaluate the involvement of other actors, especially the non-state actors (p. 4). Scott-Smith (2017) argues that the context of global era shifts the current practices of international politics, including the increase of influence of the non-state actors significantly. Moreover, Jora (2013, p. 2) explains the relevance of non-state actors' roles in cultural and economic diplomacy, affected by the advancement of technologies. According to Jora (2013), non-state actors also include religious groups, think tanks, university experts, and social movements that are able to influence civil society.

Another study conducted by Lee and Ayhan (2015) argues that the collaboration between state and non-state actors is very crucial. This study also mentions that non-state actors are considered to be "more neutral" and "more credible" since their competences come from their expertise rather than self-interest (p. 61). Based on these studies, this paper will explore the roles of actors, both state and non-state, in terms of cultural and economic diplomacy of Indonesia.

Moving now to the third part of studying diplomacy: methods. Bjola and Kornprobst (2018) state that there are several ways of studying the methods of diplomacy, including assessing the ways to handle negotiations; crisis; engagement with public; diplomatic performance and mission; and compactness of issue areas. This paper will not assess all methods of public diplomacy. Rather, it will focus on accessing diplomatic performance and mission in terms of cultural and economic diplomacy by using coffee, conducted by Jokowi's administration and other non-state actors. In terms of methods, cultural and economic diplomacy have two approaches, namely bilateral and multilateral approaches. The bilateral approach emphasizes the importance of cultural diplomacy between two countries, while the multilateral approach focuses on the involvement of many countries in a forum, an organization, or a network.

Jora (2013), based on the work of Green (2010), argues that the multilateral approach is more prevalent today and has replaced the bilateral approach that is considered old-fashioned. The European Union's strategy, for instance, recommends a multilateral approach in cultural diplomacy by involving organizations and programs in more than 150 countries through the European Union National Institutes for Culture (p. 5). While agreeing with Jora's argument that the aim of cultural diplomacy is to seek the mutual benefit of both countries, this paper questions the statement that the bilateral approach is being 'replaced' by the multilateral approach. This paper argues that both bilateral and multilateral approaches are still relevant, depending on the context and the agenda of a particular state or organization. Hence, this paper will examine *both* the bilateral and multilateral approaches conducted by Jokowi in coffee diplomacy.

To recapitulate, the theoretical framework above has mentioned three parts of studying diplomacy that will be used in this paper, namely: *issue areas; actors;* and *methods*. The following section will be divided into: (i) describing the cultural and economic diplomacy (issue areas) of Indonesia's coffee diplomacy through bilateral and

multilateral approaches (methods); and (ii) describing the involvement of state and nonstate actors of Indonesia's coffee diplomacy (actors).

DISCUSSION

Jokowi and Coffee Diplomacy: Cultural and Economic Diplomacy of Indonesia

Talking about Jokowi in this paper does not solely means talking about him as an individual, but also about his administration, including his cabinets and all part of the government. Jokowi has expressed his concern to promote Indonesian coffee to other countries by using the story of coffee-drinking values as part of Indonesian culture. The State Cabinet Secretariat Minister of Indonesia, Pramono Anung, explained that Jokowi wants to promote the cultural image of drinking Indonesian coffee, which consists of the values of togetherness, dialogue, and sharing. Indonesia is famous for its culture of drinking coffee while discussing a problem to promote togetherness and to include others as 'family' (Adhitia, 2018). Thus, promoting these values abroad is important to enhance Indonesia's positive images that will affect its global position.

Jokowi also wants to spread a culture of intimacy in conveying ideas that arise when drinking coffee together. He wants to emphasize the closeness of Indonesian people to the culture of drinking coffee, which is associated with values of tolerance and peaceful problem-solving mechanism. Cultural diplomacy through coffee also wants to emphasize the diversity of Indonesian culture represented by the different tastes of coffee in each region. This shows the richness of Indonesian coffee, which provides many choices of coffee products for the importers. It increases the economic opportunities for coffee importers to match the products with different markets in various countries (Adhitia, 2018). From these statements, this paper argues that Jokowi wants to combine both cultural and economic diplomacy together.

This paper argues that Jokowi's administration has expressed its commitment and put several efforts to conduct coffee diplomacy. This paper also argues that coffee diplomacy includes two dimensions of diplomacy, namely cultural diplomacy and economic diplomacy at the same time. It is proven by the promotion of coffee as part of introducing the diversity of Indonesian culture, while at the same time can strengthen cooperation in the economy through coffee exports that can increase the value of Indonesia's foreign trade. The following discussions will assess the bilateral and multilateral approaches of coffee diplomacy, followed by the involvement of state and non-state actors in conducting coffee diplomacy.

Bilateral Approach

Jokowi made a bilateral approach in coffee diplomacy through his official state visits. In March 2018, Jokowi visited New Zealand and promoted the importance of coffee diplomacy. Jokowi's coffee promotion was then followed up by the Indonesian Ambassador to New Zealand, Tantowi Yahya, by involving one of the ASEAN Young Business Leaders Initiative participants, Indradi Soemardjan. The Embassy of Indonesia, together with Indradi Soemardjan, want to maximize coffee diplomacy by emphasizing the consistency and authenticity of Indonesian coffee products (Asia Media Center, 2018). In his remarks, Jokowi highlighted that coffee diplomacy is 'the glue' of bilateral relations between Indonesia and New Zealand (Sihombing, 2018).

Jokowi's statement as a head of state shows that coffee diplomacy is a priority of bilateral relations between Indonesia and New Zealand. Jokowi's statement about coffee diplomacy also continued with his desire to export more Indonesian coffee to New Zealand. Through this opportunity, Jokowi also introduced various types of Indonesian coffees such as Balinese, Sumatran, Javanese, Torajan and Luwak coffee, which were greeted with standing ovations by the New Zealand government (Lumanauw, 2018). Cultural diplomacy by Jokowi was followed by economic diplomacy through the Indonesia-New Zealand Business Forum, one of which was with the promotion of coffee. Indonesian commodities in this forum generate economic profits with the sale of 9.7 million United States (US) dollars. From this value, coffee commodity sales reached 6 million US dollars (Himawan & Tanjung, 2018).

Another bilateral approach of coffee diplomacy was also carried out in Washington DC, the United States, through the "Evening Coffee" or "*Ngopi Sore*" program on April 13, 2018. The event was held by the Indonesian Embassy in Washington DC with the aim of introducing the culture and lifestyle of the Indonesian people. Trade Attaché, Reza Pahlavi, emphasized the goal of introducing Indonesian

culture through the storytelling behind Indonesian premium coffee beans in a documentary film entitled "Aroma of Heaven". Moreover, the Embassy also provided some souvenirs, which consisted of Indonesian coffee. This program also aimed to promote that Indonesia has many varieties of coffee (Salikha, 2018).

Consumers from the United States were very interested in the stories that illustrate coffee growing in Java by promoting the principle of sustainability. With this program, people of the United States did not only get to know Indonesian stories and cultures more closely but also there was an increase of Indonesian coffee exports, which reached 313 million US dollars in 2017. The "Evening Coffee" event will be continued with economic diplomacy through Global Specialty Coffee Expo and Indonesia-America Business Forum (The Jakarta Post, 2018). Previously, a special coffee from Indonesia, Puntang Coffee from West Java, won the title of the best coffee in the world in an exhibition held by the United States Specialties Coffee Association (SCAA) in Atlanta, the United States in April 2016 (Salikha, 2018).

The third bilateral approach is the "Indonesia's Coffee Day" business forum held by the Indonesian Embassy in Uzbekistan in November 2019. The aim of this event is to increase awareness of the potential of Indonesian coffee while increasing trade cooperation between Uzbekistan and Indonesia. The program was filled with exhibitions that invited coffee importers and coffee lovers in Uzbekistan. The Embassy also conducted barista competition as part of this event. The Indonesian Ambassador to Uzbekistan, Sunaryo Kartadinata, said that Indonesia must take advantage of the Uzbekistan market opportunity, which is currently experiencing a shift from the culture of drinking tea to the culture of drinking coffee. Various types of coffee were introduced in this event, including Sumatran, West Javanese, and Flores coffee (KBRI Tashkent, 2019).

In addition to those three countries mentioned above, Indonesia has also conducted coffee diplomacy in Malaysia. The Ministry of Tourism promoted Indonesian specialty coffee at the Indonesia-Sarawak Coffee Festival in Kuching, Malaysia in July 2017. The promotion was very strategic considering that 106.555 tons of Indonesian coffee were exported to Malaysia in 2015. The festival was also focused on strengthening friendly relations between the two countries that have the similarity of the culture of drinking coffee through the theme "A Blend of Coffee, Culture, and

Friendship". This coffee festival also supported the development agenda of the Indonesian culinary tourism sector, which has contributed to the national economy of Rp208.6 trillion in 2016 and has created 3.7 million jobs (Jakarta Globe, 2017). Beyond these several examples, Indonesia has also conducted coffee diplomacy with other countries, such as Russia, Slovakia, Egypt, South Africa, and others (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2019a).

Multilateral Approach

The multilateral approach taken by Jokowi in conducting coffee diplomacy is by always giving souvenirs in the form of coffee to welcome the official state's guests who come to Indonesia. Jokowi also brought Aceh coffee souvenirs when visiting countries in the Middle East Region (Adhitia, 2018). In addition to a multilateral approach abroad, the government conducted coffee diplomacy in international forums held at home, one of which was the meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in Bali in 2018 (Praditya, 2018). Indonesia also conducted coffee diplomacy at the Asia Pacific Coffee Conference. In this multilateral conference, Gunung Patuha Coffee from Ciwidey, West Java was sold in an auction held by the Specialty Coffee Association of Indonesia for 143.50 US dollars (Rp2.050.000) per kilogram (Salikha, 2018). Moreover, to support coffee diplomacy, Marketing Deputy of the Creative Economy Agency (Badan Ekonomi Kreatif/BEKRAF), Joshua Simandjuntak, stated that there has been cooperation with the Indonesian Export Financing Agency (LPEI) or Indonesia Eximbank to introduce coffee brands to various countries with multilateral approach, including by conducting a roadshow to the United States and Canada (Salikha, 2018).

In the context of the multilateral approach, Indonesia has conducted coffee diplomacy through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN Coffee Federation, together with the Specialty Coffee Association of Indonesia conducted the "ASEAN Barista Team Championship 2019". Indonesia participated in this event as the host, in order to promote its coffee to the ASEAN market (Wulandari, 2019). Other than this event, the Indonesian Trade Promotion Centre in Busan, South Korea, has also conducted a meeting with ASEAN Culture House. This meeting aimed

to promote Indonesian coffee and cultures (ITPC Busan, 2019). Besides ASEAN, Indonesia has targeted the European Union as part of its multilateral approach in promoting coffee diplomacy. Through the Ministry of Industry, Indonesia has participated in the World of Coffee exhibition in Royal Dublin Society, Ireland, to expand the coffee export to the European Union's market (Koran Jakarta, 2016). Coffee as a sustainable and specialty product will also become the "ambassador" of Indonesian products in the Europalia event in 70 big cities in the European Union (KKC, 2016). In 2019, Indonesia's coffee booth has attracted many visitors at the International Coffee Exhibition or World of Coffee in Germany. This exhibition is one of the largest coffee exhibitions in Europe with approximately 11.000 visitors (Gibbons & Purwan, 2019).

Indonesia even conducted coffee diplomacy as one of its strategies to become a non-permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations. The trend of diplomacy nowadays is to involve personal touch with culture and culinary to influence other countries (Subiantoro, 2018). Another achievement of Indonesia's coffee diplomacy comes from the International Coffee Organization (ICO) Council. Indonesia, through Director General of International Trade Negotiations of the Ministry of Trade, Imam Pambagyo, was chosen as the Head of ICO Council in the period of 2019-2020. This achievement is proof that Indonesia has gained the trust of the international community through its coffee products. Through its chairmanship in ICO Council, Indonesia will continue to strengthen the sustainability of the partnership among government, farmers, and industrial sectors (Syukra, 2019).

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that Jokowi and his administration, through the Ministries and the Embassies, have actively conducted coffee diplomacy as part of Indonesia's cultural and economic diplomacy. Both bilateral and multilateral approaches are still being used to promote Indonesia's values through coffee, as well as to generate more economic impact. Having explained both the issue areas (cultural and economic diplomacy) and the methods (bilateral and multilateral approaches), the following section will describe the involvement of state and non-state actors in coffee diplomacy.

The Involvement of State and Non-State Actors in Indonesia's Coffee Diplomacy

State Actors

After assessing the coffee diplomacy conducted by Jokowi's administration abroad, it is necessary to see the involvement of other state actors. One example is the role of the Indonesian central bank called Bank Indonesia. The Governor of Bank Indonesia, Perry Warjiyo, stated that coffee diplomacy is done by always making the "Indonesian coffee corner" at every official meeting. This coffee corner is presented by involving Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) with superior coffee products from various regions in Indonesia. Coffee diplomacy carried out at home was also coupled with other diplomatic missions that were running effectively, such as raising funds for victims of natural disasters in Lombok, Palu, and Donggala (Praditya, 2018). Fundraising through the "Cup for Solidarity" was targeting 10,500 cups of coffee with the acquisition of funds for donations of 1.05 billion rupiahs (Falah, 2018).

This paper argues that coffee diplomacy carried out by Bank Indonesia above has three significant results. First, the guests, who were the representatives of various countries, can get to know and taste of Indonesian coffee firsthand. If delegates from other countries like Indonesian coffee products, they can easily buy and bring it to their respective countries. They can also get to know the diverse culture of Indonesia through the diversity of flavors and coffee products from various regions. Second, the involvement of SMEs in coffee diplomacy provided good economic value. SMEs entrepreneurs can gain material benefits while creating new market potential by introducing superior coffee products. Third, there was a social mission with fundraising that was beneficial for people affected by natural disasters.

In addition to the central government, local governments also have a role in coffee diplomacy. For example, Killian (2013) in his research mentioned that the Department of Industry and Trade of East Java also sought economic diplomacy in collaboration with various private parties, one of which was the Association of Indonesian Coffee Exports. This collaboration focused on involving the private sector to participate in promotional events in the international area (p. 35-36). Other than the local government of East Java, the local government of Toraja participated in coffee diplomacy by welcoming the delegation of three coffee companies of San Fransisco to

explore the coffee potential of Toraja. This activity was conducted in cooperation with the Consulate General of Indonesia in San Fransisco, in order to open the opportunity of coffee export from Toraja to the United States. The value of coffee export of Indonesia to the United States has reached 290 million US dollars in 2018, and 45% from that values is contributed through the working area of the Consulate General of Indonesia in San Francisco (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2019b).

Non-State Actors

This paper finds the non-state actors involved in Indonesian coffee diplomacy are: (i) companies; (ii) educational institutions; (iii) civil society groups; and (iv) individuals. One of the companies involved in Indonesian coffee diplomacy is PT. Mayora Indah (Tbk) with Kopiko's superior products in Europe. Kopiko has been exported to more than 50 countries in the world, including the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and Poland. Kopiko even dominates the Polish market by more than 80% and is able to become the most popular coffee candy brand in the country. The company wants to develop a network of instant coffee and coffee products from 50 countries to 70 countries in the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019c). Moreover, another private company involved in coffee diplomacy is PT. Pupuk Kujang with its Geulis coffee from Sumedang. This company participated in the Coffee and Chocolate Exhibition 2019 in South Africa. This exhibition has successfully attracted more than 30.000 visitors annually. This company aimed to get more exposure towards South African's market through this event (KBRI Pretoria, 2019). Another example comes from Slovakia. A producer of premium coffee in East Java, called Gravfarm Indonesia, has also signed a memorandum of understanding with a partner in Slovakia to realize the coffee export with a total value of 1 million Euro (KBRI Bratislava, 2019).

The second non-state actor who also contributes to coffee diplomacy is an educational institution, for instance, the University of Pertamina. This university has conducted a seminar and discussion with the theme "Indonesian Economic Diplomacy: From Coffee to Africa". This seminar aimed to discuss in more detail the coffee trade to the African market (Universitas Pertamina, 2018). This seminar was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the private sector, and students. This paper argues that this kind of seminar is very crucial as a form of educational

institution's contribution to disseminating information related to coffee diplomacy. Moreover, this event is very prominent to open a room for academic discussion that could later be used as recommendations for the government in making related policies.

The third non-state actor is civil society groups. One example is the cooperation between the coffee companies from San Francisco with a group of coffee farmers in Toraja, called *Perhimpunan Petani Kopi Toraja*. The delegations from San Francisco were welcomed to see the process of coffee production by these farmers, starts from the beginning until the end (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2019b). This field trip shows that comparative studies to Indonesia are very beneficial to open new network as well as to build trust so that the coffee companies abroad can see the real process of coffee production in Indonesia. On the other hand, this visit can also be considered as a part of cultural diplomacy, by introducing the coffee farming culture and the daily life of coffee farmers in Indonesia.

The fourth non-state actor is individuals. One of the participants of the ASEAN Young Business Leaders Initiative in New Zealand, Indradi Soemardjan, contributed to conducting coffee diplomacy through his company, PT. Javanero, which exports Arabica seed products from West Java to New Zealand, Belgium, the Netherlands, Qatar, and Singapore. He also conducted cultural diplomacy by telling the process of planting coffee beans in Indonesia by not cutting down trees. Thus, the sustainability aspect of coffee in Indonesia needs to be emphasized (Inoue-Palmer, 2018). This paper emphasizes that the role of the individual is also very prominent in conducting coffee diplomacy. Individuals with strong networking and connections can contribute as "ambassador" and "role-model" in promoting the story of Indonesian coffee, as well as to conduct international trade of coffee. In summary, the second part of the discussion in this paper has elaborated on the involvement of state and non-state actors in Indonesia's coffee diplomacy.

CONCLUSION

This paper concludes three main findings. The first finding is that the cultural and economic diplomacy through coffee diplomacy conducted by Jokowi himself and his administration are connected to one another and conducted simultaneously. It means that coffee diplomacy is used not only to share the values and stories of Indonesian "coffee-drinking" culture, but also followed by a discussion on the business potential, particularly the opportunity to open, expand, or strengthen Indonesian coffee export to other countries. The values and stories of Indonesian coffee culture are used as the opening to attract other parties before offering trade relations. The second finding is both bilateral and multilateral approaches are still relevant to Indonesia's coffee diplomacy. From the data, it can be concluded that Jokowi himself visited other countries, for instance, New Zealand, with coffee diplomacy as one of the agendas. The bilateral approach to expand coffee diplomacy to other countries is often conducted by the Embassy or Consulate General of Indonesia abroad. Hence, this paper argues that a bilateral approach is still relevant in this context. Moreover, a multilateral approach does also matter for Indonesia's coffee diplomacy. It is proven by several activities conducted by the government in multilateral settings, such as in ASEAN, the European Union, and the United Nations.

The third finding is both state and non-state actors are actively involved in conducting coffee diplomacy. In terms of state actors, Jokowi, as the head of state, directly conducted coffee diplomacy. Following his footsteps, the Ambassadors of Indonesia in various countries, the government at the ministerial levels, and even the local government in Indonesia have actively held or joined festivals or exhibitions to promote Indonesian coffee products. This paper finds important roles of the non-state actors, which consist of: (i) companies; (ii) educational institutions; (iii) civil society groups; and (iv) individuals. These four non-states actors have actively contributed to coffee diplomacy in their respective fields. This paper argues that consistency has to be the key to promote the values of Indonesian coffee-drinking culture. In the future, it is expected that this coffee diplomacy will be strengthened and expanded, in order to create a long-term multiplier effect. Both cultural and economic diplomacy through coffee will strengthen Indonesia's positive image, as well as improve its prosperity. Coffee diplomacy presented a non-formal atmosphere: relaxing, yet beneficial for the people of Indonesia.

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