

# The Implementation of Indonesian Soft Power through Swaggering Strategies in Asian Games 2018

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**Keywords:** Nation Branding, Asian Games, Swaggering Strategy

**Abstract:** Sport has been known as an effective method for carrying out social integration, forming a national identity and improving the global image. Sports in the modern era have been constructed as the capital of a country. Sport can be a method of domestic political imaging, and externally can be used as a means of diplomacy. In the Indonesian context, sports are used as soft power which is implemented into the Swaggering Strategy to form national image (nation branding). Related to the Swaggering Strategy, sports are used as one of the instruments for holding mega-events in an effort to show the capability of the country, in this case, Indonesia uses the implementation of the 2018 Asian Games as an effort to implement the Swaggering Strategy. At the end of this study, it was found that the implementation of the Asian Games was very effective in an effort to shape the country's image. Thus, Indonesia is expected to increase development in other sectors. The use of the 2018 Asian Games global scale sports event can also be used by Indonesia as a media for diplomacy by the government.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In the era of globalization, the complexity of relations between countries is characterized by efforts to outperform one country and another. At the end of October 2018, the World Economic Forum (WEF) published a report of the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI) 2018. Hundreds of countries in the world were assessed and examined their competitiveness and quality. Indonesia is included in this study list and in this report, Indonesia experienced a downgrade. Referring to the report, as many as 140 countries were included in the GCI list this year and Indonesia was ranked 45<sup>th</sup>. This ranking is an increase from the previous year which placed Indonesia ranked 36<sup>th</sup>. In addition, in Southeast Asia, Indonesia ranked 4<sup>th</sup>, far behind Singapore that ranked 2<sup>nd</sup>, Malaysia which was ranked 25<sup>th</sup> and Thailand which was ranked 38<sup>th</sup>. (Schwab, 2017).

WEF also analyzes that Indonesia's weak competitiveness is one of them is the simulation of a culture of investment and confidence in the low business sector. Indonesia must have a strategy to create a good investment climate by making various innovative efforts to improve the nation's branding so that the flow of investment and confidence in the business sector can increase (Petrarca and Terzi, 2018). With the increas-

ing of a country's nation branding, automatically the FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) and a healthy business climate within the country can be achieved.

In order to improve the ranking, various strategies are needed by utilizing the power of a country. The power of a country is theoretically divided into two types, hard power, and soft power. Hard power is more compelling and violent, for example by using military force. In contrast to the transactional hard power approach, the soft power approach is more inspirational in that it attracts others with the power of emotional intelligence such as building close relationships or bonds through charisma, persuasive communication, diplomacy, and cultural influences, thereby making other people affected (Nye Jr, 2004). In the use of state-owned soft power, there are several strategies that can be implemented, one of which is the swaggering strategy (Wrong, 2017).

After the Cold War, the soft power approach can be more developed as a way to improve a country's competitiveness, one of its concrete forms is sports culture. Sport has been known as an effective method for carrying out social integration, forming a national identity and improving the global image. Sports in the modern era have been constructed as the capital of a country. Sport can be a method of domestic political imaging, and externally can be used as a means of

diplomacy (Grix and Brannagan, 2016).

Regarding to the swaggering strategy, sports can be used as one of the instruments for holding mega events in order to demonstrate the country's capabilities. In its history, there have been several countries that have managed to hold mega sports events which can ultimately enhance the country's image at a global level, including the Olympics, the FIFA World Cup, the SEA Games, the Asian Games, the Winter Olympics, and others. The success of holding this mega event has become one of the benchmarks of the nation's branding (pretensions), including Indonesia, which has successfully hosted the Asian Games in 2018 (Freeman, 2012).

Through the momentum of holding the 2018 Asian Games sports event, Indonesia seeks to use its soft power to build the Nation Branding at the global level by using a swaggering strategy. Thus, Indonesia is expected to increase development in other sectors. The use of the 2018 Asian Games global scale sports event is used by Indonesia as a media for diplomacy by the government. This is because, there are representations and diplomatic activities by individuals or groups involved in sports events and in conjunction with existing governments (Wagar, 2009).

In practice sports are used to convey messages or shape the image that a country wants to form (Grix and Houlihan, 2014). The holding of mega sports events such as the 2018 Asian Games is increasingly being used as a media for diplomacy in various countries in order to build the image of a country to change perceptions of issues that are developing in the country and encourage rapid development of the country. Therefore, researchers are interested in seeing how Indonesia uses its soft power through the momentum of organizing the 2018 Asian Games in building a positive image of Indonesia through a swaggering strategy.

## 2 SOFT POWER, NATION BRANDING & SWAGGERING STRATEGY

Soft power is one of the concepts promoted by Joseph S. Nye. Soft power is a term that is widely used to interpret or explain a process of relations and realization of power. The meaning of soft power itself is an ability to do everything and control others, to make it do something that they do not necessarily want to do (things and control others, to get to what they otherwise would). Soft power is a superior national resource as the ability of the state that can be used to influence other countries to achieve the desired results

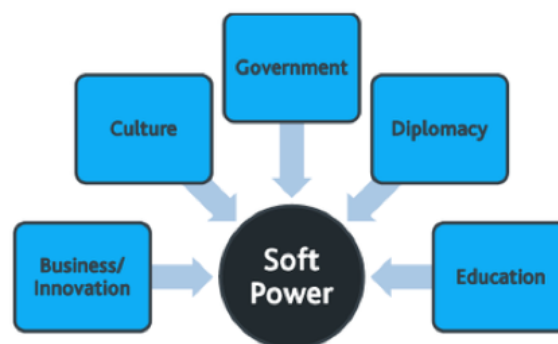


Figure 1: Soft power instruments

or interests. This soft power can be realized in foreign policy instruments and techniques run by a country.

Nye explained that with Soft Power "the best propaganda is not propaganda" (the best propaganda is not propaganda), and also explained that "credibility is the scarcest resource" (credibility is the rarest resource) (Nye, 2012). Nye introduced this term in his book, "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power" (Nye, 1990). Nye then developed the concept further through his book, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" (Nye Jr, 2004). According to Joseph Nye, soft power is: *the ability to get through a rather than through coercion or payments attraction*. Some forms of soft power include tourism, culture and so on. Thus, in pursuing its national interests the state can never act alone.

This concept requires other actors such as private agents, religious and educational institutions, and transnational companies engaged in the business of trade, communication and information, art, and culture (interdependence). This concept refers to the non-military power of the state such as the economy, culture and things that realists call low politics compared to hard power such as defence and military issues, soft power also has quite crucial problems for the country. The success of soft power depends on the credibility of the country concerned and acceptance from the target country. Attractions and inducements are social reconstructions so that new soft power will have an effect if there is a two-way relationship. The following are the components that can be categorized as the soft power of a country.

The success of a country in competing in the global market is very much influenced by the nation's Branding. Every country seeks to build a Nation Branding to influence relations with other countries. Nation Branding is one of the main components that can be the starting point for bilateral relations between one country and another. In this relationship, there are also actors who play a role in it, namely

state actors and non-state actors. Both of them always try their best to create a good image or image of their country to the international community. Nation Branding covers various aspects, such as politics, economics, culture, business and sports. At present, countries in the world focus on elevating the image of the country through anything that can distinguish itself on the international stage.

According to Anholt, Nation Branding is:

*Nation Branding as 'the dominant' channel of communication for national identity and communication has been a central concept in his conceptualization of nation branding.*

According to Raymond Miller, nation branding is defined as:

*A set of theories and applications that aim to measure, build and regulate the reputation of a country (still related to place branding).*

In accordance with its definition, this nation branding functions to build, develop, and maintain a good image (reputation) about a country. The success of a country in competing in the global market is strongly influenced by the country's brand image. In fact, the branding and image of a country coupled with a commensurate transfer between the images to the products produced are as important as the products produced by the country itself.

Nation Branding covers various aspects, such as politics, economics, culture, business and sports. At present, countries in the world focus on elevating the image of the country through anything that can distinguish itself on the international stage. Every country seeks to build a Nation Branding to influence relations with other countries. The use of Nation Branding in an effort to promote various aspects that are motivated by the interests of the state then combines state identity and nationalism in a real way by establishing cooperation with various branding consultants, various collaborative bodies in the field of national identity promotion both private and state, to develop promotional strategies commercial. Thus, efforts to be able to sell commercially owned and state-owned sectors within the country have a brand that will be published both internally and externally. Related to research on sports and the efforts of nation branding carried out through the holding of mega events, there have been several studies that were previously conducted by both researchers and outside academics. Previous research shows that sporting events can be used as instruments of diplomacy in relations between countries that are experiencing problems. Failure to form diplomacy formally can be softened through sporting events. Sports, even succeeded in initiating or opening the path of the recovery process of relations be-

tween two countries that had been involved in a long enough feud (Volcic and Andrejevic, 2011).

According to Martin Muller, events categorized by size and size are divided into giga events, mega events, and major events. The event category is related to the impact of organizing events. The wider the scope of the event is held, the more complex preparations must be made, and the greater the funds spent. The multi-billion-dollar expenditure on mega-events has a direct impact on host countries in cities, regions, populations and the environment. The host must ensure the availability of facilities such as stadiums, conference facilities, roads, railways, metro, hotels or power plants. In fact, the governments of most of the host countries make strategic use of this mega-event to develop infrastructure and encourage urban development (Müller, 2015).

Conceptually swaggering is the only strategy to use national capability that can accommodate soft power into one of their supporting instruments. Swaggering was originally one of the security strategies that has been carried out by a country where the country was trying to show the military security they had to other countries. Swaggering is mostly done in peaceful situations which can be used for military training in weapons demonstrations or making purchases or building prestigious weapons with the aim of being egoistic.

This strategy is usually carried out through the holding of mega events or major events on an international scale that are "show off" to show the capability of the country. Because it was carried out in a peaceful situation, this strategy then developed into a strategy that was not only militaristic. Swaggering is now carried out by using soft state power, one of which is sports culture. As a reference, the dynamics of the development of the Power Concept and its implementation of globalization can be seen in the following scheme (Murray, 2011).

The evolution of the swaggering concept approach from hard power to soft power can be seen in the following Table 1.

It is difficult to measure soft power appropriately, unlike hard power, which has more obvious elements such as population, or area owned. Several indicators offered that can be used to measure soft power which is developed from several aspects, namely politics, economics, social and culture, diplomacy and international relations (Changhe, 2013). For the purposes of this study, a soft power analysis was developed using a swaggering theory which is usually used in the context of military (non-military) power.

Swaggering is a behaviour used to increase national pride, fulfill the ambitions of leaders, and im-

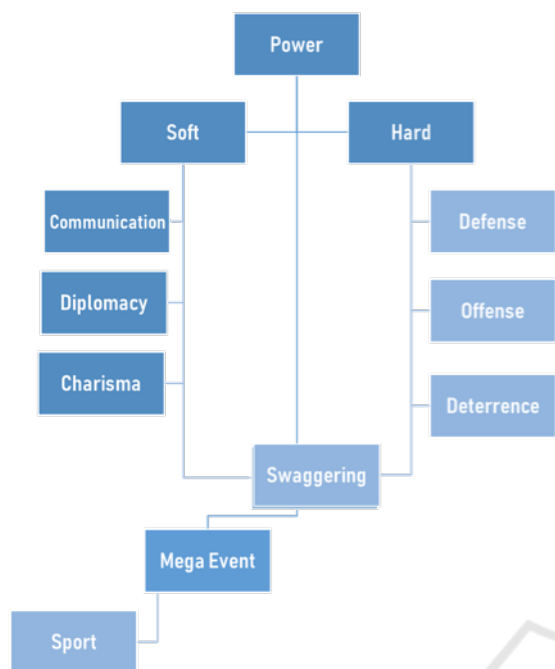


Figure 2: The National Power Scheme

Table 1: The Evolution of Swaggering Strategy Concept

SWAGGERING		
Characteristics	Hard Power	ISoft power
Demonstration (Show off)	Military Capabilities	Culture Uniqueness
Object	Exhibition, Pre-test, Armament Test	Cultural performances, education, tourism or sports exhibitions
Final destination	Egoistic and militaristic achievements	Nation branding
Media	Major and Mega Event	Major and Mega Event
Situation	Peace	Peace

prove the image of a country (Art, 1980). The discussion of swaggering, in this case, is a form of peaceful use of military power. A study explains the possibility of using sports as soft power using swaggering analysis (Freeman, 2012). In the context of military power, swaggering usually appears in the form, for example by displaying a troop title or a national exercise demonstration. This can be replaced by displaying the toughness of athletes competing in the arena of the prestigious world sports competition. Whereas the purchase of sophisticated weapons to show the strength of a country can be replaced with pride in

buying and building modern sports facilities and supporting infrastructure.

The organization of mega sports events such as the World Cup and the Olympics can be a place for a country to demonstrate its capabilities and reputation in the eyes of the international community. The Olympics can be used by the host country to show its identity to the global community. Developing countries can accentuate themselves as "debutante ball" or "coming out party" by becoming organizers. An example is when Japan hosted the Olympics in 1964. The implementation of the Olympics became a symbol of the forgiveness of sins as well as a "total welcome back" of Japan after losing all-out in the 1945 world war. While China used the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games to strengthen its identity in the power hierarchy globally (Fraser and Herbert, 1980).

The host who succeeded in holding a mega sports event will raise his pride in the international arena. The desire and ambition to host the event can show the ability and image of a government (Freeman, 2012). Strengths like this used to be usually pursued through military aspects (hard power), now can be obtained through sports achievements as a form of soft power. But the purpose of self-assertion as in the sense of swaggering can still be obtained.

Although it is difficult to measure its success, some scholars have offered a number of indicators including soft power scope. Nye (Nye, 2005) emphasizes that persuasive attraction is the key to the success of soft power rather than coercion. In a context like this, soft power can be pursued through diplomacy. Su (Changhe, 2013) states that the implementation of public diplomacy by using culture is an effective method of soft power, of course by involving all parties. Government, private individuals or groups can directly or indirectly influence behaviour and public opinion.

In the context of relations between countries, soft power can be used to increase the power of a country. One of them is in the form of increasing friendship with other countries. The aim of a country's diplomacy must be focused on friendship (growing friends) and instilling a culture (cultivating a culture), rather than adding enemies or establishing military alliances (Changhe, 2013). Based on this understanding, the 2018 Asian Games in Jakarta and Palembang are the implementation of soft power diplomacy that Indonesia can use to strengthen friendships with Asian countries.



### **3 ASIAN GAMES 2018: INDONESIA'S SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY THROUGH SWAGGERING STRATEGY**

The biggest event in Asia, the 2018 Asian Games have been held. The event, which took place August 18 to September 2, 2019, competed for 40 sports. The Games have been attended by 15,000 athletes and officials from 45-member countries of the Asian Olympic Council. Indonesia's appointment was motivated by Vietnam's unpreparedness to host. This is the second time Indonesia has hosted the Asian Games IV in Jakarta in 1962. For this reason, the government established the Indonesia Asian Games 2018 Organizing Committee (INASGOC) as the executive committee. INASGOC is responsible as the executive committee that will plan, prepare and organize the 2018 Asian Games. The INASGOC National Committee is responsible directly to the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Asian Games, which were first held in 1951 in New Delhi, are mega event sports for Asian countries. The trust given to Indonesia as the host of the 18th Asian Games is, of course, intended that the sporting events run well, smoothly and successfully. Since a year before, Indonesia has prepared and is actively promoting good. President Joko Widodo who inaugurated the Asian Games countdown at the National Monument, Jakarta on August 18, 2017 invited all components of Indonesian society to support the success of this event. All parties involved in the 2018 Asian Games want to achieve success at this sporting party, both in terms of success and achievement. The organization of the Asian Games also has a strategic meaning for Indonesia.

Sports events such as the 2018 Asian Games can simultaneously become an effort for Indonesian swaggering to the international community. Freeman describes the use of sport as a form of non-militaristic swaggering transformation (Freeman, 2012). First, the appearance of athletes who compete in mega events can lift national pride. Second, prestige as the host of mega sports events that will enhance the image of a country in the world. Pride is the goal of a swaggering strategy so that both are appropriate as a form of non-military swaggering. Finally, extensive media coverage of the event being held will also bring a message to the world outside about the existence and capabilities of the host country.

In this study, the analysis of swaggering in the implementation of the 2018 Asian Games was developed by focusing on achieving two things, attractions and

prestige. Attractions are shown by the international media interest that covers the event. Whereas Indonesia's prestige and image are seen from the appearance of athletes at the 2018 Games, including considering the sports that are aired and medals.

#### **3.1 Media Coverage**

The Asian Games are covered by 3,500 international media crews. While in Indonesia the media will not only cover sports activities, but also various other interesting events and objects in Indonesia. If all this time the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs invites dozens of foreign journalists to the Familiarization Trip (Fam Trip) and Journalist Visit Program (JVP), of course the presence of 3,500 media workers is a very large number to cover Indonesia.

INASGOC set a budget of 800 billion Rupiah for Asian Games broadcasting costs. The funds are included in the cost of the live broadcast of 38 sports, the opening ceremony, and the closing ceremony of the Asian Games which took place in Jakarta and Palembang. INASGOC provides the International Broadcasting Centre (IBC) located in the Jakarta Convention Centre in Jakarta and the Sriwijaya Promotion Centre in Palembang. The IBC 2018 Asian Games covers an area of 7,100 square meters located in the Jakarta Convention Centre (JCC) Hall B, Jakarta, so that it can accommodate the broadcast room requests of a number of countries.

To maintain the quality of broadcasts of the Asian Games, INASGOC is partnering with a Swiss broadcast management company, International Games and Broadcast Services (IGBS) as a management partner for broadcasting the 18th Asian Games. IGBS had previously been an Asian Games broadcasting partner in the previous three editions, the 2006 Asian Games in Doha, Qatar, 2010 in Guangzhou, China and 2014 in Incheon, South Korea. In the final stage of the auction held by INASGOC in Jakarta in June 2017, they defeated NEP, a media company from Australia. The Asian Games broadcasting will be distributed in all Asian countries even to Latin America except Brazil. A total of 427 high-resolution cameras will be prepared to broadcast live all sports except bridge and squash branches.

Meanwhile, the 2018 Asian Games broadcasting rights are held by Dentsu, a Japanese broadcasting company, while in Indonesia broadcasting rights are held by Elang Mahkota Teknologi (EMTEK Group) which has broadcast rights over broadcasts of terrestrial television (SCTV, Indosiar, O Channel), satellite (Nexmedia), digital channel (Vidio.com) and through the BBM application. The Emttek Group also shares

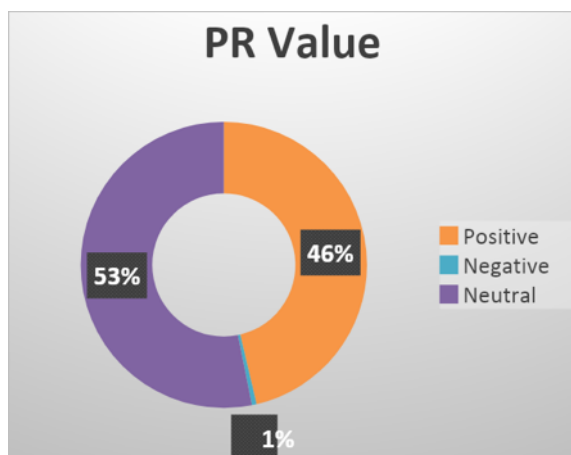


Figure 3: PR Value Analysis of Asian Games News

the broadcasting rights with a number of national televisions except for broadcasts of soccer and badminton matches. In addition to the Emtel Group, the 2018 Asian Games will also be broadcast by other terrestrial television such as TVRI, MetroTV, TV One (specifically Aquatic branches), all pay television service providers, Usee TV, MNC Play, and MAXStream applications provided by Telkomsel. For broadcasting rights on radio broadcasts, it is held by RRI as Emtel Radio Partner.

On the other hand, the number of a foreign official and media teams at the 2018 Asian Games exceeds capacity. INASGOC predicts the number of broadcasts and future foreign media covering 7,000 people. But in reality, the number of media registering exceeds expectations. A total of 11,000 media crews have been registered in the media covering the 2018 Asian Games with 500 media outlets.

Media attention to cover the 2018 Asian Games supports the swaggering strategy. The large number of foreign media covering international interest, especially in Asia, is about the implementation of the 2018 Asian Games held in Jakarta and Palembang. Throughout the 2018 Asian Games, namely from August to September, it managed to attract viewers (readers and viewers) and viewers. Their interest was not only about the matches held, but also everything related to Indonesia, especially regarding the cities of Jakarta and Palembang. Spread news brings positive sentiment and builds a positive image of Indonesia. Based on the PR Value analysis that has been carried out related to the Asian Games news in Indonesia, there are the following results.

Based on the PR Value, it can be seen that negative reporting on the Asian Games is only around 1%. This shows that efforts to establish a positive national image are going very well. Especially with

the very active reporting from foreign media making the spread of national image to a global scale can be easily implemented. In the context of the swaggering strategy, the Asian Games 2018 sports event became effective soft power diplomacy to build Indonesia's nation branding in international relations.

Based on the success of the PR Value, in accordance with the concept of nation branding, it can be said that the host who succeeded in organizing a mega sports event will raise his grip on the international arena. The desire and ambition to host the event can show the ability and image of a successful government. Indonesia's success as the host will strengthen the image of being a country that has the ability to hold mega sports events. This brings benefits to the identity of the Indonesian nation as a country that has developments especially in the economic and political fields which are quite stable so that the Asian Games can be held well.

The implementation of soft power diplomacy during the 2018 Asian Games has involved many stakeholders in all aspects so that it can be said to be a form of successful public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is fully integrated with the process of forming a country's image (Ginesta and de San Eugenio, 2014). This is an advantage of implementing a swaggering strategy that uses soft power because it can be done by non-state actors. Their involvement in the 2018 Asian Games also shows Indonesia's integrated public diplomacy.

### 3.2 Medal Earning

As the host, Indonesia won 98 medals, consisting of 31 gold, 24 silver and 43 bronze. With this result, Indonesia finished 4th in the highest number of golds medallists at the 18th Asian Games. This incision has become its own history for Indonesia because Indonesia has never before received this much gold. In rank, occupying the fourth position was the second-best achievement after the 1962 Asian Games in which Indonesia which at that time also appeared as the host managed to become the runner-up. Indonesia's success at the 2018 Asian Games cannot be separated from the great contribution of the Pencak Silat sports. This traditional Indonesian martial art has become the golden barn of Indonesia. Of the total 16 gold contested, Indonesia won 14 medals. This is a "clean sweep" because Indonesia does not include its representatives in two numbers.

### 3.3 Sport Divisions

The Asian Games event as Asia's four-year grand event involves 40 Sports Divisions. For the first time, Pencak Silat sports competed in the Asian Games even though they had competed regularly since the Southeast Asian Games, the SEA Games 1987. Pencak silat is an Indonesian martial art form which was formally recognized as a form of sport in 1948. There are several ways for a sport can enter sports competitions that are in accordance with Olympic rules. The traditional way is through the international sports federation to petition the International Olympic Committee, but the alternative is that the local organization committee encourages the branch to be competed.

Youth and Sports Minister Imam Nahrawi in July 2018 renegotiated with the Asian Olympic Committee so that pencak silat was contested. The official statement is "Indonesia is ready to host the Asian Games as long as various conditions from us can be fulfilled. The main requirement is to present Pencak Silat which is a typical Indonesian sports branch." As the host of the 2018 Asian Games, Indonesia can indeed add to the other three sports.

The competition of Pencak Silat at the 2018 Asian Games is considered to be able to help its recognition as a world heritage. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Indonesian government are discussing the submission of Pencak Silat as the world's non-cultural heritage for humanity. Over the past year, dossiers (files and documents) have been carefully prepared by a team of various stakeholders.

### 3.4 Mapping Perceptions of International Media

News management is communication management on daily issues involving the contents of domestic and international policies. The government in shaping policy in the modern era is always looking for efforts to make the policy a concern so that it can be conveyed to the wider community. But in general, the government only focuses on delivering in the domestic sphere and does not deliver it to the international scope. Whereas the delivery of policies at the international level is very important in the first dimension of public diplomacy (Leonard, 2002).

Therefore, the government's efforts to form policy can be delivered not only in the domestic sphere but also internationally, news management is needed that can facilitate the government to connect with the outside world. News management serves as a channel for the government to disseminate policies made

to the public and not only to the domestic public but also internationally. From here it can be seen that the role of the first dimension of public diplomacy, namely news management, is very important in supporting traditional diplomatic efforts carried out by the government.

According to the facts, the measurement of the soft power effectiveness, are calculated based on Media Coverage, Medal Earning, Sport Divisions, Mapping Perceptions of International Media. From the results of the research, it was found that in some of these categories, the responses of the Asian Games showed a positive trend. Based on the analysis above, there are several benefits of 2018 Asian Games diplomacy and promotion. First, to improve and strengthen people to people relations, because people are the leading actors in diplomatic activities, especially public diplomacy. Second, to increase the promotion of Indonesia abroad, with the amount of foreign media coverage during the Asian Games. Third, it will clearly improve the economy of the community.

## 4 CONCLUSIONS

Indonesia uses its soft power strategy through the Asian Games 2018 to increase Indonesia's Nation Branding in the eyes of the world. Nation Branding is one of the main components that can be the starting point for bilateral relations between one country and another. In these relations, there are also actors who play a role in it, namely state actors and non-state actors. Both of them always try their best to create a good image or image of their country to the international community. Based on the research above, it can be concluded that the sport held in mega events can be a power in the form of soft power and is used in the efforts of nation branding carried out by countries in the world.

In this study, researchers found that Indonesia is not just holding the 2018 Asian Games as a mere sports tournament. But it is also one of the efforts to use soft power through a swaggering strategy to build a Nation Branding Indonesia as an international tourist destination country as well as to promote Indonesia's potential with the aim of achieving broader national interests. Through the holding of the 2018 Asian Games, Indonesia seeks to form a positive image of Indonesia's potential in the form of tourism, economic openness, state stability, and so on.

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