

## Identifying Cultural Diplomacy and Sustainable Development in Sister Province Cooperation of Bali, Indonesia

Anak Agung Mia Intentilia\*

Universitas Pendidikan Nasional, Bali, Indonesia

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24843/JKB.2024.v14.i02.p04>

**Abstract:** While States have traditionally formed the focus of International Relations studies, the contributions of local government actors have become increasingly important in both influencing and responding to the forces of global politics, including in the Global South. In this vein, this preliminary study explores the practice of the local government in initiating sister province cooperation in Bali, Indonesia. This study uses three conceptual frameworks: paradiplomacy, sustainable development, and critical discourse analysis. Primary data were collected through interviews with relevant local government officials in Bali and secondary data were gathered from academic articles, official websites, and online news items. This paper identified two most prominent sectors of this cooperation, namely: tourism and culture. These two areas align with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). While clearly connected with governmental and international goals, challenges remain in implementing sister province cooperation, achieving continuity among the parties involved, and dealing with funding limitations.

**Keywords:** Bali; cultural diplomacy; paradiplomacy; sister province cooperation; Sustainable Development Goals

### 1. Introduction

Globalization has led to an increasingly interconnected world; however, barriers to equal participation remain at the international and local levels. In nations of the Global South, a growing concern surrounds the preservation of local culture surrounded by Western cultures (Harirah et al., 2021) and the impact of globalization (Putra, 2013). The role of local governments as a connection point between global issues, national interests, and local potential is pivotal to navigating the power dynamics amid the forces of localization

\* Corresponding author's email: [mia.intentilia@undiknas.ac.id](mailto:mia.intentilia@undiknas.ac.id)

Submitted: 20 May 2024; Accepted: 19 September 2024; Published: October 2024



Copyright © 2024 by the author (s). This article is published by *Jurnal Kajian Bali (Journal of Bali Studies)*, University of Udayana, Bali, Indonesia, under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

and globalization. Increasingly, International Relations studies do not limit diplomacy to State-to-State interaction but also recognize local governments as key agents in these interactions. This concept is called *paradiplomacy*, and emphasizes the involvement of sub-national entities, such as provinces and cities, with the aim of establishing purposeful partnerships. According to Oddone (2023, p. 2), *paradiplomacy* can be seen as the “democratization of foreign policy, by considering the needs and interests of the different levels within the State”. This development is particularly relevant to nations of the Global South as contemporary diplomacy turns its focus from State-centric issues of the Global North, towards also the local dynamics within the State itself in the context of the Global South.

Considering the salience of local contexts to *paradiplomacy* studies, the province of Bali in Indonesia becomes a compelling site to examine the connection between local and global issues. Now fully established as a tourism beacon, Bali has been awarded “the best tourism destination” predicate on different occasions (for instance, world’s best tourist destination by TripAdvisor in 2017 (Nurhayati, 2017) and best island according to DestinAsian annual readers’ choice award 2024 (DestinAsian, 2024), and its 2012 UNESCO enlisting as a world heritage site solidifies its global status. Numerous international conferences are also organized in Bali, including the G20 Summit in 2022, in which Indonesia acted as the G20 Presidency. In the regional context, Bali is closely linked to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), wherein the Bali Concord represents one of the key milestones of this regional organization’s journey. While Bali has clearly established its global presence, it remains a contested site shaped by the dynamics of both internal and external influences (Wardana, 2019). A previous study by Putra (2013) indicated the urgency to examine further the idea of “globalizing local values through global events” in Bali, and to what extent the island actually controls its continuous development as a global hub of cultural tourism within the impacts of globalization.

Despite Bali’s worldwide reputation as a paradisiacal tourism destination, a vessel of cultural heritage, and a host of prestigious international events, the questions remain as to whether Bali is merely used as a “venue” for these national and global activities, or if these events actually contribute to the wellbeing and strength of its people in terms of cultural diplomacy, sustainable development, and standing in external relations. *Paradiplomacy* in the form of sister province cooperation becomes a meaningful case study for probing these questions, where ambitions of international cooperation intertwine with local, national, and global structures. In addition to government officials, the involvement of non-State actors, including journalists, lecturers, and students is crucial in amplifying cultural diplomacy (UNESCO, 2023). This preliminary

study therefore aims to identify and evaluate Bali's foreign relations played out through sister province cooperations, highlighting the elements of culture and sustainable development.

Previous studies on Bali's external cooperation have been conducted by scholars, for instance: Bali's and Ho Chi Minh's intentions to develop cooperation from a tourism point of view (Wardani, 2021) and specifically on the paradiplomacy of Bali's capital city of Denpasar (Intentilia & Surya Putra, 2021). By analyzing data obtained from provincial government representatives, this paper highlights current areas of cooperation, as well as the opportunities and challenges of paradiplomacy when carried out by a provincial government of the Global South. This paper can serve as a starting point for further studies of paradiplomacy, extending to multiple stakeholders, and other provincial governments and cities in Indonesia and even the broader Global South, seeking to enhance their international relations.

## 2. Literature Review

As a worldwide beacon of tourism, Bali is heavily influenced by the dynamics of globalization. At the national level, the development of the tourism industry in Bali has long been viewed by successive governments as an important source of international exchange as well as economic gains (Adams, 2018). Another facet of Bali's experience towards globalization can be observed through the phenomenon called "touristification" of Balinese society. Through a case study of the giant tourism monument, Garuda Wisnu Kencana (GWK) that dominates the sky of Southern Bali, Verheijen & Putra (2020) revealed that GWK illustrated the evolution from Bali's classic cultural tourism, which heavily relied on top-down directives from the national government, to its own global image projection, achieved by, among others, hosting prestigious international events. Scholars have also observed that local movements have emerged in Bali in response to both national and global pressures, and function as a way of restoring control. Reuter (2010) highlights the cultural movement called *Ajeg Bali* or "making Bali upright" as a form of "localization" amid the contemporary forces of globalization. Allen & Palermo (2005) argue that the alignment to traditional values in the movement is done in an attempt to restore balance and order in the context of social upheaval.

Globalization is closely interlinked with international relations, in which Bali's international exposure through diplomacy, and particularly paradiplomacy, forms the focus of this paper. In a literature review of paradiplomacy studies, Novialdi et al. (2021) revealed that regions and cities are crucial international actors nowadays. Viewing paradiplomacy as the links between cities and regions with both State and non-State foreign actors,

Ciesielska-Klikowska & Kamiński (2022) evaluated its impact on the European Union (EU), and particularly on the development of EU foreign policy. Examining the Indonesian situation, the involvement of the local government in external relations remains aligned with national interests, which include a strong “economic orientation” involving the promotion of their products in the global market (Fathun, 2022).

Research on cities’ transnational engagement in North American and European settings has been conducted widely. In contrast, studies on sub-national participation in Asia are still limited. A study of Chinese paradiplomacy conducted by Wu (2020) highlights at least 11 factors causing the increase in paradiplomacy activities, including the pursuit of economic benefits caused by globalization and the transition from a centralized government to local units. Utomo (2024) discovered six major themes of city diplomacy, namely: economy, environment, health, culture, education, and sports. Examining the specific case of city-to-city paradiplomacy between Surabaya, Indonesia, and Kitakyushu, Japan, Dzazira & Pratama (2023) revealed sister city collaboration is based on their shared concern regarding environmental issues, such as waste management. Surabaya and Kitakyushu have shown a successful example of mutual benefit gained from paradiplomacy, by sharing knowledge and best practices. Another study by Dharmajaya & Raharyo (2019) highlighted that the cooperation between the sister province of West Java and South Australia brings benefits to both regions in terms of agriculture, fisheries, tourism, culture, and education.

The Indo-Pacific clearly has promising opportunities for paradiplomacy, considering the shared interests among the regions of this area; however, challenges remain. Many cities or provinces, especially in developing countries, find it difficult to establish international connections. Furthermore, the current practice of paradiplomacy emphasizes only “on paper” agreements, such as signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), without actual realization that can bring tangible benefits to society (Novialdi et al., 2022). Utomo (2024) points to several internal and external factors that undermine the goals of paradiplomacy, for instance: (i) lack of communication; (ii) shortage of human resources; (iii) insufficient support from government officials and civil society; (iv) shift in government policies; (v) tensions between regional and central governments; and (vi) dynamics of global situations.

A study by Castan Pinos & Sacramento (2024) highlights the term counter-paradiplomacy (CPD), arguing that in conducting paradiplomacy, sub-national units do not always have “harmony with the interests of the parent State” (p. 4). Therefore, it can be seen that paradiplomacy does not necessarily *always* bring benefit to the broader State. It is therefore crucial to delve deeper into the

practice of paradiplomacy at the provincial and city levels, such as in this paper, which focuses on local government actors that aim to seek an active role in international relations. Moreover, in studying paradiplomacy and connecting it with cities and provinces, scholars revealed the impact of globalization and its relations to the day-to-day life of society at the local level, known as “glocalization”. Another viewpoint conceives paradiplomacy as “a product of globalization” with a growing influence of non-State actors (Utomo, 2022). The rise of paradiplomacy in Indonesia is worth investigating because it brings an opportunity for subnational actors to play a significant role in international affairs.

### 3. Method and Conceptual Framework

#### 3.1 Method

This paper uses a case study approach conducted through the lens of paradiplomacy. It applies content and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate and evaluate the practice of sister province cooperation between the province of Bali and external partners worldwide. Case study research aims to provide an “in-depth view of quality and complexity of social/educational programs or policies as they are implemented in specific socio-political context” (Simons, 2014, p. 458). This preliminary case study of Bali therefore aims to provide an overview of Bali’s current sister province initiatives and evaluate their connections with sustainable development. The main research question for this paper is:

1. How does the Balinese provincial government conceptualize the pursuit of sister province cooperation in the context of local and global interests?

Two sub-questions stemmed from this main research question, namely:

1. What forms of sister province cooperation between the Balinese and external parties have been established, who is involved, what areas of cooperation are outlined, what activities have taken place, what challenges have occurred, and what are the connections between Bali’s sister province cooperation with SDGs?
2. At the local level, what evidence of equitable outcomes for both the people and the provincial government of Bali can be found in the government perspective?

The analysis of the data involved an initial content analysis and a subsequent critical discourse analysis using social actor analysis drawn from the framework devised by Van Leeuwen (2008) to answer the second research sub-question. Primary data for this study were collected by conducting two

interviews with key stakeholder in the provincial Balinese government responsible for managing international relations. Detailed information about sister province cooperation is not readily available to the public so requires close consultation with a key informant in the provincial government. The author sent a letter of request to have an interview addressed to Head of Government and People's Welfare Bureau, Regional Secretariat of Bali Province (*Kepala Biro Pemerintahan dan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Sekretariat Daerah Provinsi Bali*) and followed up by sending a list of question to the key informant, Ms. Ni Putu Susi Lestari, S.IP, M.A.P. as the Head of Foreign Affairs Cooperation Team (*Ketua Tim Kerjasama Luar Negeri*).

As a response to the questions sent by the author, the first written interview results were collected on 19 September 2023. Afterward, the author utilized the data from the first interview result and sent another list of follow-up questions as part of the second online interview. The author received the second written interview result on 19 February 2024. The data gathered focuses on the development of sister province cooperation involving Bali, up to 19 February 2024. Further development after this time period is not included in this paper. All primary data used in this paper have been cross-checked for accuracy through a final data confirmation process, conducted in-person by the author with the key informant. Secondary data were retrieved from the official government website of Bali ([baliprov.go.id](http://baliprov.go.id)) by searching relevant public announcements related to Bali's sister province cooperation. Online news reports from leading mainstream news organizations were gathered by carefully selecting applicable publications related to Bali's sister province cooperation.

### 3.2 Conceptual Framework

This paper uses the concept of diplomacy that is conducted by sub-units within States, such as provinces or cities, known as paradiplomacy. The concept of "paradiplomacy" was used in the 1980s by Panayotis Soldatos, to describe "a direct continuation, and to varying degrees, from sub-State government, foreign activities" (Paquin, 2020, p. 49). Paradiplomacy depicts a crucial change in the field of foreign policy and global politics, from large-scale State actors to smaller sub-State actors, with varied interests and motivations. Kuznetsov (2015, p. 30-31) argued that the term "paradiplomacy" is used to cover all types of regional activities, and defined paradiplomacy as:

"a form of political communication for reaching economic, cultural, political, and any other types of benefits, the core of which consists in self-sustained actions of regional governments with foreign governmental and non-governmental actors."

This paper utilizes the concept of paradiplomacy derived from the work of Keating (2013). New communications media and global culture allow for the presence of a cultural community without the need for physical closeness. According to Keating (2013), three main motivations form the basis of a region to move into the field of international relations, namely: (i) economic; (ii) cultural; and (iii) political motivations. Regions attempt to further their economic interests by expanding investment, enhancing product markets, developing technology transfer, increasing the growth of local firms or enterprises, and promoting tourism destinations (Keating, 2013). Cultural motivations involve a range of factors, including the development, promotion, and preservation of culture, language, and historical identities. The political aspect can be traced to seeking recognition and legitimacy (Keating, 2013) which could apply to either the national or international context.

Cultural diplomacy plays a pivotal role in the current development of international relations and foreign policy. Pletsan et al. (2022) assert that cultural diplomacy contribute to achieving sustainable development, in line with the Global Sustainable Competitiveness Index and Global Sustainable Development Index. Furthermore, States can play upon their cultural characteristics to facilitate cooperation and dialogue. Traditional cultural diplomacy emphasizes the importance of “winning hearts and minds”, while the contemporary approach of using culture as diplomacy highlights “long-term cooperation and sharing values” (UNESCO, 2023).

CDA views discourse as a social practice, whereby language use is both socially constituted and socially consequential (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). When messages are communicated by elite institutions such as the media, and governments, language has greater potential to shape social opinions, structures, and relations of power (Van Dijk, 2015). The discursive production and reproduction of relations of power are not always expressed overtly, particularly under democratic conditions unfavorable to explicit expressions of dominance or obfuscation of information. CDA practitioners therefore need to analyze “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of power as manifested in language” (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 15). To clarify, being “critical” in CDA requires the researcher to demonstrate the connection between structures of power and structures of language rather than simply “criticizing” it (Fairclough, 1995).

## **4. Results and Discussion**

### ***4.1 Background of Bali's Paradiplomacy through Sister Province Cooperation***

Bali's sister province cooperation is specifically conducted in accordance with the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation Number 25 of 2020 on the

Procedure of Cooperation of Local Government with the Local Government in Foreign State and Local Cooperation with Foreign Institutions (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, September 19, 2023). The Ministry Regulation Number 25 of 2020 specifies the areas of international cooperation, namely: (i) development of science and technology; (ii) cultural exchange; (iii) improvement of technical capabilities and governance management; (iv) promoting local potentials; and other areas of cooperation that do not violate the government regulations. It also stipulates the need for the production of the Letter of Intent (LoI), which outlines the intended goals of the cooperation. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) then follows, comprising the scope of cooperation between the provincial government in Indonesia and the foreign government over a specific time period.

At the provincial level of government, the sister province cooperation is mainly handled by the local Foreign Affairs Cooperation Team, which falls under the Government and People's Welfare Bureau of the Regional Secretariat of the Balinese Provincial Government. In addition to the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation Number 25 of 2020, the government of Bali introduced specific regulations on the sister province cooperation in 2006 through Regulation of the Governor of Bali Number 39 of 2006 regarding the Cooperation Guideline with Foreign Parties (*Peraturan Gubernur Bali Nomor 39 Tahun 2006 tentang Pedoman Kerjasama Dengan Pihak Luar Negeri*). As mentioned on the official website of the Legal Documentation and Information Network of the Bali Provincial Government, this Regulation is still in effect (Biro Hukum Sekretariat Daerah Provinsi Bali, no date).

The gubernatorial regulation asserts that the purpose of external relations with foreign parties is to “improve the welfare of the society” by assessing the “efficiency and effectiveness of public service”, and “synergy and mutual benefits”. According to these statements, external relations with foreign parties are possible, as long as they uphold the principle of reciprocity by giving benefits for both sides. This consideration also resonates with the motivation from the economic side, taking the wording of “improving the welfare of the society.” Furthermore, this guideline also asserts the importance of “regional development” through “shared interests” (Government of Bali, 2006).

The purposes of Balinese government external relations are (i) facilitating cooperation in various sectors, including urban, inter-urban issues, and socio-economic matters; (ii) improving the roles of local government in public service; and (iii) increasing the standard of general service. There are several advantages expected from external cooperation, which cover: (i) exchanging knowledge and experience for development management in respective areas; (ii) boosting the initiative of the regional government, society, and private sector; (iii)



optimizing the management of regional potentials; (iv) actualizing friendship with government-to-government and people-to-people contacts among parties; (v) implementing cultural exchange to raise awareness in preserving local cultures (Government of Bali, 2006).

The Regulation of the Governor of Bali Number 39 of 2006 specifically outlines the scope of cooperation in Bali’s external relations with foreign parties as illustrated in Table 1 and Table 2. Table 1 signifies the scope of socio-cultural cooperation that can be conducted by Bali Province, consisting of seven areas. Hence, any cooperation that falls under these seven areas is eligible to be implemented by the government of Bali. Moreover, the Governor’s Regulation also includes the economic area of cooperation, which covers 12 sub-sectors, as presented in Table 2.

Table 1. Socio-cultural Cooperation of Bali Province’s External Relations

Number	Socio-Cultural Cooperation
1	Education ( <i>pendidikan</i> )
2	Environment ( <i>lingkungan hidup</i> )
3	Health ( <i>kesehatan</i> )
4	Youth ( <i>kepemudaan</i> )
5	Women ( <i>kewanitaan</i> )
6	Sports ( <i>olahraga</i> )
7	Arts ( <i>kesenian</i> )

Source: Regulation of the Governor of Bali Number 39 of 2006 (Government of Bali, 2006)

Table 2. Economic Cooperation of Bali Province’s External Relations

Number	Economic Cooperation
1	Trade ( <i>perdagangan</i> )
2	Investment ( <i>investasi</i> )
3	Foreign loan ( <i>pinjaman luar negeri</i> )
4	Employment ( <i>ketenagakerjaan</i> )
5	Marine and fisheries ( <i>kelautan dan perikanan</i> )
6	Science and technology ( <i>ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi</i> )
7	Forestry ( <i>kehutanan</i> )
8	Agriculture ( <i>pertanian</i> )
9	Plantation ( <i>perkebunan</i> )
10	Mining ( <i>pertambangan</i> )
11	Industry/manufacture ( <i>industry/manufaktur</i> )
12	Tourism ( <i>pariwisata</i> )

Source: Regulation of the Governor of Bali Number 39 of 2006 (Government of Bali, 2006)

## 4.2 Cultural Diplomacy in the Implementation of Bali's Sister Province Cooperation

As previously mentioned in the literature review, Keating (2013) outlined that there are three motivations as the basis of a region to have international relations, namely: (i) economic; (ii) cultural; and (iii) political motivations. To connect the result and discussion section of this paper to the literature review from Keating (2013), this paper argues that economic and cultural motivations can be found in Bali's sister province cooperation, while political interest is excluded. The reason for this is that the scope of cooperation does not include political motivation. Economic interest through the development of tourism sectors is very prominent in implementing Bali's sister province cooperation, as well as the cultural motivation of utilizing culture as one of the assets and main attractions of the tourism industry in Bali. By interviewing the key informant, the study uncovered that 10 sister province cooperations were established between Bali and external partners between the period of 9 June 2001 and 19 February 2024. The data presented in Table 3 below outlines all the agreements, external partners, the scope of cooperation, the type of arrangement in place (MoU or LoI), and the date of signing.

Table 3. Sister Province Cooperations between Bali and External Partners

Number	External Partner for Sister Province Cooperation	Scope of Cooperation	Document Type	Date of Signing
1	Jeju, South Korea	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tourism</li> <li>2. Culture</li> <li>3. Education</li> <li>4. Trade</li> <li>5. Health</li> <li>6. Science and technology</li> </ol>	MoU	15 October 2001
2	Northern Territory, Australia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Education</li> <li>2. Culture</li> <li>3. Tourism</li> <li>4. Health</li> <li>5. Industry and trade</li> <li>6. Fishery</li> <li>7. Environment</li> <li>8. Connectivity</li> </ol>	MoU	9 June 2001
3	Yunnan, People's Republic of China	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economy</li> <li>2. Trade</li> <li>3. Tourism</li> <li>4. Science and technology</li> <li>5. Culture</li> <li>6. Sports</li> <li>7. Health</li> </ol>	MoU	22 November 2003

Number	External Partner for Sister Province Cooperation	Scope of Cooperation	Document Type	Date of Signing
4	Hainan, People's Republic of China	1. Tourism 2. Culture 3. Education 4. Trade 5. Health	MoU	24 July 2017
5	Hawaii, United States of America	1. Tourism 2. Culture 3. Education 4. Trade 5. Health	MoU	2014
6	Kumamoto Prefecture, Japan	1. Tourism 2. Culture 3. Education 4. Agriculture 5. Trade and investment	MoU	17 November 2016
7	Uttarakhand, India	1. Tourism and Culture 2. E-Government 3. Human Resources Development 4. Environment 5. Health	LoI	23 April 2018
8	Jiangxi, People's Republic of China	1. Tourism 2. Culture 3. Education 4. Trade	LoI	27 November 2020
9	Arges, Romania	1. Tourism 2. Culture 3. Agriculture 4. Education	LoI	1 July 2022
10	Hainan, People's Republic of China	1. Tourism and Culture 2. Agriculture 3. Education 4. Trade 5. Communication and Informatics	LoI	9 February 2023

Source: Data from the interview result (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, February 19, 2024)

Drawing from the data presented above, the pattern and frequency of the areas of cooperation are depicted in Figure 1 below.

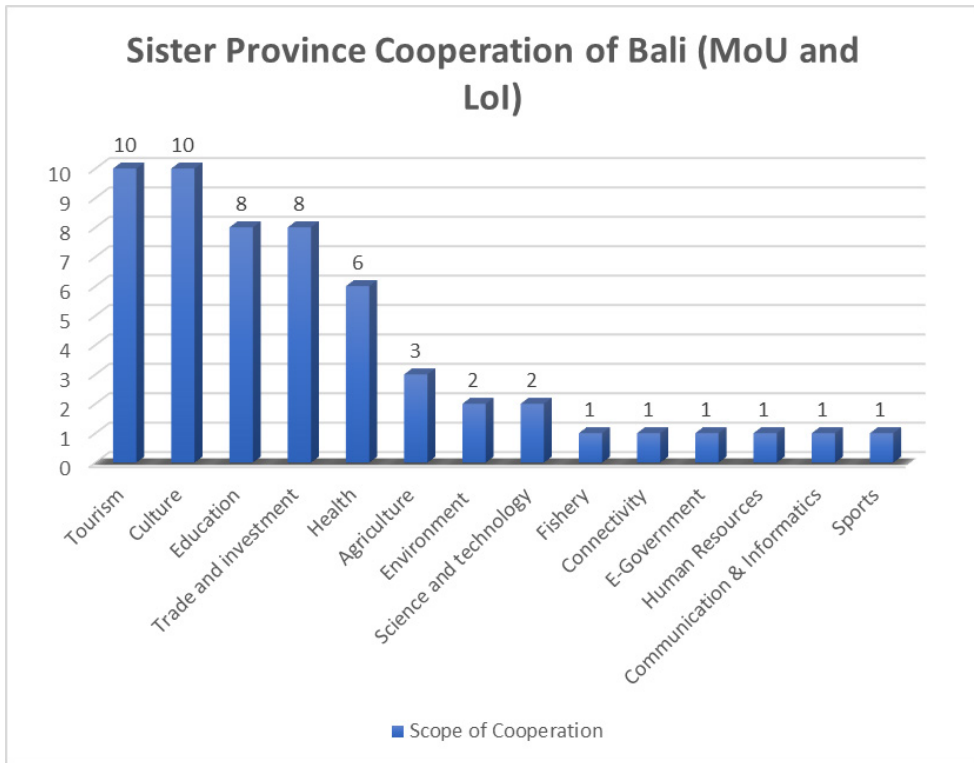


Figure 1. Sister Province cooperation of Bali According to the Scope of Cooperation (Source: Illustrated by author, 2024)

The top five of the current areas of cooperation focus equally on (i) tourism and culture (both mentioned ten times); (ii) education (mentioned eight times); (iii) trade and investment (mentioned eight times); and (iv) health (mentioned six times). Other sectors of cooperation such as agriculture (mentioned three times), environment (mentioned twice), science and technology (mentioned twice), along with six other areas mentioned only once but may be expanded in the future. The areas of education and science and technology were placed in different categories to reflect the contents of the MoU with Jeju, South Korea that separates (i) education and (ii) science and technology as different areas of cooperation. Although these two areas are interconnected, this paper divides both areas into different categories. The data shows that the Balinese government, in conjunction with their international partners, has integrated the element of tourism and culture in every one of the 10 sister province cooperation documents created. Education as well as trade and investment are also prominent elements. No political motivation was determined, in accordance with the Regulation of the Governor of Bali Number 39 Year 2006 (*Peraturan Gubernur Bali Nomor 39 Tahun 2006*).

The informant provided a concrete example of program implementation stemming from the sister province cooperation and its scope of cooperation. In 2020, a LoI between the Balinese provincial government and the Jiangxi provincial government was established focusing on the areas of tourism, culture, education, and trade. After this relationship was formalized, members of the Balinese government attended the Jiangxi Export Online Exhibition on 11 May 2021. Within the scope of trade, as outlined in the LoI, the attendees reportedly used it as a forum to introduce Balinese products to the Chinese and global markets. Furthermore, in accordance with the scope of education, the government of Jiangxi Province subsequently offered a scholarship program via the Northeast Asian Youth Camp on Sustainable Development 2023 held in Jiangxi to facilitate youth exchange involving students and youth from both provinces (Photo 1). Two representatives from Bali were selected to participate in this program.



Photo 1. Delegate of Bali in Northeast Asian Youth Camp 2023 (Photo: Personal Documentation of Lestari, 2023).

Multiple stakeholders are involved in both sides of the sister province agreements. The sister province cooperation between Bali and Jiangxi described by the informant is an illustrative example of the multiple institutional stakeholders involved and their alignment with the areas of cooperation, in this case, tourism, culture, education, and trade. The following institutions were reportedly involved: the Bali Provincial Tourism Office, Bali Provincial Culture Office, Bali Provincial Youth, Education, and Sports Office, as well as Bali

Provincial Trade Office. In addition to the local bureaucracy, the implementation of this sister province cooperation also included a higher education institution, specifically Udayana University, one of the most prominent universities in Bali. The parties involved from the Jiangxi Provincial Government included the Department of Tourism and Culture of Jiangxi Province, the Office of Foreign Affairs of Jiangxi Province, the Monitoring Centre for Culture and Tourism of Jiangxi Province, the Department of International Education Cooperation and the Jiangxi Teacher Development Centre, Jiangxi University of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Jiangxi Agricultural University, as well as International Liaison Department of Jiangxi Council for the Promotion of International Trade (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, February 19, 2024).

Other than the role of government officials, the informant assured the interviewer that members of civil society are also involved in the sister province's activities. Like the institutional stakeholders, their involvement logically aligned with the scope of activities outlined in the respective LoI or MoUs and gave general examples. Tourism actors or collaborators are invited to participate in sister province activities relating to the field of tourism. In the field of culture, cultural actors in Bali were involved. In the context of education, teachers and students were connected through sister province cooperation. Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) actors were reported to participate in the field of trade. The field of informatics and communication targeted local media actors.

The informant provided a concrete example of civil society involvement in the area of informatics in the sister province cooperation between the Balinese government and the Hainan Provincial Government, People's Republic of China. The two parties signed the "One City, One Media" Friendship Agreement that would see increased cooperation between media practitioners, both conventional and modern, from the two provinces. This program aims to strengthen media cooperation in international communication, through the exchange of promotional information and opening up channels to mutually share information between the provinces (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, February 19, 2024). Other than reference to media practitioners, no further details of the participation of civil society was provided.

The informant reported several state visits between both the Balinese and international representatives stemming from the process of initiating the sister province agreements, and the strengthening of existing cooperations. On 23 April 2018, for example, the then governor of Bali, visited the state of Uttarakhand, India to sign a LoI between the Balinese provincial government and the Uttarakhand state government. The scope of sister province cooperation focused on (i) tourism and culture; (ii) e-government; (iii) human resources capacity building; as well as (iv) environment and health. News reports at the

time framed the collaboration positively, focusing on the similarities between the two parties. One report mentioned that due to their rich religious and spiritual heritage, both have almost identical predicates, namely “Island of The Gods” and “Land of The Gods”, for Bali and Uttarakhand respectively (Fau & Rachman, 2017). Another report framed Uttarakhand as a site of holy pilgrimage for Balinese Hindus (Wiguna & Budhiana, 2018).

In another example provided by the informant, a Jiangxi Provincial Government Delegation visited Bali on 15 September 2023. Led by the Deputy Director General of the Jiangxi Provincial Foreign Affairs Office along with a group of 12 delegates, the group intended to further the sister province cooperation. A follow-up visit to Bali occurred on 8 December 2023, involving the Jiangxi Provincial Government Leadership Delegation, led directly by the Deputy Governor of Jiangxi Province, again accompanied by a group of 12 delegates. The interviewee reported that the purpose of this visit was to not only strengthen the cooperation between the two sister provinces but also to carry out the signing of an MoU; however, because the finalization of the MoU had not been issued by the national government via the Ministry of Home Affairs, the signing could not take place (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, February 19, 2024).

Despite the setback, the development of the sister province cooperation between Bali and Jiangxi continued in 2023. The interviewee reported a discussion between the Acting Governor of Bali and the Vice Governor of Jiangxi Province on 8 December 2023, highlighting the aspects of tourism, culture, education, and trade to transfer knowledge and experience to strengthen the cooperation of both parties. Moreover, it was reported that the Acting Governor of Bali stressed the potential of traditional medicine in Bali as an alternative to modern medicine aligned strongly with the cultural interests of the Jiangxi government (Pemerintah Provinsi Bali, 2023). In the context of Bali and Hainan, China, both are parts of the Inter-Islands Tourism Policy (ITOP) Forum which was established in 1997. The delegate of Bali has also participated in ITOP Forum 2019 in Jeju, South Korea, as shown in Photo 2. Governor of Bali expected that the collaboration of both parties should not be limited on paper, but can truly be realized to bring benefits to the society in general. There is a statement from the President of the People’s Republic of China on the occasion of Indonesia’s G20 Presidency in 2022, that Hainan should learn from Bali since Bali is considered more advanced in terms of internationalization (Bali Post, 2023). In addition, the Ambassador of Romania to Indonesia visited the Rudana Museum and Rudana Fine Art Gallery in Gianyar and appreciated the wonderful tradition, culture, and environment in Bali (Armando, 2021). Therefore, the element of cultural diplomacy is very significant in the implementation of Bali’s sister province cooperation.



Photo 2. Delegate of Bali in Inter-Islands Tourism Policy (ITOP) Forum in Jeju, South Korea (Photo: Personal Documentation of Putra, 2019)

### ***4.3 Sustainable Development Goals and Evaluating the Impact of Bali's Sister Province Cooperation***

The United Nations SDGs form the overarching global sustainable development agenda which seeks to bring an end to poverty and inequality by 2030. As the last of the 17 goals, the UN lists “Partnership for the Goals,” implying the crucial role of international cooperation in realizing the other 16. SDG 17 is “Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development”, with a specific part of target 17.16 that aims to incorporate “multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technology, and financial resources” (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, no date). On the other hand, the SDGs themselves have been critiqued as a “tenuous wish list” that overlooks how power inequalities operate and manifest at the local and global level to influence the possibility of change (Struckmann, 2018) and that the targets are “fuzzy, ambitious, often un-implementable and contradictory, and perhaps even hubristic” (Sultana, 2018, p. 187).

The next section aims to connect the two most mentioned scopes of cooperation in Bali’s sister province, namely: tourism and culture, with SDGs. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), tourism plays a significant role in SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) target 8.9: to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs



and promote local culture and products; SDG 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production) target 12.b: develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products and target 12.b.1: implementation of standard accounting tools to monitor the economic and environmental aspects of tourism sustainability; and SDG 14 (Life below Water) target 14.7: sustainable use of marine resources, including through sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture and tourism (UN DESA, no date). The development of the tourism sector in the sister province cooperation of Bali Province is very related to SDG. However, it is pivotal to note that this is not merely tourism in general, but emphasizes more on “sustainable tourism”. The issue of sustainable tourism in Bali has drawn the attention of various stakeholders. Therefore, this paper argues that sister province cooperation can be a potential tool for Bali to achieve sustainable tourism.

Tourism and culture are intertwined in almost every aspect of Balinese people’s lives. It is no surprise that culture is also mentioned ten times, as much as tourism, in Bali’s sister province cooperation. SDGs that are specifically mentioned and connected with cultural elements include: SDG 4 (Quality Education) target 4.7: appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development; SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) target 8.3: entrepreneurship, creativity, and innovation and target 8.9: promotes local culture and products; SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) target 11.4: protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage and target 11.4.1: total per capita expenditure on the preservation, protection, and conservation of all cultural and natural heritage; and SDG 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production) target 12.b: develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes culture and products (United Cities and Local Governments, 2018). In a broader context, culture plays an influential role in creating cooperation and is actually correlated with all SDGs. There are several terms such as “international cultural cooperation”; “cultural diplomacy”; and “international cultural relations”. In the context of regional organizations, for instance, ASEAN, cultural aspects in the forms of arts and culture festivals are considered “compelling and instrumental” for cooperation mechanisms, albeit the need to improve the existing and previous scheme and approach (Ocón, 2021). In observing Bali as a case study, it is important for Balinese people to keep on preserving the customs, traditions, and culture, as one of the primary assets of Balinese identity, as well as the potential bargaining position of establishing sister province cooperation.

Analyzing the key informant's conceptualization of the practice of establishing and implementing sister province cooperations can provide insight into the potential impact of this practice of paradiplomacy. The following section presents findings from the discourse analysis of the interview data. The overarching discursive representation of the sister province agreements aligned with a politically neutral stance, imbued with strong ambitions for growth, improvement, and optimization of results, indicative of the provincial government's high expectations of these partnerships. Social actions associated with this growth like "improving," "increasing," and "strengthening," were used throughout the discourse. The activities themselves that they sought to advance, however, remained predominantly at the abstract level, such as "mutual understanding" or "exchange." Material actions were describing explicitly "who does what to whom" and were backgrounded in the discourse, with a focus on communicative activities such as "discussing" or "signing" an agreement.

One of the most common activities portrayed was *kerjasama* which was used interchangeably as both a verb, indicating a relational social action, or a nominalization, indicating an ongoing process without defined agency. In the case of a noun, the meaning varied according to the immediate context of the utterance to be cooperation, agreement, or collaboration. As an active verb, it meant to "work together," "cooperate," or "collaborate" and as a passive verb, it meant to be "worked together upon." In the excerpt below, *kerjasama* is used as both a noun and a verb, and is positioned as the subject or agent of the sentence. While emphasizing the benefits between the participants, the agent responsible remains obscured through the use of *kerjasama* as a nominalized noun and agentless passive verb. As quoted from the interview results:

*"Kerjasama sister province memberikan manfaat berupa memperkuat hubungan bilateral antara kedua negara, mendapatkan keuntungan secara mutualisme dalam bidang-bidang yang dikerjasamai, memajukan sumber daya manusia dan memberikan manfaat kepada masyarakat"* (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, September 19, 2023)

*"Sister province agreements provide benefits in the form of strengthening bilateral relations between the two States, gaining mutual advantage in the fields that are worked together on, promoting human resources and giving benefits to society."*

When explaining the difficulties of implementing the cooperation, the absence of agency behind the activities involved removed the allocation of clear lines of responsibility. Doing so also obscured the ability to identify particular cases or causes behind them, maintaining a surface-level conceptualization of the problem. In the excerpt below, the informant explains the difficulty of

fulfilling all the areas of activity proposed in the agreements. The use of passive agent deletion to describe the associated activities in “worked together upon” and “implemented” excludes the agents responsible. The informant maintained that the current approach to sister province cooperation is geared towards more tangible outcomes. Through temporal contrast between past and present, the current projects are represented as an improvement on historical shortcomings.

*“Tidak semua kerjasama dalam bidang-bidang yang dikerjasamai dapat dilaksanakan sepenuhnya, misalnya terdapat 5 bidang kerjasama, namun hanya satu atau dua yang dapat dilaksanakan secara maksimal.”* (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, September 19, 2023)

“Not all collaborations across the fields that are worked together on can be fully implemented, for example there are five areas of cooperation, but only one or two could be implemented in full.”

The representation of social actors in the discourse emphasized institutional authority. Following the internal logic of the sister province cooperation, the government, and its associated institutions and leaders were the main agents responsible for directing the activities. On multiple occasions, the agent was obscured, replaced by a nominalization or an agentless verb which maintained an abstract level of detail and unseen institutional authority. When members of civil society were portrayed, their participation was nested within the broader hierarchy of governmental and legal authority stemming from the practice of establishing and implementing sister province agreements. In the excerpt below, the actions of members of the community are portrayed at the abstract level as “involvement.” This involvement is in turn “aligned with” the area of cooperation, directed by the authority of the provincial government and the LoI or MoU. The participants in respective fields are portrayed as “practitioners” but their identities and material activities remain unspecified.

*“Keterlibatan masyarakat dalam Kerjasama Sister Province yang dilakukan Provinsi Bali yaitu disesuaikan dengan bidang yang dikerjasamai sesuai dengan LoI atau MoU pada Kerjasama Sister Province. Dalam bidang pariwisata pelaku pariwisata, dalam bidang budaya pelaku budaya...”* (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, February 19, 2024)

“The involvement of the public in the sister province agreements carried out by the Balinese provincial government are matched with the area of collaboration in accordance with the LoI or MoU. In the field of tourism, tourism practitioners, in the field of culture, cultural practitioners [are involved]”

The informant framed the inclusion of tourism in the scope of sister province agreements as a logical motivation for pursuing international engagement. While the focus on tourism and culture in the sister province activities may appear natural in the Balinese context, the exploitation of Bali as an exotic hub in the context of mass tourism and global inequality remains a potential threat.

*“Seperti yang diketahui bahwa Bali adalah destinasi wisata yang terkenal di seluruh dunia. Bali dikenal dengan keindahan alam dan kekentalan budayanya sehingga menjadi daya tarik tersendiri bagi provinsi di negara lain untuk melakukan kerjasama khususnya dalam bidang pariwisata. Karena hampir keseluruhan kerjasama sister province yang sudah dilaksanakan dengan Provinsi Bali terdapat kerjasama dalam bidang pariwisata.”* (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, September 19, 2023)

“Bali is well known as a famous tourism destination throughout the world. Bali is known for its natural beauty and rich culture, so it becomes an innate draw card to other countries looking to pursue collaborations, particularly in the field of tourism. That is why almost all of the sister province agreements that have already been conducted involve collaboration in the field of tourism.”

Overall, the informant framed the pursuit of sister province collaborations as a positive act of paradiplomacy, fulfilling national and local interests with a global outlook while remaining within the governmental guidelines pertaining to the overarching rule of political neutrality. When describing the agreements and the associated activities, the language used remained somewhat ambiguous, obfuscating the identities and clear lines of responsibility of the social actors involved, with a strong orientation to institutional authority despite mention of tangible outcomes. Given that as a social practice, sister province partnerships are conducted at the institutional governmental level and the agreements rely on legal discourse to legitimize them, portraying the details of the partnerships, the associated activities and the participants in transparent lay terms requires a discursive transformation. Aiming for greater transparency in the conduct and communication of sister province agreements while acknowledging the power structures at the local, national, and global levels can potentially lead to better outcomes.

#### ***4.4 Challenges in Implementing Bali’s Sister Province Cooperation***

Similar to other government initiatives, encountering challenges in the implementation phase is a common occurrence. The informant reported six challenges in establishing and implementing sister province cooperations with

external partners. First of all, an unequal realization of the original plan agreed upon on the MoU or LoI compared to the implementation phase. Secondly, after signing, not all sectors outlined in the MoU or LoI can be implemented fully. Thirdly, achieving a comprehensive understanding and similar perception of the goals and scope of the agreement might be challenging between the two parties, considering the different backgrounds, expectations, and various social and political conditions of both parties. These differences mean that the implementation of the scope of cooperation might be delayed or not realized in full.

The fourth obstacle identified is regarding the coordination and communication process among relevant stakeholders, both internally within Balinese stakeholders, and externally with the parties overseas. It is even more challenging since the process of establishing sister province cooperation and implementing the action plan cannot always be organized in person, especially with external partners. The fifth challenge emerged when the realization hit a significant “pause” during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The last challenge for sister province cooperation in Bali reported by the informant was the limited available budget to cover both the initial exploration process, execution, and the maintenance of current cooperation. The funding system in the implementation of the sister province cooperation is guided by the Ministry of Home Affairs of Indonesia. The costs arising from the implementation of cooperation activities are therefore to be borne by each party and based on the availability of funds and personnel, for instance, from the government budget of the collaborator, the Bali Provincial Government Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*), Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and other non-binding sources (N. P. S. Lestari, personal communication, September 19, 2023).

This paper suggests that there should be more coordination with relevant stakeholders, especially the local bureaucracy, to create mutual understanding towards the program implementation. Current obstacles in terms of communication and collaboration within departments in Bali Province might be improved by having internal meetings and human resources capacity building. Limited budget in implementing concrete action might be tackled by involving non-governmental organizations, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and other private sectors. This paper suggests that there should be a capacity-building program conducted for relevant stakeholders and government officials who are handling sister province cooperation. This capacity building can be provided by educational institutions, such as universities, to enhance the capability of government officials to maximize their competence in having international collaboration.

## 5. Conclusion

There are two primary findings in this paper. Firstly, it is found that Bali has two most prominent focuses on its sister province cooperation, namely in tourism and culture. This finding indicates that tourism and culture in Bali's paradiplomacy through sister province cooperation aligned with SDGs. In a broader context, all goals in SDGs are correlated with one another. This paper found that Bali has conducted cultural diplomacy through its sister province cooperation, considering that culture and tourism are the two most significant areas mentioned in all 10 existing documents (MoU and LoI) with various parties from overseas. There are other areas that are mentioned significantly and can be further developed, such as (i) education and (ii) trade and investment. In addition to that, other areas of cooperation include health, agriculture, environment, science and technology, fishery, connectivity, e-government, human resources, communications and informatics, and sports. Bali can also improve its digital transformation by adding more collaboration regarding digitalization, including e-government and digital connectivity, with its sister provinces abroad.

The second finding of this paper is regarding the challenges in Bali's sister province cooperation, namely the gap between the plan with the actual realization; inability to fully implement all scope of cooperation; lack of full understanding and similar perception of parties involved; delayed program during the pandemic; lack of communication and coordination among stakeholders; and funding limitation. Furthermore, to overcome these challenges, collaboration with various stakeholders is needed, such as with private sectors, non-governmental and civil society organizations, educational institutions, and the local community. Media exposure and research publication, both at domestic and international levels, are essential to disseminate information about Bali's paradiplomacy through sister province cooperation. Hence, it can bring benefits by enhancing the positive image of Bali.

Considering Bali as a "spotlight" in prestigious international events, its sister province cooperation should be elevated, not merely as a "symbol" of friendship, but also as a concrete program that can bring tangible economic and cultural benefits for Balinese people as a real practice of diplomacy. The sister province cooperation itself is a form of partnership geared towards development that involves local units influenced by their own internal and collaborative dynamics and relations of power. Having a sister province becomes a symbol of willingness to collaborate and a first step towards creating mutual understanding among the parties involved; however, the concrete implementations of programs agreed upon on the MoU or LoI are crucial to achieving positive outcomes. More than simply an agreement on a piece of paper,

the cooperations are expected to contribute to the development and welfare of society at the local and global levels, otherwise the areas of collaboration themselves become another tenuous wish list.

This research acknowledges its limitation by only covering the identification part of cultural diplomacy and SDGs that relate to Bali's sister province cooperation in a limited period of time, from 2001 to February 2024. Further research can investigate deeper the concrete implementation of each scope of cooperation and evaluate the action plan of Bali's sister province cooperation. Examining International Relations concepts that connect global issues with provincial case studies is pivotal to making the "elitist issues" become more relatable in the local context.

### Acknowledgments

The author would like to extend her appreciation to Dr. I Ketut Sukra Negara, S.Sos., M.Si as the Head of the Government and People's Welfare Bureau, Regional Secretariat of Bali Province (*Kepala Biro Pemerintahan dan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Sekretariat Daerah Provinsi Bali*) and Ms. Ni Putu Susi Lestari, S.IP, M.A.P. as the Head of the Foreign Affairs Cooperation Team (*Ketua Tim Kerjasama Luar Negeri*) for providing primary data for this paper through online interviews and in-person data confirmation process. The author also expresses gratitude to Dr. Jane Ahlstrand, a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Humanities, Arts, Social Sciences, and Education at the University of New England, Australia, for her valuable contributions to this paper. Dr. Jane Ahlstrand holds a PhD from the University of Queensland, Australia, and specializes in critical discourse analysis, Indonesian studies, and gender studies.

### Bibliography

- Adams, K. M. (2018). Revisiting "Wonderful Indonesia": Tourism, Economy, and Society. In R. W. Hefner (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia* (pp. 197–207). Taylor & Francis.
- Allen, P., & Palermo, C. (2005). Ajeg Bali: Multiple Meanings, Diverse Agendas. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 33(97), 239–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810500449115>
- Armando, R. (2021, December 31). [Review of *Dubes Rumania Kunjungi Museum Rudana, PSR Sebut Tertarik Kerjasama di Berbagai Sektor dengan Bali*, by P. D. A. Damayanthi]. *bali.tribunnews.com*. <https://bali.tribunnews.com/2021/12/31/dubes-rumania-kunjungi-museum-rudana-psr-sebut-tertarik-kerjasama-di-berbagai-sektor-dengan-bali?page=all>

- Bali Post. (2023, February 20). Presiden China Xi Jinping Instruksikan Hainan Belajar ke Bali. *Balipost.Com*. <https://www.balipost.com/news/2023/02/20/324260/Presiden-China-Xi-Jinping-Instruksikan...html>
- Biro Hukum Sekretariat Daerah Provinsi Bali. (no date). Jaringan Dokumentasi dan Informasi Hukum (JDIH) Pemerintah Provinsi Bali [Official Website]. *jdih.baliprov.go.id*. <https://jdih.baliprov.go.id/produk-hukum/peraturan/abstrak/6041>
- Castan Pinos, J., & Sacramento, J. (2024). Sabotaging paradiplomacy: A typological analysis of counter-paradiplomacy. *Ethnopolitics*, 23(2), 193–214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2022.2137290>
- Ciesielska-Klikowska, J., & Kamiński, T. (2022). Paradiplomacy and its Impact on EU Foreign Policy. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.30950/jcer.v18i1.1223>
- DestinAsian. (2024). DestinAsian 17th Annual Readers' Choice Awards 2024. *Destinasian.Com, Destinations: Best Islands*. <https://destinasian.com/readers-choice-awards/2024-winners/best-islands>
- Dharmajaya, A. F., & Raharyo, A. (2019). Decentralization of Foreign Cooperation: Case Study of Sister Province Cooperation between West Java, Indonesia and South Australia. *Politica*, 10(1), 39–55.
- Dzazira, R. H., & Pratama, D. P. (2023). Empowering Urban Diplomacy: Surabaya's Sister City Collaboration with Kitakyushu, Japan for Sustainable Development. *Journal of Paradiplomacy and City Networks*, 2(1), 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jpcn.v2i1.17>
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (pp. 258–284). SAGE.
- Fathun, L. M. (2022). The Role of Paradiplomacy and the Potential Proto-Diplomacy in the Unitary State. *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, 6(2), 298–319. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v6i2.15677>
- Fau, T. N., & Rachman, F. (2017, December 22). Uttarakhand di India Jadikan Bali "Sister Province." *Validnews.id*. <https://www.validnews.id/ekonomi/--Uttarakhand-di--India-Jadikan-Bali--Sister-Province--XkV>
- Government of Bali. (2006). *Peraturan Gubernur Bali Nomor 39 Tahun 2006 tentang Pedoman Kerjasama dengan Pihak Luar Negeri*. <https://jdih.baliprov.go.id/produk-hukum/peraturan/abstrak/6041>
- Harirah, Z., Azwar, W., & Isril, I. (2021). Melacak Eksistensi Kearifan Lokal dalam Kebijakan Pengembangan Pariwisata Kabupaten Siak di Era Globalisasi.



- Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 10(1), 70. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jish-undiksha.v10i1.26629>
- Intentilia, A. A. M., & Surya Putra, A. A. B. N. A. (2021). From Local to Global: Examining Sister City Cooperation as Paradiplomacy Practice in Denpasar City, Bali, Indonesia. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 13(2), 357–367. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.13.2021.357-367>
- Keating, M. (2013). Regions and International Affairs: Motives, Opportunities and Strategies. In F. Aldecoa & M. Keating (Eds.), *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*. Routledge.
- Kuznetsov, A. S. (2015). *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy: Subnational Governments in International Affairs*. Routledge.
- Lestari, N. P. S. (2023). *Northeast Asian Youth Camp on Sustainable Development 2023*. Personal Documentation.
- Lestari, N. P. S. (2023, September 19). *Interview Result on 19 September 2023* [Online Interview].
- Lestari, N. P. S. (2024, February 19). *Interview Result on 19 February 2024* [Online Interview].
- Novialdi, R., Ahmad, R., Muhammad, Z., Saputra, J., & Bon, A. T. (2021). A Review of Paradiplomacy Literature: Mini-Review Approach. *Proceedings of the 11th Annual International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management Singapore, March 7-11, 2021*, 6253–6268.
- Novialdi, R., Rasanjani, S., & Ramadani, I. (2022). The Practice of Paradiplomacy in Indo-Pacific Region: Opportunities and Challenges. *International Journal of Advances in Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(1), 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.56225/ijassh.v1i1.33>
- Nurhayati, D. (2017, April 24). Bali declared world's top destination for 2017. *Thejakartapost.Com*. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/travel/2017/04/24/bali-declared-worlds-top-destination-for-2017.html#:~:text=The%20planning%20and%20booking%20travel,outstanding%20destinations%20across%20the%20globe>.
- Ocón, D. (2021). Cultural Diplomacy and Co-operation in ASEAN: The Role of Arts and Culture Festivals. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 17(2), 277–305. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-bja10081>
- Oddone, N. (2023). Paradiplomacy. In N. Oddone, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.797>
- Paquin, S. (2020). Paradiplomacy. In T. Balzacq, F. Charillon, & F. Ramel (Eds.), *Global Diplomacy: An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (pp. 49–62). Palgrave Macmillan.

- Pemerintah Provinsi Bali. (2023, December 9). Perkuat Kerjasama Sister Province, Pj. Gubernur Bali Terima Kunjungan Kehormatan Wagub Jiangxi [Official Website]. *baliprov.go.id*. <https://www.baliprov.go.id/web/perkuat-kerjasama-sister-province-pj-gubernur-bali-terima-kunjungan-kehormatan-wagub-jiangxi/>
- Pletsan, K., Konovalova, M., Varenia, N., Khodanovych, V., & Rozvadovskyi, O. (2022). The Possibilities of Cultural Diplomacy for Sustainable Development at Different Levels of Social Interactions. *International Journal of Computer Science and Network Security*, 22(7), 283–293. <https://doi.org/10.22937/IJCSNS.2022.22.7.34>
- Putra, I. N. D. (2013). Localizing the Global and Globalizing the Local: Opportunities and Challenges in Bali Island Tourism Development. *Jurnal Kajian Bali*, 3(2), 119–136.
- Putra, I. N. D. (2019). *Personal Documentation of ITOP Forum 2019*. Personal Documentation.
- Reuter, T. (2010). Globalization and Regionalism: The Rise of a New Cultural Movement in Bali, Indonesia. In H. Cao & E. Morrell (Eds.), *Regional Minorities and Development in Asia* (pp. 157–169). Routledge.
- Simons, H. (2014). Case Study Research: In-Depth Understanding in Context. In P. Leavy (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press.
- Struckmann, C. (2018). A postcolonial feminist critique of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: A South African application. *Agenda*, 32(1), 12–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2018.1433362>
- Sultana, F. (2018). An(Other) geographical critique of development and SDGs. *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 8(2), 186–190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2043820618780788>
- UN DESA. (no date). Sustainable Tourism [Official Website]. *Sdgs.Un.Org*. <https://sdgs.un.org/topics/sustainable-tourism>
- UNESCO. (2023, April 20). Cutting Edge—From Standing Out to Reaching Out: Cultural Diplomacy for Sustainable Development [Official Website]. *Unesco.Org*. <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/cutting-edge-standing-out-reaching-out-cultural-diplomacy-sustainable-development>
- United Cities and Local Governments. (2018, May). *Culture in the Sustainable Development Goals: A Guide for Local Action*. United Cities and Local Governments. [https://www.uclg.org/sites/default/files/culture\\_in\\_the\\_sdgs.pdf](https://www.uclg.org/sites/default/files/culture_in_the_sdgs.pdf)
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (no date). Goals 17 [Official Website]. *Sdgs.Un.Org*. <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal17>

- Utomo, A. B. (2022). Paradiplomacy as the product of state transformation in the era of globalisation: The case of Indonesia. *JANUS NET E-Journal of International Relation*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.26619/1647-7251.13.1.5>
- Utomo, A. B. (2024). *Diplomasi Kota: Teori, Praktik, dan Prospek* (1st ed.). Suluh Media.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (Second Edition, pp. 466–485). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2015-Critical-discourse-Analysis.pdf>
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford University Press.
- Verheijen, B., & Putra, I. N. D. (2020). Balinese cultural identity and global tourism: The Garuda Wisnu Kencana Cultural Park. *Asian Ethnicity*, 21(3), 425–442. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2019.1641691>
- Wardana, A. (2019). *Contemporary Bali: Contested Space and Governance*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-2478-9>
- Wardani, D. K. (2021). Paradiplomasi Pemerintah Provinsi Bali untuk Sister Province Bali dengan Ho Chi Minh di Bidang Pariwisata. *Review of International Relations*, 3(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.24252/rir.v3i1.22429>
- Weiss, G., & Wodak, R. (2003). Introduction: Theory, Interdisciplinarity and Critical Discourse Analysis. In G. Weiss & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* (pp. 1–32). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wiguna, D., & Budhiana, N. (2018, April 26). “Sister Province” Bali-India Dongkrak Kunjungan Wisman. *antaranews.com*. <https://bali.antaranews.com/berita/127638/sister-province-bali-india-dongkrak-kunjungan-wisman>
- Wu, D. (2020). City Diplomacy, Multilateral Networks and the Role of Southeast Asia. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 14(1), 17. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.14.1.2020.17-30>

## Author Profile

**Anak Agung Mia Intentilia** is a lecturer at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universitas Pendidikan Nasional, Bali, Indonesia. She obtained her Master of Arts in International Relations and International Organization from the University of Groningen, the Netherlands (*cum laude*), funded by the StuNed scholarship, provided by the Dutch Government. Recently, she completed a short course at Griffith University under the Australia Awards scholarship,

focusing on Foreign Policy: Strategic Equilibrium in the Indo-Pacific. Her research interests include International Relations studies, particularly soft power; the involvement of non-state actors; as well as public, digital, and cultural diplomacy. Email: [mia.intentilia@undiknas.ac.id](mailto:mia.intentilia@undiknas.ac.id)

