

Shared Heritage Diplomacy of Indonesia and Malaysia as Soft Power in The Southeast Asia Region

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Abstrak

Sikap pemerintah Indonesia dan Malaysia melakukan kerja sama warisan budaya merupakan fenomena yang menarik. Perselisihan klaim warisan budaya antara Indonesia dan Malaysia yang terjadi beberapa tahun lalu menyebabkan hubungan kedua negara renggang. Keengganan pemerintah Indonesia dan Malaysia untuk memahami perbedaan pandangan masing-masing serta menempuh tindakan unilateral terkait melindungi warisan budayanya memperumit konflik budaya kedua negara. Hingga akhirnya Indonesia dan Malaysia sepakat melakukan kerja sama untuk mendaftarkan pantun sebagai warisan budaya bersama di dalam konvensi warisan budaya dunia UNESCO. Pada tahun 2020, UNESCO menetapkan pantun sebagai warisan budaya tak benda dunia asal Indonesia dan Malaysia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis motivasi Indonesia dan Malaysia berkolaborasi mempromosikan warisan budaya bersama di tingkat global, dengan studi kasus pengusulan pantun sebagai warisan budaya tak benda di UNESCO yang dilakukan pada tahun 2017-2020. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep diplomasi warisan dan soft power dengan metode analisis kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan motivasi yang mendorong Indonesia dan Malaysia berkolaborasi mengusulkan pantun sebagai warisan budaya untuk memenuhi kepentingan-kepentingan politik Indonesia dan Malaysia di tingkat bilateral, regional dan internasional. Penggunaan warisan budaya sebagai diplomasi menunjukkan budaya berperan mengatasi masalah politik antar negara dan berpotensi menjadi soft power negara.

Kata kunci: warisan budaya bersama, Indonesia, Malaysia, diplomasi warisan, soft power.

Abstract

The decision of the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia to collaborate on shared cultural heritage is an interesting phenomenon. The dispute over cultural heritage claims between the two countries several years ago strained their relationship. The reluctance of both governments to understand each other's different views and take unilateral action regarding their shared cultural heritage has complicated the cultural conflicts. In 2017, Indonesia and Malaysia collaborated to register pantun as shared cultural heritage in the UNESCO. Three years later, UNESCO designated pantun as the world's intangible cultural heritage from Indonesia and Malaysia. This research aims to analyze the motivation of the cooperation between Indonesia-Malaysia in promoting shared cultural heritage at the international level, with a case study of the registering pantun as a representative list of UNESCO, carried out in 2017-2020. This study employed the concept of heritage diplomacy and soft power with a qualitative analysis method. The findings disclosed that the motivation of the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia was to fulfill their political interest at the bilateral, regional and international levels. Using cultural heritage as diplomacy demonstrates that culture can solve the political problems between states and become their soft power.

Keywords: shared cultural heritage, Indonesia, Malaysia, heritage diplomacy, soft power.

INTRODUCTION

The contestation of shared cultural heritage is an issue that often reveals the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia. As two Southeast Asian countries with neighborly relations or the term 'serumpun', accepting a common cultural heritage is a problem that should not exist. The dispute started with the alleged claim of cultural ownership between

Indonesia and Malaysia about the origin of cultural heritage.

The origin of Indonesia-Malaysia cultural heritage contestation started from the Malaysian Government incorporating the Indonesian Reog Ponorogo dance into the Malaysian Ministry of Tourism campaign entitled 'Malaysia Truly Asia' in 2007 (Chong, 2012; Suhardjono,

2012). Not only Reog dance, but the campaign also involved the traditional song *Rasa Sayange* from Maluku (Purnamasari, 2015). Malaysia's mistake of involving Indonesian culture in the campaign angered the Indonesian public and accused Malaysia of claiming their cultural heritage.

The Indonesia-Malaysia cultural heritage dispute peaked in 2009 through a similar event two years earlier. A documentary on Malaysian cultural heritage entitled 'Enigmatic Malaysia' was in the spotlight of Indonesia. It was due to the documentary showing a clip of the performance of the *Pendet* dance from Bali (Chong, 2012; Suhardjono, 2012; Tempo, 2012). The incident sparked anger and protests from various Indonesian parties against Malaysia. The Malaysian Minister of Culture and Tourism apologized to the Indonesian Minister of Culture and Tourism, confirming that the clip was an unofficial production of the Malaysian Government and their campaign (Kandasamy, 2009). However, the Malaysian apology received criticism from the Indonesian Government, namely the Minister of Culture and Tourism, Jero Wacik, who considered Malaysia's apology insufficient compared to its previous claims to Indonesian culture (Sagita, 2009).

The Indonesian public also accused Malaysia of claiming batik as Malaysia's cultural heritage through UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Clark, 2013). Batik is a handicraft originating from Java and is commonly used by Indonesian people as a clothing material. The presence of batik, which has been rooted in the traditions of the Indonesian people, has become a proud heritage and shows the Indonesian people's cultural identity (Josefine, 2019). Malaysia has also claimed several other Indonesian cultures and traditions such as *wayang kulit*, *keris*, *angklung*, *gamelan* to *rendang* food (Tempo, 2012; Clark, 2013). The alleged cultural allegations above have resulted in unfavorable attacks by the Indonesian media and society against Malaysia and increasing anti-Malaysian sentiment in the Indonesian public (Chong, 2012; Clark, 2013).

Cultural heritage disputes at both state and people levels have become a problem for Indonesia and Malaysia. The Indonesian and Malaysian Governments

have different responses and views on cultural heritage (Chong, 2012). To resolve the issue of Indonesian culture by Malaysia, the Indonesian Government acted unilaterally. Allegations of Malaysia claiming Indonesian culture prompted the Indonesian Government to patent a cultural number as protection for cultural heritage. One of Indonesia's successes is UNESCO's recognition of several Indonesian cultural heritages such as batik (NY Times, 2009; Josefine, 2019; Kata Data, 2019), *wayang*, *angklung*, *silat* (Indo Zone, 2019), and others.

Until 2017, the Indonesian Government invited the Malaysian Government to jointly nominate *pantun* as a joint cultural heritage at UNESCO (KWRI UNESCO, 2017). It was the first time for both governments to propose cultural heritage together. UNESCO designated *pantun* as an intangible cultural heritage at the session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at the end of 2020 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

Pantun has officially become Indonesia and Malaysia's first shared cultural heritage added to the UNESCO's list of intangible cultural heritage. It signifies the shifting behavior of the governments of both countries in dealing with the cultural heritage issue, which has become an interesting phenomenon. Therefore, the author is interested in analyzing further the motivation of Indonesia and Malaysia's cooperation to promote their shared cultural heritage at the international level, with a case study of registering *pantun* to the UNESCO's list.

According to previous studies, there are several classifications in viewing the cultural heritage of Indonesia and Malaysia. Most view Indonesia and Malaysia's shared cultural heritage as a conflict. The author divides the review of previous studies of Indonesia and Malaysia's shared cultural heritage into three main classifications: (1) bilateral dispute, (2) conflict response, and (3) cultural diplomacy.

Several previous studies on the contestation of shared cultural heritage between Indonesia and Malaysia discuss the root causes and factors strengthening the cultural heritage disputes between the two countries (Chong, 2012; Suhardjono, 2012; Clark, 2013). Some used the

historical approach to relations between Indonesia and Malaysia (Chong, 2012), the concept of authentic culture and ownership of cultural heritage (Suhardjono, 2012), and a transnational or postcolonial approach (Clark, 2013). The findings of this first classification explain the cultural heritage disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia beyond the dimensions of cultural ownership. It also involves another dimension, notably the political and national identity. The dispute also cannot be ignored by the elites of the two countries because, based on the historical evidence, the dynamics of the kinship relations of Indonesia and Malaysia has increased the tension of territorial disputes and foreign migrant (Chong, 2012). Therefore, the cultural heritage dispute may trigger other tensions if the two countries are still reluctant to grasp the different understanding of shared cultural heritage. In that matter, studying the shared cultural heritage becomes crucial.

The second classification discusses the response of the Indonesian Government to overcome the contestation of Indonesian and Malaysian cultural heritage (Meng & Karulus, 2019; Rachmawati & Issundari 2010; Yuliawati, 2019; Purnamasari, 2015). The approaches implemented consist of a neoclassical realist to discover Indonesia's foreign policy in addressing cultural heritage disputes by paying attention to external and domestic structures (Meng & Karulus, 2019), public diplomacy to reveal the Indonesian Government's response to the issue of cultural claims by Malaysia (Rachmawati & Issundari, 2010). Moreover, constructivists see Indonesian public diplomacy as a way of harmonizing relations between Indonesia and Malaysia (Yuliawati, 2019) and reviewing dispute resolution between Indonesian and Malaysian cultural heritage (Purnamasari, 2015). Indonesia's foreign policy toward cultural heritage disputes with Malaysia is pragmatic because the Indonesian Government weighs its external power with Malaysia's domestic power. Indonesia and Malaysia carried out dispute resolution at the elite government level to reduce bilateral tensions. On the other hand, the Indonesian Government was deemed unable to overcome the anti-sentiment of its people toward Malaysia and did not activate cultural issues in its diplomacy to the public. It

was due to the limited capability and understanding of the Indonesian Government both at the central and local levels regarding cultural heritage issues with Malaysia. Therefore, the Indonesian Government did not have a specific mechanism to inform the public regarding the Indonesia-Malaysia cultural issue.

The third classification discusses the efforts of Indonesia and Malaysia to carry out cultural diplomacy to promote each other's cultural heritage (Ullyana & Saleh, 2018; Haninda, 2020). The approaches used are constructivist (Ullyana & Saleh, 2018), cultural diplomacy and soft power (Haninda, 2020). However, the results of these two previous studies only reveal how the cultural diplomacy carried out by Indonesia toward Malaysia through exchange programs for cultural arts performances and describe the working process of negotiations between the two countries in submitting the cultural heritage of pantun to UNESCO.

Following the literature reviews, the academic studies of the shared cultural heritage of Indonesia and Malaysia have various perspectives and approaches. The study of the shared cultural heritage of Indonesia and Malaysia mostly resonates with bilateral disputes and tensions, rather than seeing the shared cultural heritage as a medium to strengthen relations between the two countries, which is rarely studied. Connecting with this article case study, the previous studies are still limited in explaining the motivations of Indonesia and Malaysia to use shared cultural heritage as diplomacy and potential soft power for both states. Thus, these limitations provide opportunities for further analysis of the interest of the state in using shared cultural heritage as well as shaping the state's soft power at the international level.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK HERITAGE DIPLOMACY AND SOFT POWER

The concept of heritage diplomacy has become part of the study of International Relations and international politics. Along with its development, the definition of heritage is distinguished from culture. Heritage has a deeper meaning than culture because it represents human history and culture and voices the understanding of ownership of the identity of a nation and state (Clark, 2018).

Heritage diplomacy is different from cultural diplomacy (Winter, 2015). Cultural diplomacy is international environmental governance using the country's cultural resources and disseminating them abroad. Meanwhile, heritage diplomacy is broader, which involves one-way cultural export and focuses on bringing cultural flows and exchanges bilaterally and internationally or multilateral (Winter, 2015). Heritage is the non-human actor of diplomacy that has a shared cultural notion. Heritage understands the importance of cultural roots to maintain the identity of a generation now and in the future (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). As a cultural manifestation, heritage has historical narratives and discourses that frame and give meaning to understanding the past to understand the present (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). Moreover, the dimension of heritage diplomacy goes beyond the use of culture as an international political instrument as it acts as a transnational and politicized arena of governance. In other words, a broad definition of heritage diplomacy is a shared past cultural process between countries being the subject of exchange, collaboration and governance of cooperation (Winter, 2015, pp. 11).

In the concept of heritage diplomacy, heritage is divided into heritage in diplomacy and heritage acts as diplomacy (Winter, 2015, pp.12). Heritage in diplomacy is present in existing diplomatic ties and policy structures in trade, colonial relations, conflicts and strategic alliances. Heritage in diplomacy consists of conservation assistance such as state aid to other countries. The heritage diplomacy here does not depend on mutual relations and shared culture as a liaison between countries. Meanwhile, heritage as diplomacy highlights the historical relationship between religion, trade and shared heritage before forming a modern state. In other words, heritage diplomacy depends on heritage as a liaison between countries by making past connections as the basis for cooperation (Winter, 2015, pp. 14). The state interprets its culture in the past and now as having valuable diplomatic value (Sluga, 2013). Identifying a common past and internationalizing the culture of nationalism has become a state norm in international cooperation. Today, countries tend to collaborate and

multi-nominate, forming cross-border heritage discussions and spaces that increase the trend of using the world heritage framework as a mechanism for bilateral relations. The shared heritage that shapes countries' common history and culture gives diplomatic weight to contemporary international relations. It can also be used as a political goal to reinforce cooperation between countries. Thus, shared heritage provides a new political dimension to countries and can potentially become soft power.

Cultural heritage is a soft power that can form shared meaning in the past to unite a country and define its relationships with other countries (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). Soft power is the international community's view of a country and how attractive the country's political and cultural values are to other countries (Nye, 2011, pp.16). It is known that there are three soft power resources, namely culture, political values and foreign policy (Nye, 2004). Heritage as a soft power resource can be qualified into these three resources.

As a cultural resource, heritage as a cultural product consists of several cultural practices and norms inherent to the contemporary needs and values of local and national communities (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). The cultural heritage can become soft power that can be activated through diplomacy, considering that heritage can attract international attention. Heritage has the power of interest and attention, making it possible for the state to politicize it for profit, especially in the tourism sector (Nye, 2008). Second, the state promotes its cultural heritage to show its branding. Legacy spreads the narrative and values that countries want to promote globally. Historical heritage narratives can be developed as an instrument of the state supporting the international community (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). Third, the state uses inheritance as part of a foreign policy strategy to increase the moral authority with other countries (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). It can be demonstrated through the actions of countries that send aid to conserve cultural heritage to other countries or cooperate with UNESCO to pursue an image as a cultured country and support cultural diversity and human rights.

This study employs the concept of heritage diplomacy and soft power as an analytical framework. The concept of heritage diplomacy explains how countries use shared

cultural heritage as diplomacy to generate cooperation with other countries. Then, the concept of soft power is utilized to explain the motivation that underlies countries to carry out diplomacy on shared cultural heritage on the international stage.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study applied the qualitative method because it utilized a conceptual framework to collect and analyze data. The qualitative descriptive analysis emphasizes the quality of analysis that refers to the theory or concept as an initial guide (Bryman, 2004). The analysis is descriptive and focuses on the delivery of words rather than systematically describing the phenomenon and data. The data collection technique of this research is a documentation study, namely collecting information and data that refers to the text of the document related to shared heritage diplomacy of Indonesia and Malaysia. Documents as research data were collected in primary and secondary documents. The author collected the primary documents from the websites of the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia and UNESCO. At the same time, the secondary documents were gathered from books, journals, research from valid sources and online media. This study used triangulation to process the data because the data consisted of more than one data source type (Bryman, 2004). The triangulation process allowed the author to examine data validity through observation, sources, methodology and theory. The results of the triangulation process were analyzed further using qualitative descriptive analysis to determine the motivation for cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia to support their shared cultural heritage at the international level.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

THE FACTORS OF SHARED CULTURAL HERITAGE DISPUTE BETWEEN INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA

Before getting into the analysis of this article, it is essential to understand the causes of Indonesia and Malaysia's shared cultural heritage dispute. This section explains the origin of the contestation of the shared

heritage dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia. There are four supporting factors strengthening the dispute: (1) the tension between Indonesia and Malaysia in the past, (2) the issue of sovereignty and treatment of Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia, (3) competition between Indonesia and Malaysia in commercializing culture at the international level, and (4) differences in the views and attitudes of the two countries in viewing cultural heritage as national identity (Chong, 2012; Clark, 2013; Meng & Karulus, 2019).

Historically, the bilateral relation between Indonesia and Malaysia was strained for the first time in 1963-1966 when Indonesia protested against the planned declaration of Malaysia, considered the result of negotiations with the British colonials or known as the 'Malaysia Konfrontasi' or 'Ganyang Malaysia' (Chong, 2012; Clark, 2013). Entering Suharto's leadership, their bilateral relation improved, followed by the involvement of the two countries in ASEAN and several economic cooperation (Clark, 2013). Then, their relationship began to undergo minor changes that made Indonesia and Malaysia compete for the good name, especially in the economic field (Clark, 2013, pp. 398).

The second factor is the emergence of territorial issues such as the Ligitan and Sipadan cases in 2002, the maritime claim of Ambalat in 2005, and the Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu areas in 2011 (Chong, 2012). Territorial claims have received international attention and been familiar news for Indonesian media with anti-Malaysian sentiments (Chong, 2012, pp. 14). Then, the issue of the treatment of Malaysians toward Indonesian migrant workers became another issue that sparked the anger of Indonesians and affected their relationship.

In addition, Malaysia's success in promoting and marketing batik cultural heritage products abroad has made the Indonesian Government jealous (Chong, 2012; Clark, 2013). The batik industry provides significant benefits to the Malaysian economy. In 2008, the total sales of batik handicrafts amounted to RM 528 billion (Clark, 2012). The batik industry in Malaysia is growing rapidly. The Malaysian Government has made many improvements to the promotion of batik through

museums, galleries, fashion shows showing batik designs, and others (Clark, 2012). The Malaysian Government also requires all employees in Malaysia to do Batik Thursday, which is to wear batik clothes on Thursdays. It prompted Indonesia to immediately register batik as a world cultural heritage.

The last factor is the different views of Indonesia and Malaysia on cultural heritage as national pride and part of nation-building (Chong, 2012). The dispute on the cultural heritage of Indonesia and Malaysia is caused by the views of one country or between countries claiming that their view of their cultural heritage is superior (Chong, 2009). Much of the tension in Indonesia-Malaysia relations stems from the reluctance of the two countries to consider and empathize with each other's different cultural heritage views (Liow, 2005; Weiss, 2010). The failure of the Indonesian and Malaysian Governments to understand the fundamental differences in their history and the forging of their national identities resulted in a continuing series of identity disputes and conflicts difficult to resolve.

The reasons above emphasize that the elites of both countries cannot ignore the dispute over the shared cultural heritage. The history of the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia, both at the government and public levels, has disrupted their relationship. Interestingly, cultural heritage conflict can provoke Indonesian anger toward Malaysia's act. However, it can also be viewed that there is some political nuance that adds the layer of the cultural conflict. Nevertheless, the dispute of shared heritage can potentially increase the bilateral tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia. The worst-case scenario can trigger other tensions between two countries (Chong, 2012; Meng & Karulus, 2019).

The contestation of shared cultural heritage between Indonesia and Malaysia caused by Malaysia's allegation of claiming one of Indonesia's heritage illustrates the performance of the Indonesian Government previously negligent in promoting its cultural heritage (Chong, 2012; Clark, 2013; Rachmawati & Issundari, 2010). Malaysia is considered to have a more serious performance in preserving and promoting cultural heritage than Indonesia. As mentioned earlier, Malaysia is more successful in batik products marketing abroad

and creates a favorable production environment for batik producers and artists (Chong, 2012; Clark, 2013). In addition, the Malaysian Government provides much financial support to art and cultural museums and galleries to preserve cultural heritage, in contrast to the condition of the Indonesian Government that does not support their museums much (Clark, 2013).

The Indonesian Government is also considered less active in its cultural diplomacy both abroad and within the country, especially when the contestation of the joint cultural heritage of Indonesia and Malaysia occurs (Rachmawati & Sundari, 2010). Cultural diplomacy that the Indonesian Government did not activate resulted in differences of understanding at the elite, cultural community and Indonesian general public regarding the issue of the Indonesia-Malaysia joint cultural heritage dispute (Yuliawati, 2019). As a result, these differences of understanding hinder the resolution of the dispute and exacerbate tensions between the two countries, especially between their people.

Based on the explanation above, the cultural heritage dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia is becoming increasingly tense due to the accumulation of several issues such as political history, territorial dispute, commercial competition for shared culture, and different views on cultural heritage as national pride. The political issues framing the dispute make the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia vulnerable. Hence, both countries cannot ignore the dispute over the shared cultural heritage because it harms the bilateral relation and has the potential to increase the tension of the conflict.

PANTUN AS CROSS-BORDER HERITAGE OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

Pantun is Malay literature born in the Indo-Malay or Nusantara civilization, long before the arrival of Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism (Ming, 2010). The uniqueness of the pantun is that it is spoken orally, has a four-line rhyme with a-b-a-b rhymes and uses beautiful grammar. The pantun came from the tradition of the Malay nation. At first, pantun was a traditional entertainment among the Malays and was used in traditional events (Salleh, 2011). Because the Malays are

interested in pantun, it becomes a communication for Malay parents to teach noble values, past wisdom and the spread of religion and pass it down to the next generations (Andriani, 2012). Pantun is also described as a way of thinking and voicing the feelings, ideas and imagination of the Malays (Salleh, 2011).

Through pantun, the teachings of Malay noble values are spread and passed down from one generation to another. Pantun has a wide distribution in the archipelago, starting from Kalimantan, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Singapore, Java to Thailand and the Philippines (Ming, 2010). The widespread of pantun is influenced by three things: the spread of the ancient royal power of the Indo-Malay civilization, trading activities that facilitate cultural exchange, and the shared experience of being colonized by the British and Dutch colonials (Ming, 2010; Salleh, 2011). These three influences make pantun a source of heritage for the present Indo-Malay society.

The Indo-Malay civilization spread across Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand and the southern Philippines and was once a colony before finally being divided into Dutch and British colonies in 1824 (Sung, 2010, pp. 117). Pantun is considered to have crossed the entire territory of the Indo-Malay civilization, and its presence gives Indo-Malay collective identity (Ming, 2010, pp. 117). This spread is evidenced by discovering 120,000 pantun in different languages throughout the Indo-Malay region, although most have the same structure, characteristics and purpose (Ming, 2010). It illustrates how pantun has been adopted by their respective regional cultures and connects different ethnic groups in the Indo-Malay civilization (Ming, 2010; Salleh, 2011).

Nevertheless, pantun is associated with Malay heritage and identity. Pantun is not just poetry or an oral tradition with four-line rhymes with a-b-a-b rhymes, but rhymes must be understood from the socio-cultural context of the Malays (Andriani, 2012). The pantun must at least have the values of the Malay tradition. For example, the use of pantun must uphold ethics, morals and spread good teachings. Three reasons cause pantun to be the identity of the Malay nation (Andriani, 2012): (1) pantun is the original work of the Malay community, (2) it covers

all Malays, and (3) it is used by the Malay community on various occasions.

As a country with Malays, pantun is also part of Indonesia's cultural heritage. The pantun in Indonesia is used in West Kalimantan, Sumatra and Riau Islands and by all Indonesian people. However, the rhymes used are not only intended to teach Malay traditions but rhymes in Indonesia are developed for entertainment purposes, proverbs, jokes and sometimes satire. In Indonesia, rhymes are considered to have merged and been adopted by other tribes so that rhymes are used according to their respective regional languages (Haninda, 2020). Likewise, in Malaysia, pantun is the property and tradition of the Malays. They express themselves through pantun that respect cultural values and avoid disputes.

Hence, pantun is a tradition connected with all social and cultural activities of the Indo-Malay people. It teaches a general view of human problems and how to solve them and provides insight into the life and knowledge of the Indo-Malay people. For the Malays in Indonesia and Malaysia, pantun is a cultural heritage that carries the wisdom and memories of Malay civilization from the past to the present. Its ability to blend with the culture of their respective regions and is still used by the wider community of Indonesia and Malaysia makes pantun a valuable shared heritage that needs to be preserved.

PANTUN AS SHARED HERITAGE DIPLOMACY OF INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA TO UNESCO

In early 2017, Indonesia invited several Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, and Thailand to jointly propose pantun as a shared intangible cultural heritage in the ICH of UNESCO (KRWIU, 2016). Nevertheless, first, to become an intangible world cultural heritage, UNESCO requires that the proposed cultural heritage must have been designated as a national cultural heritage (Haninda, 2020). Due to the short time, the only country willing to collaborate with Indonesia is Malaysia.

Previously, Indonesia and Malaysia were both countries actively promoting their respective cultural heritages to UNESCO. Indonesia has many lists of intangible cultural heritage in UNESCO, namely wayang

puppet theatre, Indonesian Keris, Indonesian Batik, angklung, Saman dance, a traditional dance in Bali, pinisi, and pencak silat (ICH UNESCO, 2018). Meanwhile, for Malaysia, there are mak yong theatre, dondang sayang, silat and the wangkang ceremony (ICH UNESCO, 2020). By looking at the performance of Indonesia and Malaysia in promoting their cultural heritage, it makes sense for the two countries to be the ones most prepared to cooperate.

After agreeing to collaborate, the governments of both countries started to prepare the draft and targeted to submit the pantun as a joint cultural heritage to UNESCO for 2018. Indonesia and Malaysia chose pantun as the nominee of UNESCO's list because they viewed pantun as a greater chance of being accepted by UNESCO technically. On the substantial matter, both countries believe that pantun is relevant with existing international human rights instruments (ICH UNESCO, 2019). Pantun is the most widespread cultural heritage in maritime Southeast Asia. Regardless of their background, everyone uses pantun as an expression to entertain, communicate, express love, bring awareness of some important topic, and solve the problem (ICHR UNESCO, 2019).

The initial desire of the Indonesian Government to carry out nominations on a multinational basis was due to UNESCO's regulations only allowing each country to submit one cultural heritage every two years. However, this regulation does not apply if the country performs multiple nominations with other countries (KRWIU, 2017). By conducting multinational nominations, Indonesia can apply for cultural heritage every year to accelerate adding to the list of Indonesian cultural heritage in UNESCO.

Submitting pantun to UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage is quite complicated and takes longer. Indonesia and Malaysia previously had to conduct an assessment test on pantun as an intangible cultural heritage at the local government level. Both countries committed and strived to fulfill the requirement for listing pantun to UNESCO. Then, the two countries held a meeting on 26-28 March 2017 in Tanjung Pinang to prepare the nomination file before sending it to the ICH of

UNESCO (Haninda, 2020). In this meeting, Indonesia proposed that pantun heritage be submitted to the Urgent Safeguarding List category, which means it must be protected from extinction. However, Malaysia insisted that pantun is a legacy that still presents and is sustained. Both countries finally agreed that pantun should be proposed to the Representative List category of Intangible Heritage Culture of UNESCO (Haninda, 2020).

The final draft submission entitled 'Pantun, Tradisi Lisan Melayu' was signed by the Director-General of Culture from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia and the Director-General of the Department National Heritage from the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture of Malaysia (Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of Republic of Indonesia, 2017). Then, both governments submitted the final dossier to the secretariat of the ICH of UNESCO as Representative List on 31st March 2017. The submission of Pantun as UNESCO's intangible heritage culture shows the awareness of Indonesia and Malaysia toward shared cultural cooperation.

In 2018, Indonesia and Malaysia got a referral position from UNESCO, which means the two countries must revise the file and submitted back to UNESCO. As a response from the Malaysian side, its government held two meetings on 22nd November 2018 and 25th March 2019 to perform some consultation. On 21st February 2019, the Indonesian Government invited the Malaysian Government to follow up the meeting and complete the revised file in Tanjung Pinang (Haninda, 2020). The revision of the pantun proposal file was submitted back to the ICH of UNESCO in 2019 and managed to become a Representative List nominee. Until the end of December 2020, UNESCO established the rhyme as an intangible cultural heritage with Indonesia and Malaysia at the 15th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in France (ICH UNESCO, 2020; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

The success of Indonesia and Malaysia in listing pantun as a world cultural heritage has become an important momentum for both countries after facing

many cultural contestations in previous years. Indonesia's desire and Malaysia's willingness to collaborate depict their awareness that pantun is a heritage with historical connections, narratives of shared heritage in the past, and how cultural heritage is used as diplomacy. The action of Indonesia and Malaysia to collaborate also demonstrates that elements of shared cultural heritage do not always have to be contested or disputed. The success of Indonesia and Malaysia also illustrates their ability to translate the diplomatic values contained in their shared cultural heritage.

PANTUN AS POTENTIAL SOFT POWER OF INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA

The submission of pantun as UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage is considered a form of shared heritage diplomacy of Indonesia and Malaysia at the international level. Pantun that acts as diplomacy also has a political dimension. Understanding that pantun acts as heritage diplomacy binds relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, even though geopolitical rivalries and cultural heritage haunt their past. It indicates that shared cultural heritage is also a soft power strategy in international politics, redefining the relationship between one country.

By following the concept of soft power (Nye, 2004), there are three resources that the state can use to achieve its interest and indicates the potential of cultural heritage as soft power: culture, political values and foreign policy. First, the state must understand the norms and languages of world cultural heritage (Nakano, 2020). Countries must follow the directions and recommendations of international organizations, use discourses on heritage originating from Europe and use UNESCO to achieve global status for state heritage and history (Zhu, 2015). Given that Indonesia and Malaysia are the two adjacent countries, it is not difficult for them to collect cultural heritages together. However, the two countries must be careful to bridge each other's views on a common cultural heritage to avoid disputes. The Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia have chosen pantun as their shared cultural heritage nomination to UNESCO because it has a social function and cultural meaning to Malay communities in both countries nowadays (ICH

UNESCO, 2019). For example, official ceremonies and any celebrations nowadays often start with pantun. Leaders deliver their speeches and often close them with pantun. Pantun is still popular, and its usage is widespread across Indonesia and Malaysia. The meaning of pantun becomes a reminder to the governments of both countries over their shared memories, wisdom, the kinship of Indo-Malay society in the past and reflects the identity of their relationship. It can also potentially strengthen Indonesia and Malaysia's bilateral relations and reduce previous sentiments.

Second, Indonesia and Malaysia use pantun heritage diplomacy at the international level to demonstrate the values they want to share that reflect their identities. Philosophically, pantun hold moral and life values; it connects human interaction and becomes a tool to express ideas, entertain, and communicate regardless of race, nationality, and religion (ICH UNESCO, 2019). According to Indonesia and Malaysia's revised file in the ICH of UNESCO (2019), pantun is a fascinating heritage because it can be used as a diplomatic, democratic, and conflict resolution instrument. The form of pantun verse is used to tell important issues in a polite way to maintain mutual respect between parties. Pantun also eliminates hierarchy because everyone can use it openly regardless of their social status. According to communities' practice of pantun (ICH UNESCO, 2019), historically, pantun is used to resolve disputes and reinstate relationships to their original pre-dispute states (ICH UNESCO, 2019). The explanation from Indonesia and Malaysia's file in the ICH of UNESCO can be viewed as a strategy to introduce pantun as a cultural heritage with human rights values that the global community can accept.

Third, the state uses cultural heritage as part of its foreign policy to increase world attraction. State position heritage is the center of strategic relations with other countries (Nakano & Zhu, 2020), meaning that cultural heritage has political goals. The state utilizes world heritage conventions to protect, promote their cultural heritage to an international audience and differentiate their culture from other countries. For instance, a country engaged in heritage conservation with UNESCO to improve its position through the interest of other

countries in its cultural heritage. Together, Indonesia and Malaysia use pantun as a world cultural heritage through UNESCO to achieve certain interests. Protecting cultural heritage through UNESCO conventions is a way of pursuing the country's moral status as a supporter of cultural diversity, human rights and peace (Nakano, 2018). As claimed by the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia in their file (ICH UNESCO, 2019), listing pantun as a world intangible cultural heritage has three specific goals. First, at the bilateral level, it can be a catalyst for Indonesian and Malaysian Governments to cooperate and ensure the continuity of their shared cultural heritage. At the regional level, it will strengthen the mutual understanding and cooperation between Southeast Asian countries in preserving shared cultural heritage. As two Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia and Malaysia have the potential to become ASEAN leaders and encourage other countries to undertake joint heritage collaborations in the region, which in turn will bring awareness. Meanwhile, at the international level, the listing of pantun as world intangible cultural heritage will attract world attention to an oral tradition being adopted due to globalization. For instance, several scholars from Europe studied and translated pantun into many languages.

The shared cultural heritage diplomacy of Indonesian and Malaysian Governments by listing pantun as world intangible cultural heritage in UNESCO has a highly political purpose. At the same time, the use of pantun as cultural heritage diplomacy can be viewed as shaping pantun that potentially will become a soft power for the government of both countries at the bilateral, regional and international levels. The success of listing pantun as a world intangible heritage culture is a result of the willingness of Indonesia and Malaysia to reinstate their relationship in the matter of cultural heritage and ultimately gives a new hope to solve previous political issues.

CONCLUSION

The attitude of the Indonesian and Malaysian Governments in turning the issue of shared cultural heritage into cooperation is an interesting phenomenon to be analyzed. Previously, Indonesia and Malaysia had a strained relationship due to the issue of claiming

ownership of shared cultural heritage. Indonesia's initiative to invite Malaysia to cooperate and Malaysia's willingness has added a positive dimension to their relations. The concept of heritage diplomacy from Tim Winter and soft power from Joseph S. Nye helps explain the motivation for cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia to register pantun as UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage.

The findings of this research reveal that the motivation of Indonesia and Malaysia's cooperation in registering pantun as UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage are both countries view pantun can be used as shared heritage diplomacy and potentially become soft power because it has political implications for Indonesia and Malaysia. Pantun, as Indonesia and Malaysia's shared cultural heritage, has a greater chance to be accepted by UNESCO substantially and technically. In substantial, pantun is considered relevant with international human rights values and reflects the historical connection of Indonesian and Malaysian culture in the past. Furthermore, it shows the awareness and the ability of Indonesia and Malaysia to use the values of pantun as heritage diplomacy. Meanwhile, technically, both governments seek the opportunity of UNESCO's regulation allowing every country to do multiple nominations of their cultural heritage with other countries every year. It has benefited Indonesia and Malaysia because pantun has been added to the world's intangible cultural heritage list to UNESCO.

Pantun as heritage diplomacy is also viewed by Indonesia and Malaysia to potentially become their soft power because it has political implications. Besides preserving cultural heritage, the motivation of Indonesia and Malaysia to register pantun as UNESCO's list of intangible cultural heritage is to fulfill political interests at the bilateral, regional and international levels. Both Indonesia and Malaysia want to strengthen their bilateral relationship and take advantage of the success of pantun becoming UNESCO's list as a reminder of their identity and history of their relationship in the past.

The cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia to use pantun as heritage diplomacy demonstrates how cultural cooperation can solve their political issues. They

both want to encourage and strengthen cultural heritage cooperation among Southeast Asian countries, especially about the awareness of understanding the heritage and identity of the ASEAN Community. The achievements of Indonesia and Malaysia's diplomacy to add pantun as the world intangible cultural heritage can potentially legitimize the position of the two countries in ASEAN as leaders that collaborate in preserving shared cultural heritage. Another goal that Indonesia and Malaysia want to pursue at the international level is to get the world's attraction to pantun as their identity, which in the practice of pantun it has moral values that uphold international human rights and peace. The success of the Indonesian and Malaysian's cooperation to add their pantun to UNESCO's list can evaluate the two governments on how the role of shared cultural heritage will positively impact both of them. It can also be viewed as a catalyst for the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia to increase cultural cooperation as a new orientation in dealing with the possibility of cultural heritage issues in the future.

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