Examining Sub-national International Cooperation in Addressing Urban Heritage as Paradiplomacy Discourse in Semarang

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Abstract. Semarang, a historically significant port city in Central Java, Indonesia is characterized with rich water heritage significance such as colonial canal systems to traditional *kampong* water practices. Nowadays, with an increasing rate of sea level, Semarang suffered from severe tidal flooding threatens not only infrastructure, public health, but also historical heritage. This research offers a localized point of view in strengthening multi state collaboration, utilizing van Schaik's study on water and heritage framework as a medium to foster sustainability supporting heritage preservation. This research will use qualitative methods, including in-depth interviews to understand historical interpretations and their connection to current development plans on heritage preservation. Kuznetsov's explanatory framework on paradiplomacy and Blond's cultural aspect as part of the sustainability framework are used to examine international cooperation conducted by civil society, creating a pathway to a more inclusive Urban Heritage and Cultural Diplomacy strategy in Semarang.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage Preservation, Civil Society, Sustainability, International Cooperation.

1 Introduction

The dynamics of international cooperation have been through a significant transformation, with the increasing involvement of subnational actors in global diplomacy. This shift examined the practicality of paradiplomacy, where local governments actors, particularly municipalities, engage in international relations directly through cultural, environmental, and economic initiatives. The sister city partnership is one of the most prevalent types of paradiplomacy, connecting cross-border work in sectors including education, tourism and cultural exchange. This framework shows that cultural heritage not only works as a symbol of local identity, but

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also as a strategic instrument for diplomacy and at a global level giving the state a leveraged position in implementing sustainable development, in alignment with Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 11 on sustainable cities and communities.

Semarang, as the capital of Central Java, Indonesia, presents as an example of active engagement in sister city cooperation. The city has established partnerships with several cities such as Brisbane (Australia), Kitakyushu (Japan), and cities in the Netherlands, focusing on areas of cooperation such as climate adaptation, waste management, and educational exchanges. Despite the decent track record of cooperation, cultural heritage has not become integrated into the system of these international partnerships. This disparity persists despite Semarang's abundant cultural assets, including colonial-era architecture in Kota Lama, iconic heritage sites such as Lawang Sewu and Sam Poo Kong Temple, as well as multicultural traditions like Warak Ngendog. [1] This phenomenon aligns with values that heritage preservation is not solely in singular terms, as in many cultures, it holds symbolic, spiritual, and historical value. A notable example is the city of Luang Phrabang (Laos). A mixture of French, Buddhist community and international and local stakeholders employ the practices and rhetoric of conservation. Meanwhile, traditional water systems, such as canals, springs, and wells, are integral parts to the identity and sustainability of many historical settlements. Likewise, physical heritage (temples, palaces, old town cores) often gains its existence from ancient knowledge with distinguished geographical advantage.[2]

Meanwhile, the dynamics of international cooperation have endured a substantial transformation, as evidenced by the growing involvement of subnational actors in global diplomacy. This dynamic raised a challenge to the pragmatic practicality of paradiplomacy, which involves local government actors, particularly municipalities, directly participating in international relations through promotion in cultural, environmental, and economic development agenda. [3] Paradiplomacy as part of subnational actors collaboration is one of the most common forms of paradiplomacy, as it encourages cross-border collaboration in industries such as education, tourism, and cultural exchange. Within this framework, cultural heritage serves as a strategic instrument for diplomacy and a symbol of local identity. It also gives states the authority to implement sustainable development on a global scale, in accordance with Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 on sustainable cities and communities.

The importance of Semarang's heritage is further emphasized by its historical connection to water infrastructure, influenced by its colonial history and current urban flooding issues. Tidal flooding significantly affects the lives of people in Semarang, resulting in both physical damage and social consequences. [4] During Semarang's 17th-century, Dutch colonial buildings suffered foundation weakening from land subsidence 6.5cm per year and saltwater corrosion. This incident impacts on cultural heritage [5] as damaging the infrastructure, erosion, and even the displacement of communities. [6] From 2013 the government as well as civil society in Semarang collaborated in the revitalization plan of the Old Town Complex. This attempt was inline with UNESCO's initiative "Water and Heritage: Connecting Past, Present and Future" (2013) provides a timely and applicable framework. The initiative advocates for the recognition of heritage as an integral component of water management and urban resilience strategies. As a city struggles with coastal flooding and environmental degradation, Semarang's efforts in revitalizing historical waterfronts and conserving colonial hydraulic systems are particularly suited to the principles outlined by UNESCO. This vision is aligned with UNESCO's concept of Water and Heritage: Connecting Past, Present and Future (2013), highlighting inclusive

movement as an important point on a global level addressing the diminishing values of cultural heritage in the brink of climate change effect in several cities such as Amsterdam (Netherlands), Venice (Italy) and Saint Louis (Senegal). [7]

However, existing sister city arrangements, included in Semarang, should be observed deeper. The noble vision frequently lacks robust institutional mechanisms for sustainability and cultural integration. Several challenges in this vision limited engagement of local cultural actors, and participation of communities in the planning and implementation of these international collaborations. This highlights a broader challenge in operationalizing culture-based paradiplomacy as a sustainable and inclusive practice on heritage and sustainability. This article seeks to critically examine Semarang as the subnational government's involvement in the implementation of the Old Town Complex revitalization plan.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Thematic Nexus: Paradiplomacy and Heritage Preservation

Paradiplomacy emphasized the substantial role of non-state actors in initiating diplomatic agendas that were previously dominated by states. In his book, Kuznetsov dissected this study to observe the discourses that occur within it, including eleven discourses of paradiplomacy and its proximity with federal character of subnational actors on his research objects. Furthermore, with paradiplomacy's character as a multi-faceted concept with various actors in it (states, local government, NGO, etc), Kuznetsov in his book chapter developed a research framework on paradiplomacy by using multiple response questionnaires (MRQ). [8] Critics arise when study and research findings on paradiplomacy are mainly based on Western hemisphere's best practices and experiences and heavily relied on economic motives. In the following decades, studies on paradiplomacy plummeted, with an enlarged focus of studies such as sustainability, climate change and gave wider attention into a global south perspective. Study in paradiplomacy between Surabaya and Kitakyushu on specific agenda on green economy provided explanation on how sub- state actors are able to independently drive its international cooperation by identifying competitive advantage indicators when engaging with its respected international partners. [9],[10] Meanwhile, despite the optimistic progress of paradiplomacy studies, the integration between various bodies, especially in aligning, coordinating and rationalizing interest could be a challenge. Research in South Africa's experience, depicted the effectiveness of paradiplomacy faced structural constraints and different political culture, and thus resulted in half hearted commitments between stakeholders. [11]

Meanwhile, Heritage is defined as a political process, we can approach a more in-depth understanding of how heritage shapes and reshapes the politics of post-war memory, inter-community relations, and the extent to which the international community uses World Heritage in these communities to mandate their own politics of remembrance. [12]Although certain kinds of controversies arise, as Hamber-Kelly in Albert highlighted some contexts, especially where reconciliation is still seen "as a challenging and threatening process" because the "genuine reconciliation will mean some compromise, or at least the re-humanisation of old enemies". Meticulous collaboration is needed, particularly by non-state actors and stakeholders. Nevertheless, the spirit of heritage local diplomacy and the spirit of reconciliation can be

overcome by optimizing the role of subnational actors and international non-governmental organizations. [13]

In certain places in Asia, heritage has its own different interpretations and is highly in accordance with strong communitarian values, as heritage is being interpreted as place-making, emphasizing a strong sense of belonging and connection to place, rooted in ordinary, everyday landscapes. [14] Moreover, while Blond highlights the importance of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability, Willems explains and promotes the "idea-briding" between water-heritage and legal framework to preserve it. [15] Cultural heritage serves as a contestation arena for identity, power, and legitimacy, where both state and non-state actors use heritage to construct narratives and secure strategic positions on the global stage. Thus, heritage is not neutral, rather, it functions as a symbolic political instrument that can both reinforce local identities and serve as a diplomatic asset. [16] And thus the development of heritage in the modern era itself produced several derivative concepts in the multidisciplinary realm with two distinguished arguments. First, it can generate new forms of knowledge about both tangible and intangible heritage within a community and provide new platforms for analysis and decision making. [17] Second, the emerging urban heritage concept alongside a multi disciplinary approach diffused into varied multi-disciplinary studies in order to ensure that values from the past are still contextual with modern practices and common consciousness. [18]

2.2 Multiple Response Questionnarires (MRQ) Model Framework on Paradiplomacy

Based on the explanation above, the conceptualization of paradiplomacy and heritage preservation created a unique spectrum of ideas. Even though the main concept in this research is paradiplomacy with strong influence from Kuznetsov's research framework, heritage preservation in here was positioned as a catalyst or medium for local governments and actors to collaborate with international frameworks and networks. This research aimed to point out government involvement in paradiplomacy activities with heritage preservation as contemporary issues. Further questions arise in finding sufficient explanatory framework to examine it. By using Kuznetsov's MRQ explanatory framework, subnational government involvement in paradiplomacy will be identified by using Kuznetsov's eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy. [8] Those eleven pillars of paradiplomacy dimension were positioned as "variables" and narrowed down based on the case studies contextualization i.e. City Government of Semarang involvement in paradiplomacy strategy towards Semarang Old Town complex revitalization. Furthermore, pre-coded MRQ models developed for further inquiries as guidelines to collect and analyze data. Four paradiplomacy dimensions out of eleven i.e: Constitutional (1), , International Relations (4), Globalization (6), and Diplomacy (10) will be processed into segmented questions integrally to ensure data validation on the triangulation process. Brief explanation of those selected dimension was explained below:

First, Constitutional Dimension emphasized feasibility of the actors involved, since textual knowledge is not merely enough to prove de-jury frames of the paradiplomacy and the participation of regional governments in international cooperation. Constitutional mechanisms determined the country's political process. Thus the MRQ question will be focused on the existence of any legal instruments in Indonesia and the realpolitik process behind. Second, Globalization Dimension focused on how globalization rather than regionalism shaped the paradiplomacy activities. Third , on International Relations Dimensions the question will be established to describe detailed activities and networking of state and non-state actors in

paradiplomacy activities, challenged state as primary decision makers in international fora. Fourth, Diplomacy Dimensions will be focused around subnational governments as emerging actors, complemented central government as classical actors as the consequences of decentralization.

After deciding four spectrums of pre-coded spectrum based on the selected dimensions of paradiplomacy, following Kuznetsov's framework, six questions as models to analyze the selected case study. As a pre-coded question, the researchers had the autonomy to modify and contextualize the questions. Thus the MRQ model should be given strong qualitative validation as to why certain questions are highlighted. The explanatory framework is presented in Fig. 1.

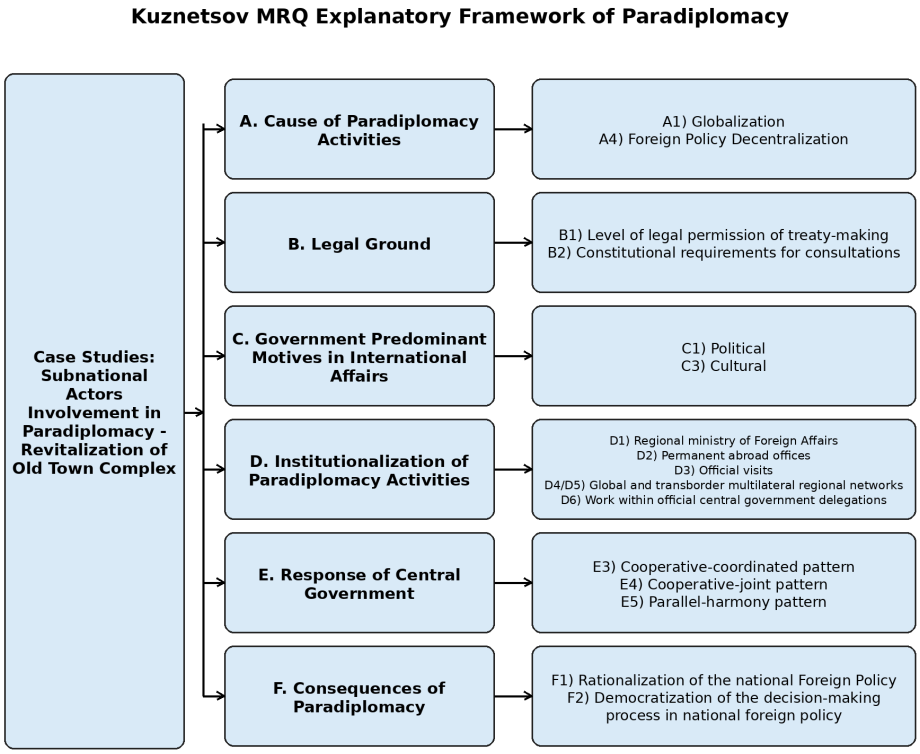


Fig. 1. The explanatory framework of paradiplomacy.

Sources: Adapted from Alexander Kuznetsov explanatory framework of paradiplomacy [8]

3 Methods

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach using a case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon within its natural context. The type of this research is descriptive-qualitative research with a case studies approach. A qualitative descriptive approach is often described by Denzin et. all in positioning phenomena as socially constructed, multiple,

and context-dependent. Thus, the research aimed to produce a sequential description of the case by capturing participants' meanings, experiences, and interpretations. [19] Type and source of data is classified into primary and secondary. Primary data is collected through semi-structured interviews with policymakers and several individuals who are concerned in water management and Semarang urban heritage preservation programme in 2025. For government stakeholders, the interviews were conducted with the City Government of Semarang sub division of International Cooperation as well as the Provincial Government of Central Java in the similar division respectively in March-July 2025 and hybrid interviews in June-July 2025. Secondary data is collected through Government publications and official websites (e.g., city diplomacy records), academic journals and official websites from City Governments of Semarang. Furthermore, data collection is conducted through methodological triangulation, integrating in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis to enhance the credibility and validity of the findings. Data is collected and analyzed based on the triangulation process on MQR paradiplomacy's research framework by Kuznetsov in order to find the explanatory role of subnational actors. [8]

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Cause of Paradiplomacy and Legal Ground

Heritage preservation in Semarang presents a dynamic interaction sbetween local governance, community participation, academic engagement, and economic revitalization. As one of Indonesia's historic port cities, Semarang has gained a growing recognition of its cultural assets, particularly within the Old City (Kota Lama), as it is critical to its identity formation, urban sustainability, and creative economy development. In recent years, this recognition has translated into a multi-actor governance approach, where responsibilities and contributions are distributed among various sub-national entities. Semarang's urban policy underwent a significant milestone when the Old Town area was officially designated a national cultural heritage site by the Education and Culture Ministry, a critical step toward eventual UNESCO recognition followed by Major Decree and local regulation in ensuring cultural heritage preservation of Semarang amidst challenges like periodic flooding and long-term structural deterioration.

However in the context of paradiplomacy, In Indonesia's decentralized system, cities like Semarang have endeavored to chart their own pathways in international relations, leveraging paradiplomacy to attract investment, promote identity, and pursue local development goals. Many local governments, including Semarang, are highly dependent on the political willingness of leaders dedicated to paradiplomatic institutions. Even though the emergence of digital diplomacy platforms enriched city and provincial strategists to achieve their goals amidst policy ambiguity and fragmented interpretation of decentralization after the post Reformasi era. Our findings are aligned with Mukti, et. al [20] notes that the absence of standardized mechanisms, such as liaison offices or policy mandates, often leaves international initiatives informal and highly dependent on individual leadership and episodic events compared to other counterparts overseas. While legal interpretation on national laws restrict formal authority of sub-state actors, the local government as pivotal actors in subnational cooperation faced difficulties identifying and implementing certain blueprint on paradiplomatic activities , including heritage

preservation. Ambiguity on the spirit of decentralization in the context of subnational state corporations affected how city governments implemented their policy. Since legal documents do not always translate into legally binding or consistently funded cooperation, international cooperation in these sectors relies heavily on ad-hoc events such as trade fairs, cultural events and exhibitions with potential partners.

Based on primary and secondary data collection on subnational cooperation, several actors are identified i.e: (i) government stakeholders ; (ii) civil society organization (CSO) includes academia and business sectors ; (iii) international government and think tank groups . Each actor has their own role and interest in the dynamic of subnational cooperation in preserving Semarang cultural heritage. In the context of legal ground, as mentioned in the Table 1 below, the City Government of Semarang has already achieved significant points on heritage preservation and integration plans on Old Town revitalization as a local landmark.

Table 1. Policy and Milestones by the City of Semarang Government for Heritage Preservation.

Activity/ Years	**Description**	**Implication/ Policy Objectives**
18th century	Semarang functioned as a major VOC trade and port city.	Establishes the site's historical significance as a foundation for heritage designation.
1980s-1990s	Severe urban decay and abandonment in the Old City.	Signaled the urgency for urban regeneration and heritage intervention.
Late 1990s	Early revitalization initiatives began; *"Little Netherland"* branding emerged.	Marked the shift toward cultural repositioning and tourism-oriented development.
1992 & 2010	Enactment of Cultural Heritage Laws (UU No. 5/1992 & UU No. 11/2010).	Provided a national legal framework to protect and manage cultural assets.
2011	Bappeda developed a grand design for Old City revitalization.	Institutionalized spatial planning for integrated heritage conservation.
2012	The Mayor of Semarang signed an Urban Heritage Pledge with the Ministry of Public Works.	Affirmed local political commitment to sustainable heritage development.
2013	Initiatives to mitigate coastal flooding in heritage zones.	Integrated infrastructure policy with heritage resilience in coastal contexts.
2016	Restructuring of BPK2L (Old Town Management Agency).	Strengthened governance mechanisms for participatory heritage management.
2018-2019	Issuance of city and provincial decrees on cultural heritage status.	Formalized multi-level legal recognition in preparation for UNESCO nomination.
2020	National designation of Old Semarang and 3 areas (Kauman Kampong, Malay Kampong, and Chinatown Kampong) as cultural heritage.	Fulfilled a critical requirement for inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage tentative list.

Source: obtained from secondary data [21] and confirmed through primary interview in March-July 2025, analyzing through Kuznetsov [7] MRQ explanatory framework

Heritage preservation in Semarang has evolved into a multi-actor process involving government bodies, academic institutions, local communities, and private stakeholders. The revitalization of the Old City (Kota Lama) reflects the broad shift in cultural governance toward a participatory and decentralized point. Several international collaborations, supported by national agencies such as Bappenas and the Ministry of Public Works increased the city's capability to actively participate and coordinate collaboration between several actors to manage the historical landscape effectively. Two notable examples of the significant role of subnational collaboration in Semarang are the construction of Polder Banger as the result of collaboration between National, Provincial and City Government circa 2013-2016 with the support of international donors such as the Dutch Hoogheemraadschap Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard (HHSK), and technical assistance on flood control and urban drainage by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) in 1996. [22], [23]

Government Predominant Motives, Responses. In the context of the government as a stakeholder, the Central Government established institutional support in revitalization plans by systematically integrating programmes from national agencies such as National developing Board and the Ministry of Public Works. Based on secondary documents analyzing, the Central Government actively assisted local governments in the aspect of technical assistance. In subnational level two institutions under city government of Semarang i.e Regional Planning Agency (Bappeda) and the Public Works Department have substantially significant roles in cultural heritage preservation and paradiplomacy activities in Semarang. Bappeda has taken a more proactive stance since 2017 by utilizing colonial drainage archives as the foundation for flood management, a strategy reinforced by the Deputy Governor of Central Java, who highlighted the importance of collaboration and the translation of grants to ensure the archives are utilized optimally. (City of Semarang Regional Planning Representatives, personal communication, November 20, 2025) [24] On the other hand, the Public Works Department has focused more on technical implementation, such as the revitalization of the Old City and the construction of flood control infrastructure from 2018 to 2021, with a limited role in cultural preservation policies. (Department of Public Works Prepresentatives City of Semarang, personal communication, November 26, 2025) Meanwhile, international cooperation programs have also expanded, such as Wetskills, research collaborations with French institutions and Diponegoro University, and CityLinks Australia to strengthen local government capacity. Overall, the main constraint lies not in a lack of global interest, but in the limited capacity of local governments to manage and formalize such cooperation. [25]

The creation of BPK2L (Badan Pengelola Kawasan Kota Lama) served as a coordinating platform that brought together government, business, academia, and communities to manage the historic area collectively. The government already produced detailed monitoring and evaluation on how the implementation progress of the Old Town complex should be managed, but several challenges arose with the further blueprint which also accommodated heritage preservation with a government development plan. On the other hand, CSO which consist of several stakeholders have varied power-interest positions based on their interest in collaboration. It can be concluded that the grassroot community has lower power compared to other CSO actors since they had difficulties in channeling their interest and thus often relied on protest or social movement while

their interest was jeopardized. Besides, private sectors have taken initiative in converting historic assets into attractive destinations. These efforts have sparked incremental momentum, though full-scale regeneration remains connected to basic flood mitigation and infrastructure upgrades. Interestingly, based on primary and secondary data processing, International stakeholders commonly have high interest in heritage preservation in Semarang. Furthermore, based on the interpretation of interviews with the respondents their institutional power remained neutral since their bargaining position and political leverage heavily relied on government mechanisms in designing public participation in the decision making process. But in terms of offering support in advising cooperation schemes with the international stakeholders as well as identifying , prioritizing and the offered collaboration. However, based on the results of FGDs and interviews with local governments and CSOs conducted separately, there are significant differences between the application of heritage as a principle that prioritizes living values and anthropocentric versus a technical approach that focuses on empirical feasibility, such as maintaining building designs, urban planning permits, and land use. A more detailed, but cross-disciplinary framework is needed, which needs to be discussed in policymaking with the city government. This remains a fairly long and complex political process.

Institutionalization of Paradiplomacy. The Government Stakeholders as an integral part of the city government which is involved in the revitalization of Semarang Old Town mainly under the coordination of Regional Planning Department (Bappeda) that is actively seeking to recover colonial era drainage records to inform current flood mitigation efforts. On the other hand, The Public Works Department focuses on implementing the Old Town Revitalization alongside with prioritizing flood management in 2020-2023. The local community is also involved in this collaboration by establishing the Semarang Heritage Agency and actively communicating with the International Council on Monuments and Sites ICOMOS actively advocating the revitalization of Old Town and flooding management. Based on the online interview with ICOMOS members, the development of revitalization plan needed a further comprehensive framework, a more integrative approach which encouraged the collaboration of the government and the civil society. (Catrini Pratihari Kubontubuh, personal communication, June 16, 2025). One of the SIMA Semarang Water Board members initiates local participation in advocating problems related to flood and water management, emphasizes on socio-cultural barriers in raising awareness and sustainability strategy for heritage preservation in grassroot level. (Sumono, personal communication, May 20, 2025) Academician, especially anthropologist and regional planner offered critical views on previous attempts in viewing water management and heritage preservation, emphasizing on the importance of stakeholder awareness, especially the society to actively collaborate with the government initiatives. Actors from the business sector gave a positive response to this collaboration, reckoning the plan would increase the business prospects in culinary, tourism and Small Medium Enterprises. As for the international stakeholders, the City Government officer of the Dutch Minister of Education, Culture and Science supports the effort by expressing willingness to assist but emphasized the need for specificity regarding which drainage documents were being requested. Meanwhile, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) participated through funding the infrastructure improvements in Semarang, including river channel upgrades, spillways and a multi-purpose dam on the Garang River. This project reduced flood risk and enhanced water supply reliability and local economic resilience.

The Consequence and Challenges of Paradiplomacy. The government has already developed a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation system to overlook the implementation progress of the Old Town complex. However, there are several challenges encountered during the implementation plan from 2013 onward. One of these strategies is the one that the regional authority must implement when identifying the needs of foreign cooperation. The regional government's position is occasionally impeded by the interpretation of regulations regarding foreign cooperation at the regional level. The interpretation of the authority to which the regional government can submit the issue of cultural heritage protection in the paradiplomacy scheme, for example, demands distinct, comprehensive research. Therefore, there is a missing link that has the potential to be developed in the domain of policymaking, and a policy brief that formulates an approach from the realm of cultural anthropology with more technical scientific clusters such as urban planning and development.

The creation of BPK2L (Badan Pengelola Kawasan Kota Lama) serves as a coordinating platform that brings together government, business, academia, and communities to manage the historic area collectively. On the other hand, CSO which consist of several stakeholders have varied power-interest positions based on their interest in collaboration. It can be concluded that the grassroot community has lower power compared to other CSO actors since they had difficulties in channeling their interest and thus often relied on protest or social movement while their interest was jeopardized. Besides, private sectors have taken initiative in converting historic assets into attractive destinations. These efforts have sparked incremental momentum to align heritage preservation with a more feasible and empirical measurement approach within the local goverment. Based on interviews with representatives of the Public works department in Semarang though full-scale regeneration remains connected to basic flood mitigation and infrastructure upgrades. And the upgrades itself continuously faced non technical problems including how to integrate heritage preservation principles and ensuring the full scale pipeline renovation did not damage the already protected site.

Interestingly, based on primary and secondary data processing, International stakeholders commonly have high interest in heritage preservation in Semarang. Their power remains neutral since it depends on how far the government is actively designing cooperation schemes with the international stakeholders as well as identifying , prioritizing and the offered collaboration. For example in 2013-2017, Agence Française de Développement or Cerema collaborated with Diponegoro University to discuss potential renewable research collaboration with academia on coastal area and water management. Australia through CityLinks can act as a potential government-to-government collaboration on human capital and sister city partnership in addressing problems in coastal cities.

4.2 Reinventing Cultural Heritage: Anthropocentric Approach in Heritage Preservation in Semarang

In Semarang, the heritage conservation narrative is currently facing a significant shift from physical preservation in architectural items towards a more human-centered paradigm, which places the importance of the lived experiences, cultural meanings and socio-economic roles of the local community in a greater focus on the preservation strategy. Based on primary data obtained from semi-structured interviews, it is evident that there are divergent interpretations of heritage preservation among institutional stakeholders and grassroots actors. Political apathy in channeling aspirations through formal parliamentary mechanisms, alongside a fragmented will

to engage in social movements related to environmental and cultural issues, constitutes a key barrier to more inclusive heritage governance. This divergence can be attributed to the differing roles and interests of each actor involved. Governmental approaches tend to be focused on the developmentalist logic and driven by empiric data, while the grassroots level such as local communities gives a distinguished perspective that is important to build an inclusive and context-sensitive policy.

In this regard, intermediary actors such as civil society organizations (CSOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academics, and think tanks (e.g., ICOMOS) serve as essential buffer zones. Their role in facilitating the mediation and channeling of interests among various stakeholders is critical to ensuring that the governance process does not become unbalanced or exclusionary. Historic Urban Landscape framework to elicit indigenous narratives, values, and memories associated with the built environment. Findings indicate that local terminologies such as education, humanity, and inclusive identity are essential interpretive layers that enrich conservation beyond materiality. Since multiculturalism also became the core values of Semarang, fostering multicultural trust from various ethnic in Semarang could increase the sustainability of heritage management in the paradiplomacy framework. The quest remained on how far the subnational government as well as established CSO networks could break the bottleneck on creating policy making blueprint, key performance indicators and monitoring and evaluation mechanism which aligned with government priority programmes. The potential technical assistance is widely open from the perspective of the national/. central government but lacks political courage in subnational level because of vague interpretation on legal ground in implemented policy maneuver from elites in subnational levels .

Based on Kuznetsov's MQR framework element form question A- D displayed a relatively positive track on paradiplomacy activity on subnational actors activity. Although further data analyzing and re categorizing of data collection is needed to achieve further data validity on the implementation of heritage preservation on Old Town Complex. However, regarding the perception of paradiplomacy, which falls under the E framework, based on the existing analysis, the perception is still dominated by practical elements as indicated by the fulfillment of the interpretation of indicators E3) Cooperative-coordinated pattern; E4) Cooperative-joint pattern.The next indicator is the rationalization of the domino effect of paradiplomacy policies in the heritage preservation sector, measured by the indicators F1) Rationalization of the national Foreign Policy; F2) Democratization of the decision-making process in national foreign policy. The Central Government, the Provincial Government, and the City Government of Semarang, along with its community, do not show antipathy toward the efforts to develop the revitalization of the Kota Lama complex. However, the existing democratization process also requires further stages, such as increasing participation from the community and academia in creating the blueprint for the revitalization policy of the Kota Lama site, especially if there is a vision to follow the local heritage framework from the UNESCO Heritage List. Initiatives from the community, including collaboration with ICOMOS, demonstrate awareness of the integration of heritage principles that not only focus on physical maintenance but also on the implementation to create relevant policy outputs that can be sustainably executed in accordance with UNESCO guidelines. However, they still remain subject to constitutional-legal grounds and the interpretation of the authority of subnational actors in paradiplomacy, which continues to be a challenge.

5 Conclusion

By foregrounding the interpretive, participatory, economic, and experiential roles of local inhabitants, Semarang's heritage preservation is evolving into a people-centric endeavor with long term commitment from each significant stakeholders i.e. Central Local government; CSO and international agency by creating a framework into more inclusive heritage preservation which not only emphasizes on physical preservation but ensuring the plan accommodates living values in heritage preservation in Semarang. This reconceptualization highlights the importance of : Interpretative strategies that capture local narratives and meanings; community-led events that embed heritage within social and economic practices; Policy frameworks that emphasize stakeholder engagement and inclusive governance; raising awareness on each actor strength in creating blueprint policy in inclusive vision of heritage management in coastal area which heavily impacted by the quality of water management

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