

Public Diplomacy: A Review of the Implications of Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign for Indonesia

Elly Yuliawati¹, Leni Marlina²

Fakultas Ilmu Komunikasi Universitas Mercu Buana, Indonesia

Abstract: *As a new step in diversifying the market, South Korea makes Muslim-friendly tourism policy as a form of public diplomacy that is implemented to attract Muslim tourists in the world. Indonesia which has the majority of the Muslim society is a potential market for Muslim-friendly tourism. By the Strategic Communication South Korean Government is trying to provide facilities for Muslim tourists to visit South Korea through Muslim Friendly Korea campaign. This study aims to explain public diplomacy between South Korea and Indonesia through the Muslim Friendly Korea campaign and the implications of Muslim Friendly Korea campaign as a form of South Korean Public Diplomacy, as well as the people to people relationships that are built between the South Korea and Indonesia Society. This study uses a case study method with a qualitative approach, the results of this study are people to people relationship that was built between the South Korea and Indonesia Society goes well and the Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign is being a challenge that must be faced by Indonesia in creating new innovations to attract more foreign tourists especially South Korea to come and enjoy the beauty of Indonesia.*

Keyword: Public Diplomacy, Strategic Communication, Muslim Friendly Korea, Campaign

1. Introduction

In achieving the national interests of a country, each country has steps and strategies to achieve their objectives. In these days when public attitudes and public opinion are really matter, other countries foreign policy decisions are strongly influenced by the public so the state cannot ignore it. (Geun & Kadir, 2015). Public diplomacy is one manifestation of the soft power approaches that can be used by every country. Because positive image is one of the most important aspects in building a nation, it causes each country to start to compete in uniting strength and building a positive image in the international world. Tuch defined Public diplomacy as a communication process in attempt to conveying the goals or ideals of their country or institution and the showing/ promote their national culture and public policies. (Gilboa, 2008).

The Public Diplomacy's study is a matter that cannot be separated from communication science, because social development continues to increase at the local, national and international levels so it requires a professional role and an effective communication strategy, that are expected to prevent the emergence of conflicts, whether it is personal conflicts, ethnic groups, religions, or even between countries. South Korea and Indonesia's relations have been strengthened in various sectors including politics, economy and socio-culture since the establishment of the diplomatic relations in 1973. In November 2017, President Moon Jae-in made a visit to Indonesia and based on the agreement between the two leaders, relations between South Korea and Indonesia have been upgraded to 'Special Strategic Partnerships'. Both leaders agreed to strengthen strategic cooperation, enhance concrete cooperation, spur human resource exchange activities and strengthen cooperation at regional and global levels.

South Korea uses their popular culture as a tool to spread culture and increase the country's economic development. The Globalization of Korean pop culture that is called Korean Wave or Hallyu, is recognized as one of South Korea's main soft power. Content in Korea's pop culture that continues to

grow, has tremendous appeal among foreign listeners. So it has a significant impact in the field of culture, tourism, economy and others. In tourism sector as a new step in diversifying market, South Korean government made a new policy namely "New Southern Policy". this policy is to focus on expanding the relationship to ASEAN countries, especially Indonesia.

Projected Global Muslim Population, 2010-2050

	POPULATION ESTIMATE	% OF WORLD'S POPULATION
2010	1,599,700,000	23.2%
2020	1,907,110,000	24.9
2030	2,209,270,000	26.5
2040	2,497,830,000	28.1
2050	2,761,480,000	29.7

Source: The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050
Population estimates are rounded to the nearest 10,000. Percentages are calculated from unrounded numbers.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 1. Project Global Muslim Population, Pew Research Center

The growing of Muslim population which is increasingly widespread, it's expected to continue and reach 30% of the world population by 2050. South Korea realized the rapid growth of muslim tourist that is coming from several countries, such as Indonesia, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and United Arab Emirates countries. This is a golden opportunity for South Korea to develop a muslim friendly tourism to increase Muslim tourists to visit South Korea. To grab a huge Muslim market needs a communication strategy in which one of the way is by making a campaign as a form of public diplomacy that can be used to achieve national interests by building understanding,

information and influencing global Muslim tourists to visit South Korea.

The increasingly complex international communication has become very important to build a good relations with the foreign public, this has become a challenge for the foreign ministry (Melissen, 2005, p. 13) South Korea makes "Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign" as a tourism strategy. The Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign was promoted to attract Muslim visitors to visit South Korea by providing facilities and conveniences for Muslim tourists, from improving halal food and easily accessible prayer places. The number of Muslims who visited Korea in 2016 increased by 33%. Because of the need to expand the tourism market, South Korea is trying to increase the number of Muslim tourists from 980,000 to 1.2 million tourists (Korean Tourism Organization, 2017).

Indonesia is a country with a population around 260 million. And having a majority Muslim community is a potential market for Muslim-friendly tourism in the next 10 years. The relationship between Korea and Indonesia increases in the tourism sector, it can be seen by the increasing number of Indonesian tourists visiting Korea. Based on data released by the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO), the increasing number of tourists from Indonesia to South Korea in 2016 was recorded as the highest in the Southeast Asia region, that is 52% of tourists from the previous year.

The number of Indonesian tourists visiting Korea continues to increase, and The Muslim Friendly Korea campaign will significantly attract many Indonesian tourists to visit Korea since they have the power from K-Wave that keeps influencing Indonesian tourist, and results in Indonesian tourists continuing to interest with facilities and conveniences provided by South. It will then lead Indonesian tourists tend to choose to visit overseas country especially South Korea rather than Indonesia tourism attractions. This situation must be a concern for Indonesian Government to set a strategy how Indonesian tourist that are going to South Korea could bring a positive impact for Indonesia Tourism and how to improve foreign tourism to visit Indonesia. Public diplomacy is aimed for foreign publics, and strategies for dealing with such publics should be distinguished from the domestic socialization of diplomacy (Melissen, 2005, p. 13) that is why public diplomacy studies and strategic communication are important to examine and support the current situations to improve a better diplomacy in Indonesia.

Since there are still many South Koreans who are unfamiliar with the Islamic world, according to Lee (Jiyun, 2012) the Muslim community in South Korea is often perceived as strange or even threatening, the Muslims are seen as suspicious, especially to the Korean society. However, Muslim Friendly Korea campaign is expected not only as an activity that can provide convenience to Muslim tourist, but also could be a media to create a dialogue between muslim and korean society, to thighten the relations between Korea and Indonesia, as well as to open information about Islam to Korean society, so they could be more familiar with Islam and be able to adapt to Muslims in order to create harmony and tolerance among citizens.

Therefore, researchers are interested to examine the Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign as the implication of South Korea Public Diplomacy to describe the public diplomacy between Korea and Indonesia through this campaign as well as a description of the people to people relations in the creation of a common understanding between Korean and Indonesian society.

2. Literature Review

Public Diplomacy and Public Relations

Public diplomacy is a way to build relationships by understanding the needs, culture, and society. communicates the view, justify the misperceptions that exist in the international community, to find out an area where the government could find the common ground. Public diplomacy built on trust and credibility, for a long term function. (Leonard, 2002: p.8). it is important for the government to form and conceive public perspective and harmonize the action and communication of their government with the needs of their society. (Soojin & Arunima, 2018). Gilboa (1998, 2001, 2002) differentiate public diplomacy, the actors of public diplomacy either state actors or others use a media and other platform of communications to persuade foreign audiences public perspective; media diplomacy, which usually used a media to influence mutual interests, solve a problem and negotiation.

Leonard (2002) distinguishes three dimensions of public diplomacy, first, News management: this activity is an attempt to present an effective message or information to be consumed by the public so it can minimize the indication of publications that have a negative impact. Second, Strategic communication: communication activities that included in the strategic activities that can support to create cooperation that provide data and facilitate such cooperation and third, Building a favorable condition: Public Diplomacy activities that go into this category aims to create a mutual understanding of each other thoroughly. By creating a situation of mutual benefit in terms of socio-political, historical background, as well as the state of the economy with such an understanding, its expected to create conditions that favored the emergence of closer cooperation between the parties involved. (Gilboa, 2008: 72) a main strategy today requires integration and application of three fundamental components: force, diplomacy, and communication. Even communication may even be a much more decisive factor (Gilboa, 2008). Strategic communication, which evolves a set of common themes like a campaign that plans an events and communications over the next year to strengthen the main themes or to developed a particular government policy and the distinctive themes focus on particular policy initiatives (Nye, Jr. 2009)

Signitzer and Coombs argued that Public Relations and public diplomacy are very similar because they have the same objectives and use the similar tools (Gilboa, 2008). According to L'Etang public diplomacy and Public Relations also have the same three functions: organizational representation, dialogue and giving consideration or advice (Theaker, 2004). the Institute of Public Relations defined Public Relations is an overall efforts carried out in a planned and sustainable strategy in order to establish and maintain a good relations

and mutual understanding between the audience and the organization (Cutlip, Allen & Broom, 2009: p. 6). According to Macnamara (2012, p. 322) Public Relations relates to the principle of public diplomacy in developing innovations and techniques of thinking as well as a new practices that are more effective, more focused on ethics, and social which ultimately are more publicly accepted.

Communication Campaign

As public communication campaigns grow more sophisticated and strategic, campaign must begin to diversify a communication strategies to achieve the goals. Communication campaign according to Rogers and Storey (Venus, 2009: p.7) is a series of communication actions planned with the aim of creating a particular effect on the large number of audiences that is sustain at a certain time. In any communication campaign activity must contain at least four things; 1) The indicated campaign to create a particular effect or impact. 2) an appropriate number of target audience 3) conducted on the specific time periode . 4) through an organized series of communication actions (Venus, 2009: p. 7) three aspects of campaign that is always associated with '3A' of Awareness, Attitude, and Action. These three aspects are interrelated and are subject to the influence that must be achieved gradually in order that a condition may change as expected. Public communication campaigns are to make a person or community to be better according to nonuniversal social principles, public communication campaigns may be same as a strategies of social control because one society has taken it on itself to influenced an other group social value.

3. Method

Through a constructivist paradigm which the both elements of the object and subject play a role in constructing science in this study because this research aims to describe the existing social reality regarding Indonesian and Korean Public Diplomacy relations related to the activities of the Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign. The case study method used to describe a phenomenon, fact based on the reality in the field. Through qualitative approach it more focus on descriptive the data, such as in-depth interview, article, official website of the government, journals and others. Subjects in this study are the Indonesia Government (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia), Professional society in Indonesia and Korea, also Indonesia and Korean Students. Data validity checking will be done by using triangulation technic, by comparing and checking the data findings through interviews or related documents.

Data analysis techniques according to Miles and Huberman include three activities together: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion (verification). Then to determine the validity of the data, the writers conducted triangulation techniques. Triangulation is a technique of checking data that uses some thing else outside the study data for checking or comparison purposes. Denzin distinguishes four types of triangulation as examination techniques that utilize the use of resources, methods, investigators and theory (Yuliawati, 2018: 152). The triangulation technique used in this study is triangulation of data and sources. Through this technique, the writer compared the results of interviews with supporting data, then for source triangulation, the writer compared and

checked the degree of trust in information obtained by: (1) comparing observational data with interview data (2) comparing the consistency of the answers of the informants, namely by comparing what the public speaker said, foreexample, with what was said personally (3) comparing a person's perspective, with other people in his work team. Referring to this opinion, in this study the writer conducted a process of checking the validity of the data by preparing a technique of comparing and checking the degree of trustworthiness of information obtained by: (1) comparing observational data with interview data (2) comparing the consistency of the answers of the informants that is by comparing what is said by the public speaker for example, with what is said personally (3) comparing one's perspective, with other people in the work team (Kusuma, 2018: 53).

4. Discussion

SouthKoreantourismis like a magnet that can attract a lot of foreign tourists. When historic sites such as an old royal palace can sit next to modern skyscrapers in urban areas, this contrast beauty between the two buildings is a unique and interesting view because of the balance that South Korea has between traditional history and its amazing ultramodern developments.

Based on Agerdal-Hjermind & Valentini (2015) Social Campaign or Public Campaign used by the government to implement a strategic communication programs in order to attract the collaboration of the society in the main program and policies. Muslim friendly Korea campaign is an activity of a strategic communication effort by South Korea with Muslim countries. The tourism sector was initially valued as a travel industry that focused on tourism objects and vacation activities, but tourism has an important role in attracting the attention of the world community and encouraging tourists to get to know more and learn about the country's culture. Halal tourism or muslim friendly tourism has shown a great potential to be a successful new source of economic growth either in muslim country or non-muslim country (Zulkifli, Rahman, Awang and Che Man, 2011) This factor prompts South Korean government to develop a Muslim-friendly tourism sector and makes it part of diplomatic activities in order to introduce its country to the Muslim community in the world. Attracting a new market segment is one of the tourism business strategies in developing and struggling in intense competition (Sriprasert, Chaininand Rahman, 2014)

The implications of Muslim Friendly Korea campaign in carrying out the public diplomacy in Indonesia. The development of the Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign in Indonesia has strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries due to the increasing number of Indonesian tourist travel to South Korea and get convenience tourism services that can help them carry out their obligations as Muslims. On the other hand, with the development of the Muslim-friendly tourism sector, many Indonesian restaurants are starting to be opened in South Korea when previously restaurant from Middle Eastern countries such as Turkey, Persia, Arabia or India still dominate halal restaurants in South Korea.

The innovations built are certainly expected to create a positive impact on both countries, based on (Mastercard &

Crescentrating Global Muslim Travel Index, 2018) South Korea gets nominations for the Top 10 Destinations in the Ease of Access category on non-OIC (Organization Islam Cooperation), Ease of Access to destinations seen by the scores on Visa Requirements, Air Connectivity, and Infrastructure Transportation. South Korea packs its communication strategy by making stories collection from the experiences of some muslim foreigners that live in Korea through Muslim tourist guide book that is launched annually by Korea Tourism Organization (KTO). According to Zerfass and Huck (2007) innovation only exists through the interaction of various social actors, it shows that strategic communication is very closely related and depends on management innovation.

However, The impacts of Muslim Friendly Korea campaign should be a reflection or self-evaluation for Indonesia itself to try to be more considerate in seeing the opportunities that exist. Indeed, it is not a threat or a bad impact that hit Indonesia directly. But it is a competition that was built in the current development that should be a motivation for Indonesia as a growing country to be aware that new innovations are needed to be started to attract foreign tourists, especially South Korea tourist to come to Indonesia. The term of innovation refers to something new, like manifestations of product innovations and service innovations that have not been there before and has a strong influence on daily life or on the economy development (Zerfass & Huck, 2007).

The current global situation has touched all individuals outside the government to participate in building a good relations. International Communication and Public Diplomacy become soft power for countries to complement one another (Elly Yuliawati, 2015). Non-government actors have a significant role in the public diplomacy process, because the relationship between the two countries also require people to people contact to encourage mutual understanding between the two publics. Acts of ISIS and other terrorism issue affected the global perception about Muslims. (Cetin & Dincer, 2016).

As a minority religion in South Korea Islam in Korean perception aside from the issue of terrorism by ISIS, some Korean people see Muslim Friendly Korea campaign as a good strategy to be able to communicate directly with Muslims to create mutual understanding between the two citizens. It must be realized that everyone can accept and understand government communication in different way, because everyone has different exposure and accepts different things of persuasive communication (Valentino, Beckmann & Buhr, 2001). Indonesia and Korea have an emotional closeness that is increasingly intertwined when Indonesia is under the leadership of President Joko Widodo and Korea under the leadership of President Moon Jae In. The similarity of the views of the two leaders in looking at the opportunities and potential of international relations has made the two leaders of the country go hand in hand in solving the problems faced by the two nations.

Improvement of relations between the two countries. Public diplomacy activities are closely related to the main role or Tourism is a way of carrying out public diplomacy, because tourism is a big industry that can affect the public throughout

the world. From public diplomacy activities, it is expected to produce the desired impacts, namely the formation of a positive image of a country, the development of the country's economy, and the responsibility of Public Relations. Practicing public diplomacy is about how to create trust, goodwill, and say honesty in delivering messages or information, accompanied by positive publications to the public by using communication strategies, tactics and techniques in making efforts to build a positive image of the institution. This is in accordance with the functions of public diplomacy which can also be interpreted as relationship management in negotiating.

Muslim tourists get high attention as a large market for the halal tourism industry. There are three basic needs of Muslim tourists which consist of the needs of hotels or lodging places that can provide good services and facilities for Muslim tourists such as Qibla direction signs in the room, halal restaurants that have halal signs verified by trusted institutions, and public areas around the city (Piangpis Sriprasert, Oraphan Chainin and Hamzah Abd Rahman; 2014). Strategic communication is to configure a meaning, build trust, create reputation, and maintain relationships between internal and external stakeholders in order to support organizational development (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). South Korea uses the Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign as a public diplomacy strategy designed in such a way as strategic communication in South Korea's efforts to build the nation's image as a Muslim-friendly country. Various information and facilities needed by Muslim tourists are made and enhanced by the South Korean government. KTO encourages local governments and tourist places to prepare prayer space for muslim. Equipments such as prayer mats and qibla compasses have been distributed by KTO to hotels/prayer places and also expand the number of halal restaurants from 135 to 170.

According to Venus (2009) communication campaign activities must contain at least four things:

- 1) Campaigns show to create certain effects or impacts, Korea's Muslim Friendly campaign was formulated as a form of South Korea's public diplomacy strategy in promoting their tourism market by providing facilities for Muslim tourists in order to be more interested in visiting South Korea, and building South Korea's nation branding as a Muslim-friendly country.
- 2) The right number of target audiences, looking at the growth of the Muslim population which is predicted to continue to increase, and by 2050 the Muslim population can reach 30% of the world's population. So that South Korea targets Muslim countries or Muslim-majority countries especially in the Southeast Asia region to launch this campaign.
- 3) Carried out over a period of time, the Muslim friendly Korean campaign began in 2016, and this campaign is held every year around August to November with 'Halal Restaurant Week' as the main event in the campaign, South Korea consistently carrying out this campaign in order to achieve national interests.
- 4) Through a series of organized communication actions, the Korea-Friendly Muslim Campaign was carefully designed to make Korea a Muslim-friendly country destination by holding various communication activities from several communication channels, from increasing the number of

halal restaurants and holding Halal Restaurant Week, making guidebooks that are Muslim-Friendly Restaurants in Korea, Maps of Muslim-Friendly Korean Travelers and Muslim-Friendly Routes in Korea, launching the Korean Halal Digital Application, and building space for prayer. All facilities needed by Muslim tourists are carried out through this campaign to increase the number of Muslim tourist visits from various countries, especially Indonesia.

The Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign distinguishes three dimensions of public diplomacy by (Leonard, 2002):

- 1) News management: in this activity South Korea strives to manage the news in the public by displaying a positive information about the activities of the Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign in order to get a positive response and prevent negative reporting such as displaying a stories from influential Muslim figures, Oman's Ambassador to Korea Mohamed Alharthy, and Muslim students who live in Korea who talk about their lives story in Korea as a muslim also their experiences of trying Korean food. this message shows a positive experiences of other people that used to persuade the readers in order to build a positive public opinion. Korea Tourism Organization (KTO) is formed a message according to the characteristics of Muslim tourist as the recipient of the campaign.
- 2) Strategic communication: Muslim Friendly Korea is a strategic communication activities that shape an image of south korea as Muslim Friendly country by building trust relationships between internal and external stakeholders in order to support organizational development through this campaign and with the support of new policies by the government namely "New Southern Policy" South Korea focus on engaged the ASEAN countries, especially Indonesia.
- 3) Building a favorable condition: Muslim Friendly Korea Campaign aims to create a mutual cooperation development with muslim Muslim countries or Muslim-majority countries, especially indonesia. Indonesia and South Korea creating a mutual benefit situation in terms of socio-political, culture, also economy with having an agreement on a number of cooperation in various sectors including eradicating corruption, terrorism and overcoming transnational crime and defense by upgraded a bilateral relations policy to 'Special Strategic Partnership'.

5. Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded the following matters: (1) This campaign made it into the action stage, where people from Muslim countries or Muslim majority countries decided to go to Korea and enjoy the facilities provided, it shows by the increasing number of Muslims tourist who visited Korea in 2016 by 33%. Muslim communities are aware that Korea is begin to pay attention to the needs of Muslim tourists by providing facilities that support the convenience of tourist muslim to traveling in South Korea, and the Korean society is aware that the presence of Muslims in Korea is starting to increase. Muslim friendly korea campaign managed to get a public attitude that many Muslims in the world agreed and supported this

campaign but this campaign also got a response from a Christian organization in Seoul who had held a demonstration to against the muslim friendly policy. (2) Muslim Friendly Korea campaign identified belongs to the Nowak and Warneryd campaign model which in this model the campaign process starts to achieve the goal and ends with the desired effect. In this case the goal to be achieved is to increase the number of Muslim tourists to Korea and establish a positive image of South Korea in the international world. Muslim Friendly Korea campaign was successful in synergizing its public diplomacy strategy through the K-wave with the Muslim friendly policy to attract more foreign tourists to visit Korea. (3) People to people contact makes a major contribution in providing an understanding of both citizens to gain mutual understanding and encourage a sense of cooperation. Through Strategic communication carried out with careful planning within the specified timeframe, it results in continuous impacts to shape the perception of a country as a whole.

References

- [1] Agerdal-Hjermand, A., & Valentini, C. (2015). *Blogging as a communication strategy for government agencies; A Danish case study*. International Journal of Strategic Communication, 9(4), 293–315. doi:10.1080/1553118X.2015.1025406
- [2] Ansgar Zerfass & Simone Huck. (2007). *Innovation, Communication, and Leadership: New Developments in Strategic Communication*, International Journal of Strategic Communication, 1:2, 107-122, DOI: 10.1080/15531180701298908
- [3] Cetin, Gurel., Dincer, Mithat Zeki. (2016). "Muslim friendly tourism (MFT): A discussion." Journal of Tourismology, Vol.2, No.1
- [4] Geun, Lee., Kadir, Ayhan. (2015). "Why Do We Need Non-state Actors in Public Diplomacy?: Theoretical Discussion of Relational, Networked and Collaborative Public Diplomacy." Journal Of International and Area Studies, Volume 22, Number 1, 2015.
- [5] Gilboa, Eytan. (2008). "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy." The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 616, DOI: 10.1177/0002716207312142
- [6] Grunig, L. A., Grunig, J. E., & Dozier, D. M. (2002). *Excellent public relations and effective organizations*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- [7] Jiyun Camilla, Nam. (2012). *Islam, Itaewon, Muslims and Koslms: Inter-cultural Dynamics in the Muslim Neighborhood of Seoul*, Situations Vol. 6 (Winter 2012) by Yonsei University.
- [8] Kusuma Kurniastuti. Activities of the Cyber Public Relations of O Chanel TV in Promoting their Company on the Instagram Social Media. American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research (AJHSSR) 2018 Volume-02, Issue-09, pp-50-56.
- [9] Leonard, Mark. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*. Foreign Policy Centre.
- [10] Melissen, Jan. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Hampshire.
- [11] Nye, Joseph S. (2008). "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." The ANNALS of the American Academy of

- Political and Social Science, 616. DOI: 10.1177/0002716207311699
- [12] Scott M. Cutlip, Allen H. Center dan Glen M. Broom. (2009). *Effective Public Relations*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- [13] Soojin Kim & Arunima Krishna (2018): *Unpacking Public Sentiment Toward the Government: How Citizens' Perceptions of Government Communication Strategies Impact Public Engagement, Cynicism, and Communication Behaviors in South Korea*, International Journal of Strategic Communication, DOI: 10.1080/1553118X.2018.1448400
- [14] Sriprasert, Piangpis., Chainin, Oraphan., Rahman, Hamzah Abd. (2014) "Understanding Behavior and Needs of Halal Tourism in Andaman Gulf of Thailand: A Case of Asian Muslim." *Journal of Advanced Management Science* Vol. 2, No. 3.
- [15] Theaker, Alison. (2004). *The Public Relations Hand Book*. Routledge
- [16] Valentino, N. A., Beckmann, M. N., & Buhr, T. A. (2001). *A spiral of cynicism for some: The contingent effects of campaign news frames on participation and confidence in government*. *Political Communication*, 18, 347–367. DOI:10.1080/10584600152647083
- [17] Venus, Antar. (2009). *Manajemen Kampanye*. Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama Media.
- [18] Yuliawati, Elly. (2015) "*Public Diplomacy In Establishing Harmonious Relations Between Indonesia and Malaysia (Case Study of Public Diplomacy On The Malaysian Claims Indonesian Culture)*". Second International Conference On Media, Communication And Culture (ICMCC 2015), 30 Nov. - 2 Dec.
- [19] Yuliawati. The Analysis of Campaign Media of the Green Environment Movement through the Hydroponics Program. *American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research (AJHSSR)*. Volume-2, Issue-12, pp-149-155
- [20] Zulkifli, Wan Sahida., Rahman, Suaimi Ab., Awang, Khairil Wahidin & Che Man, Yaakob B. (2011). *Developing the Framework for Halal Friendly Tourism in Malaysia* *Internasional Business Management* 5 (6): 295-302, Medwell Journals.